

BRUNO CARIOU

Articles and Essay Translations



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Articles and Essay Translations

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The Enemy of Europe (Introduction)

We publish below, as a complement to <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2022/03/20/yockey-et-la-russie/>, the introduction to Kerry Bolton's new edition of *The Enemy of Europe* (Centennial Edition Publishing, 2022), for its ability to put Yockey's thesis into context by recounting little-known or virtually forgotten episodes in the political vicissitudes of post-war Germany. We will then attempt to review and evaluate Yockey's thesis, as presented and defended by Bolton in the two essays we have published by him. This critical study is in three parts, the first of which is published below.

The Second World War ended with Europe under the domination of two non-European powers. the United States and Soviet Russia. Most of the extreme right in the post-war period saw America as the lesser of two evils and sided with Washington in the Cold War, which had just broken out. In *The Enemy of Europe*, Francis Parker Yockey rejects this consensus and argues that Europe's identity and destiny are far more threatened by American domination than by Russian domination.

L'Ennemi de l'Europe (1948) was conceived as the third volume of *Imperium*. In 1952, he revised his writings on Russia in the light of the Prague trials, which he analysed in the essay he published that year, "What is Behind the Hanging of the Eleven Jews in Prague? [1] For Yockey, it was clear that with the Prague trials, in which eleven of the fourteen defendants were Jewish, the Soviet bloc had attacked Jewish interests [2].

Yockey argued that the USA was more Jewish-dominated and more implacably hostile to Europe than the USSR. It was therefore futile for Europeans to hope that the warp and woof regime in the United States would work. tion in Washington be overturned. According to Yockey, it was even unthinkable that a " nationalist revolt" in the United States. From 1951 at least, Yockey sought to convince t h e "European elite" that only America was Europe's enemy. He said: "Let's not attack ghosts, let's attack the real enemy of Europe: America" [3].

Yockey's views were very poorly understood by the Right, which could only see Russia as a n existential enemy. Even Sir Oswald Mosley failed to understand the new situation. He saw the United States as a lesser evil, necessary to protect Western Europe from the ultimate horror of a Soviet invasion. Otto Strasser, on the other hand, took a different view.

The view taken by Strasser was similar to that taken by Yockey, but it is not known whether he was influenced by the latter's thinking. If Europe does not interfere", wrote Strasser, "Europe can and will face up to any interference".
threat from Russia - or from ailleurs" [4].

Yockey published *The Enemy of Europe* in Germany in 1953. Simultaneously, he published an ordered translation, *Der Feind Europas*, in two hundred copies, which he intended to distribute to the leaders of the Reich Socialist Party (RSP) and other leading German nationalists.

The Reich Socialist Party (PSR) was founded in 1949. The party won two seats in the Bundestag after two MPs left their party to join its ranks. Major General Otto Remer, the party's deputy leader, was its most energetic supporter. He was soon banished from Schleswig-Holstein and North Rhine-Westphalia, the strongholds of the PSR. The American occupation authorities noted the PSR's opposition to Western influence and its support for a united Germany within a united Europe.
United Europe. In 1950, members of the PSR were excused from public office because the US State Department feared that the party would democratically seize power. PSR meetings were violently broken up by the police and the pro-PSR newspaper *Reichszeitung* was banned.

Remer emphasised his denunciation of the American occupation and Western influence, while refraining from condemning the USSR and the Soviet-occupied German Democratic Republic (GDR). The US State Department took note and commented: "The party is suspected of being prepared to make an important compromise with Russia in order to unify Germany [5]".

When the United States opted for a policy of integrating Germany into the European Union system, it did so with the support of the European Union.

Remer launched a campaign under the slogan "Ohne mich!" ("Don't count on me!"), which immediately provoked a reaction from war veterans who were unhappy with the difficult situation they were experiencing in the Western zone. Remer's campaign was supported in all layers of society are demanding, much to the consternation of the government and the media who published sensationalist articles on a "Nazi-communist alliance" [6].

Remer went beyond his "neutralist" position and decided that, in the event of war, the Allemands would not be able to take part in the war.
should not cover the retreat of the American army, if the Russians pushed it back. He stated that he would "show the Russians the way to the Rhine", and that the members of the PSR, "stationed as traffic wardens would spread their arms so that the Russians could find their way through Germany as quickly as possible" [7]. On 23 October 1952, the PSR was banned after winning sixteen seats in the Lower Saxony state parliament and eight seats in the Bremen parliament.

In the United States, where [New York business executive and friend of Yockey] H. Keith Thompson, with Yockey's help, [8] campaigned for

Remer and the legal rights of the PSR, the FBI was interested in rumours about the German nationalist Frederick Weiss's dealings with Soviet agents and right-wingers in Germany. Weiss told the FBI that Yockey had left the United States for Germany in January 1953 and that he believed Yockey had travelled to Germany to have *The Enemy of Europe* translated into German [9]. To his

In turn, the German secret service, K-16, seized and destroyed all copies of *The Enemy of Europe*. No copies of the original English edition have survived, and only a few copies of the requested edition were distributed. The current English edition is a translation of the German edition.

Yockey considered that the Asiatic horde of the eastern steppes had not been able to occupy half of Europe. Russia's world mission was destructive. In fact, his vision of Russia in *Imperium* reflects an atavistic anti-Slavism and is even reminiscent of the calls for the conquest of a *Lebensraum* in the East that had been voiced since the end of the nineteenth century. He also felt that the United States, as the bearer of the pathology of Culture, had rotted the organism of Culture spiritually, morally and culturally. Russian hegemony was only superficial and could be overthrown or subverted. American hegemony, on the other hand, was a

cancer and had to be destroyed. Yockey's view of Russia was pragmatic and in keeping with the tradition of *Realpolitik* of the allemand elite of previous centuries. As a Spenglerian, Yockey was well aware of the prediction that the German philosopher had made in 1922 - the year of the Treaty of Rapallo - that Russia would soon eliminate Marxism as an import and return to its old ways.

and that, from then on, Germany, because of its commercial, military and political interests, would be in a position to conciliate an alliance with Russia against Versailles and the Entente powers [10].

American-Jewish Bolshevism versus Russian Bolshevism

Like Spengler, Yockey saw the Russian as a 'barbarian', but not in a pejorative sense. He meant a "young" race that retained the vigour of adolescence. "The barbarian is rough and hard... he is neither egalitarian nor intellectualised. He is the opposite of the decadent. He is ruthless and does not shrink from the destruction of what others hold in high esteem", writes Yockey in *Der Feind*.

Yockey asserted that Bolshevism, imported from the West to Russia largely by Jews, had been modified on the Russian steppes. On the other hand, Americans were at the same time culturally primitive because of their indifference to Europe, and "overcivilised" because of their concern for the environment.

"Peace, comfort and security". This apparent paradox shows that Yockey's thinking was deeply influenced by German historicism. Even in the academic world

For the English-speaking world, for whom history is like a worm crawling along a path called 'progress', German historicism establishes a dichotomy between Kultur and Zivilisation, which respectively reflect the inner (spiritual and moral) and outer (materialistic and technical) qualities of a Volk.

Nevertheless, both the American and Russian Bolshevik ideologies were obsessed with technology and production. Spengler had written extensively on the similarities of communism and capitalism in *Le Déclin de l'Occident*, *Le Socialisme prussien*, *L'Heure de la décision* and others.

Heidegger alluded to this in 1935: "Russia and America, from a metaphysical point of view, are both identical: they are seized by the same miserable frenzy for unbridled technology, and they are both in love with each other.

l'organisation sans limite apparent de l'homme moyen [11]". Aldous Huxley also understood this, and his *The Worst of All Worlds* describes a synthesis of capitalism, Freudism and communism.

However, for Europe, writes Yockey in *Der Feind*, "the following distinction is important: American-Jewish Bolshevism is the instinctive destruction of the West by primitive, anti-cultural ideas... by the imposition of cultural distortion and cultural backwardness. Bolshevism

Russia seeks to destroy the West in the spirit of pan-Slavic rebellion, that is to say, to Russify all humanity". These are two antithetical messianic perspectives, but they have not yet been realised in history.

Yockey wrote in *Der Feind*: "Thus, American-Jewish Bolshevism constitutes a veritable spiritual threat to Europe. In all its aspects, American-Jewish Bolshevism strikes at a weak point in the European organism.

The "Élément Michel" [*Der Deutsche Michel*] is a personification of

The "enemy within" - the "Allemand" - forms a large part of the ruling class in post-war Europe, a reflection of "domestic America", driven by the "purely American idea".

comfort, security and conformism". If this tranquillity is disturbed, bayonets can impose themselves again.

In Europe, there was an "inner America" which attracted the decadent elements of the West, but there was no "inner Russia". The Communist parties had quickly ceased to serve Russia's interests, and Moscow would have shown "political stupidity" if it had continued to use Marxism.

as a means of exporting its influence, because Marxism had lost its value. When Russia turned against the Jews after the Second World War, the fate of every Communist party in Europe was decided.

The West was scelled," writes Yockey. In 1943, Stalin had dissolved the Comintern, which he considered a nest of traitors. Similarly, the graves of the leaders of the German Communist Party were dug in Russia, not in Hitler's Germany. The theoreticians who were critical of Hitler and lived in Germany

found refuge not in the USSR, but thanks to the State Department and the Rockefeller Foundation,

in the United States, where they took control of the academic world. These Judeo-Marxist destroyers were rejected in their entirety by the USSR, and the Soviet press condemned Herbert Marcuse at a time when he was being presented as a great intellectual in the United States, where he inspired the riots that the New World was witnessing.

The Left unleashed from Chicago to Prague (while the conservative Right cried "Soviet conspiracy").").

The Prague trials definitively clarified Soviet relations with the Jews for the world to see, but the process had been under way since the Trotskyists began to be purged in

1928. Moreover, the significance of the USSR's rejection of the post-war American plans for the United Nations and the so-called 'internationalisation' of atomic energy within the framework of the 'Baruch plan' was not lost on Yockey, while it was not grasped - and continues not to be grasped - by the right-wingers, most of whom are English-speaking, unable as they were - and still are - to make sense of the situation.

- their ideological quagmire. As a result, Yockey was attacked by Anglo-Nazis such as Arnold Leese.

The United States, for its part, recruited Mensheviks, Trotskyists and liberals to attack European culture with jazz and abstract expressionism in what is now known as the "Jazz Age".

cultural cold war". They were supposed to embody the benefits of American democracy, but the USSR condemned them as "rootless cosmopolitanism" and "internationalism".

This is how Yockey came to call it "American Bolshevism" and to consider it more dangerous for the Western culture-organism than "Russian Bolshevism". Today, the proponents of "American millenium" are proud of America's worldwide "revolutionary mission", which consists of destroying all vestiges of tradition through the irresistible attraction of decadence.

When Sedova Trotsky, having broken with the Fourth International, declared his allegiance to the United States of America, he became a member of the Soviet Union.

She said that her late husband would have done the same, and showed her that he was a great man.

fundamentally Bolshevik character of the United States. Other Mensheviks, such as the esteemed Dr.

Sidney Hook, joined the American camp against the USSR and redefined American conservatism to such an extent that when Dr Christopher Lasch, having disavowed the Left in the early 1970s, looked for a true 'conservatism' in the United States, he found none. In the 1950s, Yockey had already grasped that 'American conservatism' was a farce and a swindle.

According to Yockey, the impact of a Russian occupation of Europe (which was not Slavic) would be similar to that of the 'barbarian' invasions of other civilisations, such as the Norse invasion of Egypt, the Kassite conquest of Babylon, the Aryan conquest of the Indus and the Germanic invasions of Rome. The conquest did not destroy these cultures; on the contrary, the barbarians were absorbed by the Roman Empire.

by the culture-organism or were expelled from it. Yockey also pointed out that the barbarian sometimes becomes the guardian of the cultural values of those he has defeated, especially when the latter are too weakened to preserve their own traditions, as happened during the long "dynastic cycles" in China [12]. The barbarian brings pure vigour and the prospect of cultural renewal rather than destruction, distortion, backwardness or parasitism.

The other possibility for a civilisation under threat from a barbarian invasion is that the external enemy will force it to unite around its traditional ethos, thereby reinvigorating it.

Yockey mentions these two possibilities in the event of the Russians invading Europe, while he considers that the United States does not so much represent a military occupation as an invasion of the culture-organism by madness. Yockey refers, for example, to the "ethical syphilis of Hollywood".

The Europe-Russia symbiosis

Yockey argued that Russia had only occupied a tenth of Europe (not the whole of Europe) after the Second World War, and that this occupation had only been possible because of the machinations of the "Soviet Union".

Washington regime", machinations motivated by its pathological hatred of Europe. At the time, the New York-Washington regime was still dreaming of associating the USSR with a world state through the United Nations and the Baruch Plan.

In the event of a Russian occupation of Europe, Yockey saw two possibilities: either Russian interminable uprisings until Russia gave up and left, or the establishment of a regime This would ultimately lead to the emergence of a new symbiosis: Europe-Russia. This would ultimately lead to the emergence of a new symbiosis: Europe-Russia. Its definitive form would be that of a European Imperium. It would respond to historical necessity rather than to the concept of a Western Lebensraum.

This is the most clear-cut presentation of the slavophobe Yockey's views on Russia.

Yockey also decided that, in the event of a Russian occupation of Europe, the first victims would be the local Communist parties, because those who were attracted to them could not be trusted.

parties. Stalin had already recognised this when he dissociated the Comintern and eliminated those foreign communists who had been naive enough to seek refuge in the USSR. They were theorists of Marxism, whereas Russia's true religion was not Marxism, but Russia. It has since been argued that Russian Bolshevism owed more to Aleksander Herzen than to Marx, and it could also be argued that it owed more to Marx than to Herzen.

the anti-Russian character of Marx's own attitude, which influenced the development of Russian Bolshevism by distancing it from what was regarded as a German-Jewish current riven by socialism. Bolshevism was Russian messianism in another form [13].

According to Yockey, instead of destroying Europe, the Russian occupation would eliminate "the enemy within", "the enemy within".

l'élément Michel" and "libérer ainsi en Europe toutes les forces créatrices de la tyrannie du passé".

Narrow-minded statism would disappear with the traitors, who were kept in power by American bayonets: "The barbarian, whether he likes it or not, will complete the spiritual unification of Europe by

removing the only intra-European obstacle to this unity. There is only one step from the spiritual to the political. If Russia were to try to incorporate Europe into its empire, it could only do so by making the European Union a part of it.

Europe "major concessions", in particular autonomy as a unit. If it were to use brute force, it would provoke a reaction from all European countries analogue to the uprisings. against the Roman occupation.

Yockey's agreement with geopolitical thought requires

Yockey was writing for a political party, to encourage them to keep fighting at a time when Europe was in ruins and many of the surviving political, humanitarian and cultural leaders were being dispossessed and persecuted. The message was this: Don't fight for

Europe's enemy, the American-Jewish symbiosis, even if this meant co-operating with a Russian occupation. This message was taken on board by many elements of the right-wing demand and explains

the interest shown in Yockey by the American authorities. Many Allemands shared this opinion.

Yockey distributed *Der Feind* to the Allemands at the very moment when the prospect of a rapprochement between Germany and Russia made American leaders extremely paranoid. Yockey's point of view in *Der Feind* was part of the German tradition of Realpolitik and alliance with Russia: the alliance between Peter the Great and Frederick the Great in 1762; Bismarck's Rückversicherungspolitik (reinsurance policy); [14] the Treaty of Rapallo; the German-Soviet pact, which had been greeted with genuine enthusiasm in the allemand military and diplomatic milieus.

After Napoleon's defeat in 1812, General Johann David Ludwig von Yorck, commander of the Prussian corps in Napoleon's army, negotiated a separate peace with the Russians in defiance of the wishes of the King of Prussia and the Treaty of Paris, which committed Prussia to supporting France against Russia. This was the Tauroggen Neutrality Pact, which made a lasting impression on the Prussian army officers. It turns out that one of the many aliases used by Yockey to mislead military intelligence and the FBI during his travels from one country to another was (Franz) Ludwig Yorck.

Even the dominant circles in Germany at the time wanted a united Europe, independent of the United States, with a cooperative attitude towards the USSR, which it was hoped would make major concessions. One of the leading German newspapers said:

To break out of its current isolation, it [the USSR] could, just as the Treaty of Rapallo did thirty years ago, turn Germany into a defensive buffer between East and West. From a political and economic point of view, Germany could once again emerge as a world power by concluding long-term agreements with German industry and by resuming trade with Germany. In this way Russia could regain its place in the world market [15].

If we Germans had the feeling that the other powers, openly or tacitly, were trying to hinder [...] the reunification of Germany, the (Western) treaties would quickly prove to have had a disastrous effect. The fact that we are bound to the NATO pact does not prevent Europe, as soon as it is strong enough and the international situation has changed, from one day becoming independent of all the parties. [16]

For its part, the newspaper Christ und Welt, reporting on Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union, said:

Continental Europe would break the Atlantic Pact if the Soviets agreed to withdraw their forces behind the Pripiat Marsh and allow not only the eastern part of Germany, but the whole of Eastern Europe, to join the European Union. A Western Europe, standing on its own feet and equipped with powerful forces of its own, would begin by developing its empire. colonial in Africa. Such a Europe, whatever its ties with America, could afford to pursue an independent policy, because it would have at its disposal the strength of a third power [17].

Father E. J. Reichenberger[18] wrote in 1952 that the reunification of Germany "cannot be achieved without the consent of the Russians". Moscow's primary objective

was not to spread communism in Germany, but to make Germany an ally. There was no reason why Germany should not align itself politically with Russia, especially after the Western democracies had agreed to ally themselves with Russia. For Germany, the political question is therefore: with which side can Germany hope to do the best business in the world?
term?

He reminded the German-American inventors that the United States and the United States had "seized foreign assets, stolen foreign patents and eliminated foreign competition on the world market". His vision of the world was much the same as that of Yockey and other libérateurs
Communism and Western democracy are variations of the same materialism, which is said to be transcended by the demand for Weltanschauung [19].

The demand for neutrality in any conflict with Russia was the norm among the Allies of all classes at a time when the United States was trying to rekindle the warrior spirit among the Allies, in case they were used as cannon fodder. Just after the outbreak of war in Korea, the New York Herald Tribune reported from Germany:

The general impression abroad was that the German people would jump at the chance to get back into uniform and lead new Blitzkriege. All political and trade union leaders
with whom our correspondent spoke in the principales villes of West Allemagne decided that those who have this impression are lourdement mistaken [20].

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung also published an article advocating a policy similar to that recommended by Yockey and his comrades:

We do not need to draw the attention of the experienced men in the Kremlin to the fact that a strong and unified Western Europe can defend its independence from all sides. Why should the Kremlin not be interested in such independence?... If the world, which is now divided into two parts, could be reorganised into a number of powerful independent groups, this could prevent an appalling global conflagration. A Russian policy
could, for example, agree to the reunification of Germany in exchange for

Europe's independence, which would then be able to defend itself against all parties. In such a case, the reunification of Germany would become a guarantee of peace. The treaties currently signed would not be an obstacle to reunification, if the Russians remained interested in a further solution. [21].

It is remarkable that, in the calls for reunification from various quarters, Germany was seen as an integral part of a united Europe. The United States called for - even demanded - European unification, provided that a united Europe opposed the USSR. On the contrary, even in the minds of liberal Allemands, a united Germany within a united Europe could only guarantee peace if it adopted a neutral, or even cooperative, attitude towards the USSR.

Russia's conciliation policy

Why were the Germans so optimistic about the possibility of a Russian-US agreement? allemand? On 10 March 1952, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko handed the "Staline Note" to the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the occupying powers. occidentales. James Cartnal puts it into context:

On 10 March 1952, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, sent a diplomatic note to the delegates of the three Western occupying powers in Germany.

included a draft peace treaty. The provisions outlined were radical. According to the Soviet note, Germany would be reunited, thus putting an end to its aberrant division and enabling it to become an independent, democratic and peaceful state. In addition, all democratic parties and organisations in Germany would enjoy full public freedoms, including the right of assembly, speech and publication. The Soviet note also provided for the granting of civil and political rights to all German citizens, including all former German citizens.

members of the Wehrmacht and all former Nazis, with the exception of those serving sentences for crimes against humanity. The draft Soviet peace treaty called for the withdrawal of all armed forces of the occupying powers, demanded the liquidation of all foreign bases of operations in Germany and prevented a reunified Germany from joining any coalition or alliance.

military action against any power that participated with its armed forces in the Second World War.

against Germany. The territories of Germany were defined, according to the Soviet diplomatic note, by the borders laid down in the provisions of the Potsdam Conference. In addition, the

The Soviet draft peace treaty allowed Germany to create the national armed forces (land, sea and air) it needed to defend the country, and authorised the formation of a national armed forces.

allemanded armaments industry, limited by the provisions of the final version of the peace treaty.

The Soviets hoped to discuss the terms of peace with a united allied state at a summit conference between four great powers. The conference envisaged by the Kremlin never took place. The Russian initiative only led to an exchange of diplomatic correspondence between the Soviet Union and the three Western occupying powers, which continued throughout the summer of 1952. This "bataille des notes", as British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden called it, revealed that the Soviets and the West had very different points of view on the need to organise free elections throughout Germany before any discussion on the reunification of Germany.

The "battle of the notes" left unanswered important questions which had been raised in the Soviet note of March 1952; the Soviets did not propose any specific limits to the remilitarisation of Germany and did not give any definition of what constituted a state.

democratic, peaceful and independent. By the end of the summer of 1952, Soviet attempts to resolve the demand question had failed; Germany would remain divided and each side would remain more firmly rooted in its respective bloc for the next three and a half decades [22].

Debates ensued as to whether Staline could be trusted. In the absence of a "threat The only way to justify the subjugation of Europe to the Washington-New York regime was a new change of policy and the revival of the "Soviet" legend.

Prussian threat". Staline was prepared to meet most of Adenauer's demands, but Adenauer preferred Germany's subordination to the United States to a free and united Germany and Europe. As for the reaction to the "Staline Note", Gromyko pointed out that

The reaction of the Western powers was not enthusiastic. In Bonn, Adenauer and his entourage were completely abandoned by common sense, and the Soviet proposals became an object of controversy. propaganda and the question of German reunification disappeared into the shuffle.

No other post-war government made such a gross political miscalculation. Adenauer undoubtedly lost a historic opportunity. Moreover, the Federal Republic was part of the Western anti-Soviet military bloc, while the USSR and Germany were still technically in a state of war. This did not end until 25 January 1955 by an order of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Adenauer's policy was a long succession of lost opportunities. In 1957, he rejected East Germany's proposal for a German confederation... [23].

Could Staline really be trusted in this respect? Probably yes.

The USSR, after spilling human blood and indulging in all manner of brutality in the part of Europe it occupied, put an end to its barbaric ravages, while the Morgenthau plan was de facto implemented, the United States still hoping that it would be possible to integrate the USSR as an associate in a new post-war order.

A significant example of the difference in attitude between the USSR and the United States towards Europe is the intervention of the USSR in favour of the Norwegian novelist Knut Hamsun, who had always been considered to be a Europeanist.

in the Soviet Union. During the war, Hamsun supported Hitler and the collaborationist Prime Minister Vidkun Quisling. One writer recounted:

At the end of 1945, the Soviet foreign minister, Molotov, informed his Norwegian colleague Trygve Lie that he "would be sorry to see Norway condemn this great writer to the gallows".

Molotov had made this declaration with Staline's agreement. It was after this intervention that the Norwegian government abandoned the plan to try Hamsun, contenting itself with imposing a heavy fine on him which practically put him out of business. The question remains open: would Norway have Hamsun to the death penalty? The Norwegian collaborators all received heavy sentences. The strong influence that the Soviet Union could exert in Scandinavia in the immediate post-war period was no less feared [24].

It is particularly symbolic that the USSR offered Rudolf Hess membership if he recognised the GDR. In 1952, the year of the "Staline Note", Lothar Bolz, Vice-Minister-President of the GDR, Karl Hamann and Otto Grotewohl, Minister of Trade and Procurement, were invited to attend a conference on the GDR, met Hess to find out whether he was prepared to play a leading role in a reunited and neutral Germany. The German historian Werner Maser claims that Otto Grotewohl told him about the meeting afterwards, on the understanding that it would not be mentioned until after Grotewohl's death [25]. Hess was

Hess came out of Spandau to meet the leaders of the GDR at a time when the prison was under the judicial authority of the USSR. Maser recounts that Staline wanted to "temper justice with mercy in the allemande affair and give Hess an important role in reconstruction and in efforts to promote the GDR".

reunification of Germany" [26]. If Hess were to declare that the policy of the GDR was the same as the "socialism" to which he had always adhered, he would immediately be expelled from Spandau and would play a role in the reunification of Germany.

role in leading a reunited Germany. Hess rejected the offer, while "supporting... the efforts of the GDR and the Soviet Union to preserve German patriotism and listening carefully to what his interlocutors had to say about the programmes of the political parties mentioned...". II

Nevertheless, he considered that accepting such an offer would have been a betrayal of Hitler's memory. Grotewohl found it difficult to understand why Hess had rejected the offer to help rebuild Germany as a free man [27].

When the author states that Hess listened "attentively to what his interlocutors had to say about the programmes of the political parties mentioned", he is referring to the creation of a nationalist party that was to form part of the GDR government.

At a meeting between Staline and the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, or SED) held on 31 January 1947 in the Soviet zone, Staline asked how many Germans in all the occupation zones were "fascist elements" and how many were "fascists".

"Grotewohl replied that it was difficult to answer this question. Grotewohl replied that it was difficult to answer this question, but that he could provide Staline with lists of former members of the National Socialist Party "occupying leading positions in the Western zones". Staline had not asked this question with the ulterior motive of purging Germany of "fascists", but because he felt that he could provide Staline with lists of former members of the National Socialist Party "occupying positions of leadership in the Western zones".

envisaged reuniting former members of the National Socialist Party in a party that would promote nationalism and socialism in a Soviet Germany. He was also interested in the vote which could be that of the "fascist elements" in the event of a plebiscite on the demand for unification. For Grotewohl, they were "all reactionaries". Staline's point of view was different. Would it be possible to organise "fascists" under another name in the Soviet zone? He pointed out to the SED leaders that their policy of "exterminating fascists" was no different from that of the Americans and said: "Perhaps I should make this choice [of organising a nationalist party] so as not to push all the former Nazis into the enemy camp" [28].

Grotewohl dogmatically objected that if the "fascists" were united in a party that would be theirs. Such an initiative would not be "understood by the working masses" of the Western zones. Stalin replied that by showing the "Nazis" in the Western zones that their Soviet comrades were not being wiped out, he would give them the positive impression that "not all of them will be wiped out"; he also said that he wanted to recruit "patriotic elements", particularly from among the "figures". party" to create a "fascist party". There would be nothing reactionary about the creation of such a party, since many "Nazis" had "come from the people" [29].

Ulbricht thought Staline's idea was a good one because, by emphasising the socialist aspect of nationalism, it could appeal in particular to young idealists. Staline explained that he had no intention of integrating "fascist" elements into the SED, but that he wanted to encourage them to join. form their own party in alliance with the SED. In the Soviet-occupied zone, former "Nazis" voted for conservative parties, fearing that the establishment of a Soviet state would lead to their liquidation. Staline wanted to show them that their situation in a Germany would be different. Nor did he share the opinion of the Communist leaders allemands that the "fascist elements" were all bourgeois. He declared that "we must help those who have not sold out" to the Western occupation and that "we must not forget that the elements loyal to Nazism are to be found not only in the bourgeois strata, but also among the working class and petty bourgeoisie". The new party, which would be part of a "national front" coalition led by the SED, would be called the "National Democrats" [30]. To the other objections that were raised, Staline replied that the "fascist elements" were no longer concerned with acquiring a "living space" in the East.

In February 1948, the Soviet Military Administration (Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland, or SMAD) announced the end of denazification. In March 1948, proceedings against the Germans for alleged "war crimes" were officially terminated. The Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NDPD) was created in the same month. The GDR, which was created in 1949, was established by elections in the Soviet occupation zone after the USSR and the Western occupiers failed to agree on the conditions for elections in a reunified Germany.

After the NDPD was founded, Staline declared that the party had "erased the dividing line between non-Nazis and former Nazis". On 22 March, a newspaper was launched to pave the way: the National-Zeitung, which announced that "while in other regions there is still an atmosphere of denazification, the eyes of the people are once again shining on the eastern part of the country". Simple party comrades should no longer be afraid and look around fearfully as if they were pariahs". The party was founded three days later under the chairmanship of Lothar Bolz. He held this post until 1972. A member of the German Communist Party in the pre-war period, Bolz was one of the few German Communist leaders to survive Staline's uncertain hospitality towards Communist refugees [31]. During much of this period, Bolz held a variety of positions in the GDR government, notably as Foreign Minister (1968-1978). The Vice-President of the NDPD was Heinrich Hohmann, who had joined the National Socialist Party in 1933 and was also a co-founder of the League of German Officers, the original nucleus of the NDPD. The NDPD's programme was resolutely nationalist, as was that of the Reich Socialist Party, which was about to be outlawed in the Federal Republic:

America has violated the Treaty of Potsdam and has plunged us, the Germans, into the greatest national distress in our history... But the American war can and must not happen!

Germany must live! That is why we, the National Democrats, demand: Americans for America. Germany to the Germans! The Federal Republic of Germany is a child of national treason... That is why we, the National Democrats, make this demand: The Americans to America.

demand: Unity allemande over the government of national treason in Bonn, as the basis for peace, independence and prosperity for our entire homeland allemande [32].

The party had up to 230,000 members in 1953 and in the 1980s still had 110,000.

In 1948, 52 of its members were elected to the GDR parliament, the Volkskammer. To support its campaigns, it called on former NSDAP members and army veterans. In 1952, the that it was signed by 119 former officers of the Wehrmacht, the SS, the Hitler Youth, the League of Young German Women (BDM) and the German Labour Front [33].

The origins of the NDPD go back even further, to the National Committee for a Free Germany, formed by German officers captured by the Soviets during the Second World War. When they returned to the Soviet zone after the war, these officers took over the leadership of the NDPD and held senior positions in the GDR for many years. For example, Colonel Wilhelm Adam, co-founder of the NDPD, was a veteran of both World Wars. He had supported a nationalist policy since joining the German Youth Order in 1920. He joined the NSDAP in 1923 and took part in the Munich Putsch. He had also been a member of the Conservative Party of Germany.

peuple allemand (DVP) between 1926 and 1929. In 1933, he joined the Stahlhelm and the Sturmabteilung. Captured in 1943 in Stalingrad, Adam joined the Comité national pour une Allemagne libre (National Committee for a Free Germany) and, on his return to Germany, he became a member of the Comité national pour une Allemagne libre (National Committee for a Free Germany).

He returned to the Soviet zone in 1948 and became a member of the Saxon state government. In 1952, he became a member of the Kasernierte Volkspolizei (KVP), which later became the People's Army of the GDR. He was awarded the Labour Banner in 1968 and the title of Divisional General in 1977. Many other people with similar pasts were honoured by the GDR.

Conclusion

This was the environment in which Yockey operated, and why the American authorities took such an interest in his activities. He and his American mentor, Frederick Weiss, who published "assessments" of the world situation in a Spengnerian spirit, adopted a line which was in line with that of many of those who sought German and European liberation and unity, recognition of the United States as der Feind and agreement with Russia to obtain concessions. This point of view had been propagated since 1948 in Argentina by the Der Weg organisation,

who represented what H. Keith Thompson told us was "the higher authority", sensationalistically referred to as "Die Spinne" and "Odessa" by the world's news media. But beyond that, The idea had taken root among people from all walks of life. Der Feind thus gave historical-philosophical depth to popular sentiments.

Otto Remer never denied that Germany and Europe had to turn to Russia. After continuous legal harassment and exile in Spain, he returned to Germany.

West Germany. In 1983, he founded the German Freedom Movement (Die deutschen Freiheitsbewegung, or DDF), dedicated to understanding between Russia and Germany. Its manifesto, *Le Manifeste Bismarck-Allemand*, was subtitled "Alliance germano-russe Rapallo 1983", in la ligne neutraliste du PSR de Remer trois décennies plus tôt. The manifesto, which takes up Yockey's ideas on the "cultural distortion regime" of Washington and New York, states that "the way of life We will not take part in a NATO war against Russia".

Like Yockey's other writings, *Der Feind* has not changed its method of analysis. The world situation worsened with the collapse of the Soviet Empire. The Spartan way of life that had been imposed in the Soviet Empire means that, today, the people of this region are the only ones who can afford to survive.

Hence the frenzy with which "the enemy of Europe" is trying to contaminate these regions - some states, like Hungary, are consciously resisting this "syphilis". The "enemy of Europe" is now the global enemy (as Yockey predicted in his last essay, "Le monde en flammes" [34]), whose weapon is the "enemy of Europe".

As the American strategist Ralph Peters was delighted to see, the principal strategy was still what Yockey called the "cultural distortion", backed up by military force. Although certain conditions have changed and the political fronts are different, the major political issues remain: the existential conflict, the war on terror and the war against terrorism.

between the United States and Russia; the role of Israel; the role of Europe and the West in this conflict; and the relationship between the West and the United States, which is presented as the 'leader of the West' when in fact it is responsible for the distortion of culture, parasitism and backwardness.

Kerry Bolton (ed.), *The Enemy of Europe*, Centennial Edition Publishing, 2022, Introduction, translated from English by B. K..

Let's start with Yockey's thesis: Europe has two enemies, one internal: the United States and its rivals at the head of the European countries; the other external: Russia.

Its internal enemy is more dangerous to it than its external enemy because, while the latter threatens its existence in its material aspects, the former attacks the very spirit of Europe; it seeks, by stirring up the fear of a Russian invasion of Europe, to unify it politically and economically and to unify it culturally and mentally, in order to enslave it in every respect.

Its external enemy is all the less dangerous for it because it has purged itself of its own internal enemy, namely Bolshevism, which, on the other hand, the United States is now carrying; "cultural distortion" is basically synonymous with Bolshevisation and, ultimately, enjuvenation, since, to paraphrase Yockey, "Bolshevism is Jewish" (the paraphrase is justified by the fact that he applies the term "Bolshevism" to both the communist regime in Moscow and the Jewish regime in France). Washington capitalism). The only way for the European culture-bearing stratum to free Europe from the Bolshevik stranglehold of the United States is to make it a place of peace. The United States is therefore in a position of trust with Russia, debolchised as it is. The unmistakable sign of this disenchantment was the "anti-Semitic" turn taken by Staline on the occasion of the Prague Trials.

Has Russia really been debriefed? Has it freed itself from the clutches of the "distorter of culture", the "bearer of the culture of decadence", "instinctively attached to all the forms, theories, doctrines and practices of decadence in all areas of life", namely the Jew?

The answer to this question will determine whether or not Bolton's related thesis that Russia and the United States are intrinsically enemies and not, as it were, two sides of the same coin is valid.

In 1887, Édouard Drumont wrote in *La France juive* that "les Karl Marx, les Lassalle, les all the leaders of the Cosmopolitan Revolt are Jews". In 1935, Léon de Poncins was spoilt for choice when he wrote "*Les Juifs dans le bolchevisme russe*" (1).

From the day after the October 1917 revolution, anti-Semitic leaflets began to appear in Russia in reaction to the sudden worsening of the shortage and the consequent vertiginous rise in prices. Gorky received one published by the Central Committee of the Union of Christian Socialists in Moscow and Petrograd. The leaflet, addressed to "workers, soldates and peasants", bore the slogan "Antisemites of all stripes".

countries, of all peoples and parties, unite". He opposed the "Aryan race" to the Jews and urged all "Aryan" Russians to "purify themselves of all this Jewish vermin, which has so competently taken over our whole country, from the highest peaks to the depths of the people". "Many A resident of Rovny, in the government of Volhynia, wrote: 'Bread used to cost us 5 roubles, and now it costs 15 roubles, and it's all the fault of the Yugins who have invaded all the offices'. The Bolsheviks try to organise a planned distribution of the very inadequate food supply They nationalised trade from top to bottom. Private trade is forbidden. Anyone who engaged in it was treated as a victim. The Jewish merchant was therefore considered a trafficker and a starver. The young Ukrainian communist Klounny explained the virulent anti-Semitism of the peasantry as follows

Ukrainian in a letter to the Central Committee: 'In the majority of cases, the village knows the Jew. He was a merchant, who expressed this in all sorts of ways, particularly in the bread trade. While the villager fed the Jew with his produce, the Jew did nothing for himself.

The bourgeoisie (the nobility) and the petty-bourgeoisie (milliners, sewers, etc.) and the Ukrainian village almost never saw the Jewish proletariat. The peasant, however, did not see trade as a means to an end. considered all Jews to be non-workers. It is this view which explains the irritation of the peasantry against the 'Yugin commissars' and the popular phrase in the Ukraine: Before, the Yips were watching us and now they want to settle on our backs" (2). 27 April 1918, the Moscow Provincial Commissariat, after hearing the report of the commission it had set up a few weeks earlier to study preventive measures against pogroms, decided that to organise systematic propaganda against anti-Semitism. On 21 April 1918, the Bolsheviks organised a big meeting against pogroms at the Circus Moderne in Petrograd. In July, Lenin drafted and co-signed a decree entitled "On the eradication of anti-Semitism" (3), which ends with the prescription to "outlaw those who participate in or call for pogroms". On the Bolshevik and former Menshevik Yuri Larin, "to outlaw active anti-Semites was to shoot them" (4). But, noted a special report by the US Congress in 1954, "this decree, promoted as a directive during the civil war, was not included in the official collection of government laws and ordinances. And, in 1922, the first systematic penal code enacted by the government Soviet law did not contain a specific paragraph against anti-Semitism. The question was covered, in a general form, by a provision prohibiting 'agitation and propaganda arousing anti-Semitism'. The penalty was a minimum of one year's imprisonment and, in wartime, if the offence was committed in particularly dangerous circumstances, death. A law The Special Crimes Against the State Act, enacted in 1927, increased the minimum sentence to two years. But a Supreme Court decision in 1930 ruled that this paragraph was not applicable to 'attacks' against individual members of national minorities following personal conflicts with these people'. The law was strict, but rarely applied".

In March 1919, Lenin gave a "speech on the pogroms and persecution of the Jews", from which the following extract is taken (5): "The propagation of hatred towards the Jews is called anti-Semitism. In the last days of the accursed Tsarist monarchy, attempts were made to turn ignorant workers and peasants against the Jews. The Tsarist police, in alliance with landowners and capitalists, organised pogroms against the Jews.

against the Jews. The hatred of the poor workers, the landowners and the capitalists was directed against the Jews. And in other countries too we often see the capitalists fomenting hatred against the Jews in order to blind the workers, to divert their attention from the real enemy of the workers, the capitalist. Hatred of Jews persists only in countries where the enslavement of landowners and capitalists has created abysmal ignorance among workers and peasants. Only the most ignorant and oppressed people can believe the lies and fabrications which about the Jews. It's a hangover from the old feudal times, when priests burned heretics at the stake, peasants lived in slavery and the people lived in the streets. was crushed and unable to express itself. This ancient and feudal ignorance is disappearing; people's eyes are opening.

"It is not the Jews who are the enemies of the workers. The enemies of workers are the Jews. capitalists of all countries. Among the Jews there are workers, labourers, indeed most of them. They are our brothers who, like us, are oppressed by capitalism. comrades in the fight for socialism. Among the Jews, there are kulaks, exploiters and capitalists, as there are among Russians and people of all nations. The capitalists endeavour to sow and foment hatred between workers of different denominations, of different nationalities and of different religions. different nations and races. Those who do not work are kept in power by the power and force of capitalism. The rich Jews, like the rich Russians and the rich of all countries, to oppress, crush, veil and disunite workers.

"Shame on the accursed tsarism that tortured and persecuted the Jews. Shame on those who foment hatred towards the Jews, who foment hatred towards other nations (6)".

In 1924, Gorky recounted what Lenin had said to him about the pamphlet he had published in 1919 "On the Jews" (7), in which he wrote: "The Jews, with the greatest energy, have served and are serving the Jews.

serve the great cause of the Europeanisation of our half-Asian country": "It must be said that in the course of our conversations, Lenin repeatedly stressed the general importance of the Jews for the Europeanisation of our half-Asian country.

the importance of putting an end, as soon as possible, for the good of the revolution, to all these evils which are afflicting the Jewish working masses in a world governed by capitalism and religious institutions (8)". "The response of

Lenin reflected his general attitude to ethnic questions, which was that Communists of every ethnic group had to combat the prejudices and nationalist and religious ideologies of their own ethnic origin" (9). The Jews were no exception.

As early as 1903, Lenin had criticised the idea of a Jewish nation as "a Zionist idea which is absolutely false and reactionary in its essence"; "the Jewish nation-culture," he added, "is the watchword of the rabbis and the bourgeois, the watchword of our enemies" (10). Stalin took up Lenin's arguments. Neither Lenin, nor Trotsky, nor initially Stalin, were anti-Zionists who, to use the title of a book by Léon Poliakov, became anti-Semitic. Lenin and Stalin were in favour of assimilating the Jews into the Russian people. Stalin defined the nation in a pamphlet ("The Marxism and the National Question"), which Lenin had asked him to write in 1913, as "a human, stable, historically constituted community, born on the basis of a community of values", langue, de territoire, de vie économique et de formation psychique qui se traduit dans une communauté de culture ", les Juifs pouvaient et devaient naturellement faire partie de la nation russe. Anti-Zionism was thus instituted as a dogma of Communism and staunchly defended by both Staline and Trotsky, for whom Zionism was a reactionary utopia (11).

Trotsky, who made no secret of the fact that he had been born and bred in the Jewish religion, nor of the fact that his origins were "of no importance to him", to the point of declaring that he had "ceased to be a Jew for the sake of being a Jew".

l'essentiel" the day he became a Marxist and therefore an internationalist (12), never ceased to attack in general those of his congeners who, like the Bundists, glorified their Jewishness and by particularly the Zionists. His denial of his own Jewishness led him, logically, to a detestation of all nationalism, which he shared with Lenin and Stalin. "The Bund exerted a political influence between the revolutions of February and October 1917. Its leader, Mark Liber, was an active member of the coalition of socialists that dominated the soviets until the Bolsheviks came to power. The Jews were Fëdor Dan and Yui Martov were Menshevik leaders, while Abram Gots was one of the leading Socialist-Revolutionaries.

For a while, it seemed as if the Jewish question had ceased to be a problem in France.

They were "worried about the number of Jews in the leadership of the revolutionary movement. They thought that this could

possibly turn against Jews in general once the old popular traditions of anti-Semitism had been reaffirmed" (13). They sent a denial to Trotsky in Petrograd

to persuade him to break with the Bolsheviks. Trotsky sent them packing, while revealing nothing of his own concern about the matter. The anti-Soviet commander Alexei Kaledin galvanised his troops by telling them that the Bolshevik leaders were not Russians but "the Russians".

Jews. And Lenin and Trotsky were at the top of his list of men to be shot. They embodied the order communist. An anonymous letter to the Soviet authorities asked: 'Have you become and can't you see who's in charge of Russia now? Trotsky, Sverdlov, Zinoviev and the others...

They are all pure-blooded Jews who have given themselves Russian family names to deceive the Russian people. Trotsky is called Bronstein, Zinoviev is really Liberman, and so on. And it is you who prefer the Yid Bronstein (Trotsky) to the orthodox Tsar" (14). In an article published in Izvestiya in October 1919, after nebulously stating that "[a]ntisemitism is not only hatred of Jews, but also cowardice towards them" (15), he was not afraid to justify the over-representation of "anti-Semites".

Jews in politics by the fact that they were mainly city dwellers and that it was in the cities that the revolutionary movement had originated and developed.

So 70-80% of the Russian population was Jewish?

He said no more about the Jewish question until he entered into an "open" conflict with Staline in 1923. He then learned that some party members were drawing attention to his Jewish origin and that anti-Semitic remarks were regularly made at party meetings. Someone is reported to have said: "The Yiddish are making trouble in the Politburo" (16). Staline turned a blind eye to manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Party, which "helped him to defeat his rival" (17).

On 12 January 1931, Staline gave the following answer to a question from the Jewish Press Agency in Paris United States on the Soviet attitude to anti-Semitism: "National and racial chauvinism is a vestige of the misanthropic customs characteristic of the cannibalistic period.

Anti-Semitism, the extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism serves the employers; it is the lightning rod which deflects the blows dealt by the workers to capitalism. Anti-Semitism is dangerous for workers because it is a false road which leads them away from the right path and into the jungle. Consequently, as consistent internationalists, Communists can only be the sworn, irreconcilable enemies of antisemitism. In the USSR, anti-Semitism is punished with the utmost severity by the law as a phenomenon deeply hostile to the Soviet system". "Under Soviet law, anti-Semitism is punished with the utmost severity. active anti-Semites are subject to the death penalty (18)", he conceded, knowing full well that the laws in question were, as mentioned above, rarely applied. In 1931, it had been seven years since Lenin had, shortly before his death, advised the Party to be wary of him, and he had been succeeded by Stalin, who had been allied to Zinoviev and Kamenev. He now had a free hand. to deal with Lenin's and Trotsky's supporters.

In December 1934, Kirov, the Party leader in Leningrad, was shot dead. The murder provided Stalin with the pretext to purge the Party. Between 1936 and 1938, there were three trials, known as the "Bloc of the and Trotskyists". At the end of the first trial, in August 1936, Kamenev and Zinoviev, accused of belonging to the "Trotskyist-Zinovievist Terrorist Centre", were sentenced to long prison terms for having "attempted to seize power at any cost" and, incidentally, for "complicity in murder"; at the end of the second trial, Sokolnikov was found guilty of having formed, with 16 other "Trotskyists", a "Trotskyist-Zinovievist Terrorist Centre". old bolcheviks", a "reserve Trotskyist anti-Soviet Centre [...] in case the activity of the Trotskyist-Zinovievist Centre was discovered by the organs of Soviet power"; it was founded in February

1937; Radek was one of the four defendants who escaped the death penalty. The third trial opened on 2 March 1938; the four main defendants were Bukharin, Rakovsky, Yagoda and Rykov (19). Number of the defendants, including those just mentioned, were Jews, although they were not named as such in the indictments. The congressional report quoted above states that "[t]he violent campaign against the 'traitors' was not officially presented as anti-Jewish. But the campaign of anti-Semitic whispers was not discouraged either. At the same time, circulars the Communist Party ordered many branches of the civil service not to recruit people of Jewish origin or to demote or dismiss those already in post. A *numerus clausus* was surreptitiously introduced in the military and civil service academies. diplomatic. Each new 'election' led to a further drop in the percentage of men of Jewish origin elected to the various soviets. This process found its most obvious expression in the fact that When, in May 1939, Foreign Minister Maxim M. Litvinov was dismissed from his post and handed over by Vyacheslav M. Molotov. A man of Jewish origin was not the most suitable person to negotiate the Stalin-Hitler Pact.

It was at this time that the following first appeared in the USSR of what Gennady Kostyuchenko, in "Prisonniers du pharaon rouge: les répressions politiques contre les Juifs en URSS dans la dernière décennie du règne de Staline" (Arles, Solin-Actes Sud, 1997), for which he consulted around a hundred documents, hitherto unpublished, from the archives, party organs, national security services and other leadership and repressive structures of the U. R. S. S. R., calls a "State anti-Semitism". R.S.S., Gennady Kostyuchenko (20) calls it "state anti-Semitism". He had four axes: the liquidation of Jewish institutions and organisations (21), the persecution of the elite Jewish intellectuelle, purges from certain state institutions, and reprisals against certain Jewish activists. "Stalin regularly took advantage of the anti-Semitic moods in society and the party to defeat his opponents in the struggle for power. Once transferred to the bureaucratic arena, this approach acquired the status of a systematic state policy. Its aim was the progressive eradication of 'Jewish influence' (more precisely, the influence of Jews) on the socio-political and cultural life of society; and its preferred means were assimilation imposed from above and administrative and repressive measures, which became heavier and heavier with time" (22).

Barely restrained during the war (23), "State anti-Semitism" reached its apogee in the following years 1950. In October or November 1948, General Antonov, the Jewish Chief of Staff of the Red Army, was replaced by General Shtemenko, a Gentile. The publication of the Yiddish newspaper *Einigkeit*, les performances of the Moscow Yiddish Theatre and a number of other Jewish institutional activities were suspended. The Jews of the USSR ceased to be recognised as a national minority, all this at a time when relations between the USSR and Israel were at an all-time high. The six leading Yiddish writers in the Soviet Union were arrested and disappeared without a trace. The culte that had formed around the memory of Simon Mikhoels, the famous actor and Jewish community leader who died at the beginning of the year, was suddenly hushed up and his name was no longer officially mentioned.

until he appeared in the indictment of the famous trial of the white wives, seventeen people in charge of the main medical institutions in Moscow, most of whom were Jews (24). In agreement with the majority of specialists, G. V. Kostyrchenko explains this development by a "lack of understanding".

a set of internal and external political factors: increased political chauvinism

Soviet leaders; the exacerbation of Soviet-American tension and the hardening of the Cold War; the psychological degradation of the old Soviet leader; his judgement of the Soviet sionisme, sur l'État d'Israël comme 'avant-garde de l'impérialisme des États-Unis' et sur les Juifs soviétiques comme potentielle 'cinquième colonne'" (25).

According to Maurizio Lattanzioni (26), these developments "must not, however, be attributed to Staline's 'anti-Semitism', i.e. to a visceral aversion which he might have harboured towards the 'Jews'. Stalin's aim was not to cut all the bridges between the Soviet Union and the 'Western' plutocracy. Nor did Stalin wish to cut all the bridges linking the Soviet Union to the 'Western' plutocracy. Staline's motives were different: he wanted, more simply, to challenge a political and ideological trend which had developed an interpretation of Marxian thought different from his own and which had deduced from this interpretation models for managing Soviet power opposed to those advocated by Staline himself. This ideological quarrel led to a confrontation between two rival factions in the CPSU. Stalin [...] understood that Marxism could only survive if it was realised 'in one country'. Only the emergence of a kind of 'national-communism' rooted in the deepest historical currents of pan-Slavism, within the framework of an authoritarian, bureaucratic and centralising conception of power and the State, could permit the advent of socialism in a single country, that is, in this case, the Soviet Union". Trotsky himself never ceased to insist that "Stalin, in his struggle with the opposition, was merely expressing the country's anti-Semitic tendencies" (27). Most experts on the subject (28) still seem to agree that, although many victims of the Great Purge were Jews, they were not targeted as Jews, unlike the Jews who lived in Hitler's Germany.

"Stalinian anti-Semitism takes up two themes from Nazi anti-Semitism: the 'pollution' of the more or less massive presence of Jews in the various areas of social life, and the sea serpent of the worldwide Jewish plot to dominate the world. But these two themes remain hidden, like shameful stains, in secret internal circulations and in fabricated confessions, even more secret, to which former policiaries in disgrace lend themselves, ready to repeat whatever their colleagues in power tell them. There is more than one nuance here. Hitler's anti-Semitism is a the organic development of nazism; stalinian anti-semitism is contradictory with the origins of the soviet system, born of a social revolution (i.e. the iliquidation of private ownership of the means of production and the institulon of collective ownership) and poltical revolution (the overthrow of the old class). and its social foundations. The first asserts itself, the second buries itself, or even remains silent. camouflages and disguises himself, as if ashamed to show himself; he acts in the shadows" (29). In Russia, he

There was no equivalent at the Nuremberg trials, partly for the reason just given, partly for legal reasons. As for national-socialism, it always acts in the open.

Stalin's anti-Jewish policy was continued after his death by the two men who had had the greatest influence on him: Malenkov and Beria (30). On 4 March 1953, Komsomol'skaja pravda published an article entitled "Greater revolutionary vigour", which denounced "the terrorist groups of doctors/saboteurs - agents of the Jewish organisation and of a nationalist-Bourgeois orientation", at the behest of foreign secret services" (31), but only a month after Stalin's death, the radio broadcast the announcement by the Ministry of the Interior that all the doctors accused of having taken part in the conspiracy of the Sunday brides had been arrested and reinstated in their posts. State of die a second time.

In his memoirs, Khrushchev points out that Stalin often made "anti-Semitic" remarks "And," he recalls, "we got used to it. We listened to them, but we didn't take them to heart and we did nothing about it" (32). He did, however, follow in his predecessor's footsteps, albeit, if we may say so, in his slippers (33). "He learned from Stalin how to subtly use 'popular anti-Semitism' to implement his policies (34). Incidentally, the death penalty for economic offences such as embezzlement, theft, corruption and thefts was also used.

This made the USSR the country with the most draconian legislation for this type of crime in peacetime. "Of the hundred or so people executed for economic crimes in 1961-62, the vast majority were Jewish, and their trials were the most severe.

had strong anti-Semitic overtones. The obvious implication was that shortages of consumer goods and their poor quality were not the fault of the country's leaders or the Soviet economic system, but of a handful of Jewish black marketeers and corrupt petty officials" (35).

In July 1965, for the first time since 1918, a senior Soviet official, Aleksei N. Kosygin, said in a speech given in Riga and published the day after in Pravda (36) that antisemitism, like nationalism and racism, was alien to the communist worldview (37). A year earlier, Brezhnev had become First Secretary of the Party and therefore the main leader of the Soviet Union; he would vigorously condemn anti-Semitism fourteen years later, on 23 February 1981, in a general policy speech to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party (38). In the meantime, the official message was that "there has never been and still is no anti-Semitism in the USSR" (39).

According to Kostyuchenko, Israel's sweeping victory in the Six-Day War in June 1967 marked a resurgence of state anti-Semitism in the USSR and the Eastern Bloc countries (except Romania), all of which supported the Arab cause. It would be more appropriate to speak of anti-Zionism. The proof of this is that, on 4 October 1967, following vehement protests abroad, the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the Party disavowed *Judaizm bez prikras* (Judaism Without Embellishment, 1963), a book which had been published by the Soviet Union.

Trofim Kichko, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences who had had close ties with the National Socialist regime during the war. On the same day, Kichko published an article in the Ukrainian newspaper *Komsomolskoye znamya* about "a group of Zionist bankers"; on the 20th, he published an article in the Ukrainian newspaper *Komsomolskoye znamya* about "a group of Zionist bankers".

On 1 January 1968, *Pravda Ukrainy*, the official press organ of the Ukrainian Republic, reported that Kichko had been awarded a certificate of merit by the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for "services rendered to atheist propaganda". Shortly afterwards, Kichko published *Judaizm i Zionism* (Kiev, 1968), one of whose central theses was that Judaism - practised by a large proportion of Russia's three million Jews - bore a great deal of responsibility for the "crimes" of the "aggressors". There was a direct link between the morality of Judaism and the actions of Israeli Zionists. The actions of Israeli extremists during their latest aggression against Arab countries are not in accordance with the Torah" (40). In the meantime, numerous Soviet publications had dealt with the Jewish conspiracy; for example, *Komsomolskaya pravda* of 4 October 1967 wrote Zionism is an invisible but enormous and powerful empire of financiers and industrialists, an empire that does not appear on any map of the world, but which exists and acts everywhere in the world" (41). In August

1968, just a few days before the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the main bodies The Soviets dedicated long articles to the mysterious "saboteurs" who threatened to undermine the Socialist Republic. Judaism was condemned on the grounds that it prescribed "racial exclusivism" and justified "crimes against Gentiles". The Kremlin's views on the question were summarised in a book published in 1969 (75,000 copies sold), *Beware of Zionism!* by Yuri Ivanov, a specialist on Zionism on the Central Party Committee. "In 173 pages, it brought together the various strands of the anti-Zionist theme woven over the previous three years. Zionism was presented as the giant international 'affair' of world Jewry. Thanks to 'the largest amount of capital' available to it the Affaire maintains a vast 'international intelligence centre' and a 'service bien disinformation and propaganda'. The aim of all the various 'bureaus' of the Affaire, which allegedly report to a 'single directorate', is 'profit and enrichment' and, ultimately, the 'preservation' of its powers. *livre* described in detail the influence of international Zionism on the Israel's political [...], as well as its cunning efforts to subvert both the socialist states and the new national states. It also dealt extensively with the so-called ramified network of Zionist propaganda organs, supported by the mainstream media, which it claimed was behind the creation of a Zionist propaganda network" (42).

By the time the Red Army had crossed the border into Czechoslovakia, the official Soviet organs were portraying that country as the embodiment of "counter-revolution", in which the Zionists played an important role (43). In the months that followed, they continued to denounce, with a the Zionist forces which, according to the Kremlin, were behind this "counter-attack".

revolution". These were not just anti-Zionist demonstrations. When, the day after the Soviet tanks entered Prague, Brezhnev convened the Political Bureau of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Piotr Chelest, General Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, called Kriegel, a member of the Czechoslovak Political Bureau, a "Galic Jew" (44), "under the approving or indifferent gaze of the other Soviet leaders" (45). "If Tsarist anti-Semitism [had] been shamelessly displayed, Stalinist anti-Semitism, even under [...] Brezhnev, tried to disguise itself. The mask crumbled, but the Kremlin bureaucrats tried never to let it fall" (46). In a report to the secretariat of the Central Committee, the bureaucrat Alexandrov denounced the over-representation of Jews in Russian cinema, "just capable of thriving like parasites" (47). It was not just a question of words: for example, on 28 October 1973, the police prevented a group of Lithuanian Jews from going to the cinema, to lay wreaths of flowers at the place where the national-socialists and the Lithuanian nationalists had shot Jews in 1941 near Kaunas. In 1974, "the Stern affair illustrated both the government's anti-Semitic policy and the resistance it encountered among the population" (48).

But why, in 1981, did Brezhnev, as mentioned above, unofficially condemn anti-Semitism and, to begin with, just as unofficially acknowledge its very existence in Russia?

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"Two distinct, albeit complementary, hypotheses can be put forward. The first has to do with external considerations, while the second, much more crucially, has to do with internal factors. The need to restore the Soviet Union's image, seriously tarnished by the public revelations of the Kremlin's virulent anti-Semitic propaganda campaign, must have been clear to Soviet decision-makers. The Council of Europe in Strasbourg had officially documented this campaign, as had an Austrian parliamentary enquiry. At the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held in Madrid in November and December 1980, several delegates, including the President of the Council of Europe and the President of the European Commission, made a statement.

Belge René Panis, repeated the accusations of anti-Semitism levelled against the Soviet Union. In fact, the Belge's communication was one of the few, during the Madrid meeting, to enrage the Soviet Union. Soviet delegates: they vigorously denied the existence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, which provoked laughter from the other participants. The leaders of the Kremlin may well have been convinced that if the USSR's relations with the West, which had deteriorated following Moscow's adventure in Afghanistan, were to improve, it would be necessary for them to stop taking anti-Semitic positions.

extreme. Significantly, Brezhnev strongly advocated détente on several occasions in his speech, noting in particular that 'the vital interests of the peoples of Europe' required following the 'path... laid out at Helsinki'. The Madrid process, he said, must continue.

continue 'without interruption'. Public recognition and denial of Soviet anti-Semitism

by Brezhnev could probably contribute to this process. It is certain that the Kremlin has a great need to improve its image" (49).

The second hypothesis is much more crucial: "Exactly two years before the In Brezhnev's speech to the party congress on 23 February 1979, a six-page typed article full of anti-Semitic invectives was posted in every letterbox in Moscow and distributed in Leningrad. What was striking about the article was that it openly called Brezhnev and seven of his associates in the Politburo 'Zionists of the Kremlin' (50)".

"Impossible in the USSR" because it is "prohibited by law and constitutes a crime"; this was Gorbachev's answer to the question put to him by a journalist from L'Humanité in February 1986. after his appointment as head of the Party, to find out whether anti-Semitism existed in the USSR, Article 123 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union (1936) states that the equal rights of citizens of the USSR, regardless of nationality or race, in all areas of economic, public, cultural, social and political life are an immutable right. Any direct or indirect restriction of rights, or conversely, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens based on race, nationality or ethnic origin, is an immutable right. and the nation to which they belong, as well as any propaganda of exclusivism or of racial or national hatred and disdain, are punishable by law"; furthermore, under article 74 of the Penal Code Russian penal code, reproduced in each Soviet republic (51), incitement to hatred or hostility between members of the "national community" was a crime punishable by several years' imprisonment (52). At a meeting of the Central Party Committee in January 1987 and in his book *Perestroika*, published the same year, Gorbachev dismissed antisemitism and Zionism as examples of unacceptable forms of national chauvinism (53), in line with the Declaration of the International Conference on Zionism and Antisemitism held in Paris in 1949. United Nations headquarters in April 1986 (54).

1 February 1988 marked a spectacular turning point: Pravda, "breaking with past official statements" by the Soviet press organs (55), categorically condemned anti-Semitism; the newspaper accused the Russian nationalist organisation Pamyat of anti-Semitism and ridiculed the thesis it was adopting of a Judeo-Masonic plot to dominate the world. He "stigmatised not only the open antisemitism of extreme right-wing groups, such as the Pamyat, who blame Jews for all the country's past and present problems, but also that of Russian nationalists who use antisemitism in their efforts to revive Russian culture" (56). He was preparing the ground for the Kremlin.

On 2 October 1991, the Washington Post reported the news, little picked up by the other media, that at a meeting with American Jewish leaders that very day in Moscow, Gorbachev had acknowledged that anti-Semitism was a problem in the Soviet Union, but that he did not consider it to be a "deep-rooted disease" in society; as for the American Jewish leaders in question, they acknowledged that progress had been made in "emigration and the granting of freedoms". synagogues, Hebrew schools and other Jewish institutions".

make a public statement condemning anti-Semitism, which Russian and American Jewish leaders had been calling for a long time, because, as the odd justification goes, "he didn't think it would serve anyone's interests to point the finger at anyone in particular" (57). Their patience would be rewarded. A few weeks later, the Russian President's loyal adviser, Aleksandr Yakovlev, who had been asked to represent him at the ceremony to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Babi Yar massacre, issued a statement in which he said: "We are not going to do anything about it, Gorbachev made a statement in which Babi Yar was presented as "a call to the politicians of our time to be vigorous, to remember everywhere and at all times that they have been given the power to serve the people, that immoral politics should never have a place in the world.

The Nazis preyed on the basest of feelings, jealousy, national intoxication and hatred. They used anti-Semitism to infect people's minds with racism... The Stalinist bureaucracy, which publicly dissociated itself from anti-Semitism, in fact used it as a means of isolating the country from the outside world and strengthening its dictatorial position" (58). Already clearly affected by various problems, including those of memory, the windmill was not short of ranting about the "venomous germs of the Holocaust". anti-Semitism" and to "draw from the history of the persecution of the Jews a warning against the persecution of the Jews".

the current resurgence of 'nationalist excesses' in this country and elsewhere in Europe" (59). The media slogan that anti-Semitism is on the rise again has been familiar to Western Europeans for a good ten years; it was preached to Russians by Pravda as early as 1988.

In a televised interview after his election victory in May 1990, Yeltsin denounced anti-Semitism and decided that Russian organisations promoting fascism would be banned (60). On 24 February 1999, the members of the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, at its first session (61), entitled "Antisemitism in Russia", met with a number of representatives of the Russian Federation and the United States.

welcomed the fact that "Yeltsin attended the inauguration ceremonies of the Holocaust Synagogue in the Victory Park in Moscow in early September [1998]. He was the first Russian head of state to attend a Jewish event in this century".

denounced anti-Semitism on several occasions and formed a special commission to combat the rise of anti-Semitism in the country", while deploring that "this is not enough for the moment. [He and the people who support him must continue to take concrete action against those who violate Russian law. We call on the Russian government to

They further deplored the fact that "the Communist deputies in the Duma rejected the motion to ban the use of the Nazi symbol used by fascist groups". On 23 March of the same year, the Resolution The Senate's concurrent motion n° 19 "Concerning anti-Semitic statements made by members of the Duma of the Russian Federation" was aimed in particular at "the Chairman of the Duma's Security Committee and member of the Communist Party, Viktor Ilyukhin", who in December 1998 had "accused President Yeltsin's 'Jewish entourage' of being responsible for an alleged 'genocide against the Russian people'" (62). There is nothing to show that Yeltsin gave in to American blackmail.

"Although he relied to some extent on Jewish advisers (63), Yeltsin never actively defended Jews against the United States.

Russian extremists and several leading politicians [...] have openly used anti-Semitic rhetoric in their political campaigns" (64).

If we can imagine the table that has just been drawn up of the attitudes and policies of twentieth-century Russian presidents towards the Jews as a whole, Gorbachev appears to be a man of great courage. like a real UFO, Putin, whose advanced Jewishness (65) is not taken into account in Bolton's analyses (66), is like an extraterrestrial.

Notes to the Introduction

[1] Originally published anonymously in the National Renaissance Bulletin, bulletin du National Renaissance Party led by James H. Madole, who was at the time closely associated with Yockey's mentor, the American First World War veteran Frederick Weiss.

[2] The defendants were accused of being part of a Jewish cabal set up by, among others, the judge of the Ia Felix Frankfurter, the Yugoslav Moshe Pijade, described as "the Jewish ideologue of Titoism", and the Israelis David Ben Gurion and Moshe Sharett. They are said to have been part of a The indictment against Czechoslovakia was drawn up in Washington in 1947 by President Harry S. Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and former Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr. Communist Party Secretary Rudolf Slánský was described in the indictment as being "by nature even a Zionist" (Paul Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*, London, Macdonald & Co., 1972, p. 243-5).

[3] Yockey, *The Death of England*, Part 2, *Frontfighter*, n° 13, June 1951, p. 3.

[4] Otto Strasser, *The Role of Europe*, in *Mosley: Policy & Debate*, Euphorion Books, 1954.

[5] Martin Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, London, Little, Brown & Company, 1997, p. 58.

[6] Edmond Taylor, *Germany: Where Fascism & Communism Meet*, *The Reporter*, New York, 13 April 1954.

[7] US State Department report, 22 June 1951; quoted by Martin Lee, op. cit. p. 65.

[8] Thompson registered with the US Department of Justice as an American agent of the PSR in 1952. When the party was banned, Thompson, with the help of Yockey, formed the Committee for International Justice and the Committee for the Freedom of Major General Remer, to help Remer and others prosecuted in Germany, and also helped the families of veterans.

[9] Edward A. Brandt, FBI file n° 105-23413-26, 22 October 1954.

[10] Oswald Spengler, *The Two Faces of Russia & Germany's Eastern Problems* (1922), in *Spengler: Prussian Socialism & Other Essays*, London, Black House Publishing, 2018.

[11] Quoted in Javier Cardoza-Kon, *Heidegger's Politics of Enframing: Technology and Responsibility*, New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2020, p. 22.

[12] Bolton, *The Decline & Fall of Civilisations*, London, Black House Publishing, 2017, pp. 260-9; Amoury de Riencourt, *The Soul of China*, Honeyglen Publishing, 1989.

[13] See Mikhail Agursky, *The Third Rome: National Bolshevism in the USSR*, London, Westview Press, 1987.

[14] He decreed that each would remain neutral if one of them was attacked by another power.

[15] What Can Russia Win if She Plays Her Trump Card, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 March 1952.

[16] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 June 1952.

[17] *Christ und Welt*, 27 December 1951.

[18] Before the Second World War, Father E. J. Reichenberger had been the leader of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia and an opponent of social nationalism and Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland. After the war, he became the leader of the Sudeten German emigrants and the main spokesman for the Sudeten Germans.

allemand deportees from Eastern Europe and a fierce critic of allemitic policies against Germany, in particular the concept of "collective culpability". In spite of his opposition to Nazism, the fact that he was honoured by the Vatican as a member of the Pontifical Secret Chamber and that he received from numerous awards such as the Austrian Badge of Honour, he was denigrated for defending Germany after the war.

[19] E. J. Reichenberger, *Nord-America*, 17 April 1952.

[20] Joseph Newman, *New York Herald Tribune*, 27 August 1950.

[21] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30 May 1952.

[22] James Cartnal, *Dispelling a Myth: The Soviet Note of March 1952*.

[23] Andrei Gromyko, *Memories*, London, Hutchison, 1989, p. 196.

[24] Anonymous, *Knut Hamsun: Saved by Stalin?*, *Counter-Currents*, 6 July 2010.

[25] The event is described by Wolf Rüdiger Hess in *My Father Rudolf Hess*, London, W. H. Allen, 1986. Note 6 in the 'Special Treatment' chapter states that Maser wrote a typed note on his meeting with Grotewohl when he was working at the Institute for Research into Imperialism at the Humboldt University in East Berlin, which was directed by the pre-war "national-bolchevik" Ernst Niekisch, who was present at the meeting between Maser and Grotewohl.

[26] Wolf Rüdiger Hess, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[27] *Ibid*, p. 252-3.

[28] Historical and Documentary Department, Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The USSR and the German Question: 1941-1949* (Documents from the Archives of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, M. "Relations internationales" , 2003), pp. 244-53.

[29] *Ibid*.

[30] *Ibid*.

[31] Staline liquida la totalité du Comité central du Parti communiste allemand qui avait réfugié en USSR pour échapper à Hitler.

[32] NDP programme, June 1951.

[33] NDPD appeal for unity, fourth party congress, 1952.

[34] Reprinted in Kerry Bolton & John Morgan (eds.), *The World in Flames: The Shorter Writings of Francis Parker Yockey*, Centennial Edition Publishing, 2020.

Study notes

(1) Léon de Poncins, *Revue Internationale des Sociétés Secrètes*, 1 May 1935; see also Leonard Schapiro, *The Rôle of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 40, n° 94, December, 1961 [p. 148-67]; Enzo Traverso, *The Jewish Question: History of a Marxist Debate*, translated by B. Gibbons, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2018, chap. 6: *Intermezzo. The Jews and the Russian Revolution (1917-37)*.

(2) See Jean-Jacques Marie, *L'antisémitisme en Russie, de Catherine II à Poutine*, Tallandier, 2014.

(3) Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR "On the eradication of anti-Semitism": "According to information which has reached the Council of People's Commissars, pogroms are being perpetrated in many towns, particularly in the area near the front, following which, in some places, attacks are being made on the Jewish population. The bourgeois counter-revolution took up the Tsar's weapons [...] The counter-revolutionaries are now once again engaged in the hunt for the Jews, using hunger and fatigue, as well as the obscurantism of the most backward masses and the residues of the anti-Jewish hatred inoculated by the autocracy [...] Any attack on a nation whatsoever is unacceptable and humiliating. The Council of People's Commissars declares that anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish pogroms are the death of the workers' and peasants' revolt and the death of the nation. calls on the working people of socialist Russia to fight this mal by all means. National hatred is weakening our revolutionary ranks, disuniting the united front of workers, without

distinction of nationality, and extends its hand only to our enemies. The Council of People's Commissars calls on all the deputies of the soviets to take energetic measures to eradicate anti-Semitism. Those who take part in or call for pogroms must be expelled.

"The Chairman of the People's Commissars (Ulyanov) Lenin; The Head of the Administrative Department of the Council of People's Commissars, V. L. Bontch-Brouievitch, The Secretary of the Council, N. Gorbunov" (Lidia Milakova [ed.], "N 155 Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on l'éradication de l'antisémitisme (Le 27 juillet 1918)", translated from the Russian by Nicolas Werth, Patrice Bensimon, Claire Le Foll and Ekaterina Pichugina, Calmann Lévy, Paris, 2006, p. 541.

(4) Quoted in Jean-Jacques Marie, *op. cit.*

(5) <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/mar/x10.htm>; Lidia Miliakova (ed.), *op. cit.* p. 541.

(6) Interestingly, "neither the fourth Stalinist nor the fifth Khrushchevian editions of Lenin's Works reproduce this text. They did, however, reproduce the Appel La Patrie. socialiste en danger dont l'auteur est, d'ailleurs, Trotsky et non Lénine!" (Jean-Jacques Marie, *op. cit.*).

(7) The complete works of "On the Jews" were never republished in the USSR" (Jean-Jacques Marie, *op. cit.*).

(8) Quoted in Tamás Krausz, *Reconstructing Lenin: An Intellectual Biography*, Monthly Review Press, 2015.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) Quoted in Collectif, *Communisme et complotisme : Contre les délires complotistes anti-communistes. Pour une approche réelle des faits*, La soluce, 2017, p. 138.

(11) See Robert Paris, Léon Trotsky sur la question juive et le sionisme, 26 September 2020, <http://www.matierevolution.fr/spip.php?article5990>.

(12) "The same was true of Trotsky's friends in Europe," from Kautsky and Luxemburg to Victor and Friedrich Adler of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (Robert Service, *Trotsky: A Biography*, Belknap Press, 2010).

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) Quoted in *ibid.*

(16) Quoted in *ibid.*

(17) *Ibid.*

(18) <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1931/01/12.htm>.

(19) Myriam Anissimov, Vassili Grossman: un écrivain de combat, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2012.

(20) Gennadii V. Kostyrčchenko, Tajnaja politika Stalina: vlast'i antisemitizm, Moscow, 2001.

(21) One of the first Jewish institutions to be targeted by the Soviet authorities was the Jewish Committee. created in 1942 as part of Russian efforts to obtain American military aid, it was dissolved in 1948; its dissolution had been preceded by the assassination of its leader and t h e arrest of its members, who were tried the same year and, in many cases, sentenced to death (Božena Szaynok, The Anti-Jewish Policy of USSR in the Last Decade of Stalin's Rule and its Impact on the East European Countries with Special Rerefence to Poland, Russian History Russian History, vol. 29, n° 2/4, The Soviet Global Impact: 1945-1991, Summer-Autumn-Winter 2002 [pp. 301-15],, p. 305).

(22) Samson Madievski, Gennadij V. Kostyrčenko, Tajnaja politika Stalina, in Cahiers du monde russe [Online], vol. 43, n° 4, 2002.

(23) "A Soviet diplomatic official in Canada who later defected, Igor Gouzenko, recounted that he had been told in 1939 that a 'confidential' decree of the Central Party Committee sent to all directors of educational establishments set admission quotas for Jews. Gouzenio also stated that, in the summer of 1945, he had been informed by the head of the secret division of the Soviet intelligence services that the Central Committee had sent 'confidential' instructions to the directors of all factories to exclude Jews from jobs in the factory.

responsability" (William Korey, The Origins and Development of Soviet Anti-Semitism: An Analysis, in Slavic Review, vol. 31, n° 1, March 1972 [pp. 111-35], p. 117). In fact, selon Hitler, Staline had told Ribbentrop that he would have volontiers driven out all les Jews who held leadership positions in the USSR,

(William Korey, Russian Antisemitism, Pamyat, and the Demonology of Zionism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995, p. 8). "On 17 August 1942, in the midst of the Battle of Stalingrad, the Central Committee of the Communist Party published a report entitled 'On the Battle of Stalingrad'.

la sélection et la promotion des cadres dans le domaine de l'art', which denounced 'l'effroyable distorsion de la politique ethnique', which resulted in 'un trop grand nombre de non-Russes (principalment

of the Jews)" in many Russian artistic institutions, led by the Bolchoï. This began with music, before spreading in all directions, particularly in the 'Fight against the Jews'.

cosmopolitanism'. Administrators and enthusiasts began to count the percentage o f 'impure (Jews)' among executives. The quota system was reinstated, but its very existence remained a secret, unlike during the Tsarist era" (Gennady Gorelik, The World of Andrei Sakharov: A Russian Physicist's Path to Freedom, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, p. 118).

(24) See Laurent Rucker, Staline, Israël et les Juifs, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 2001.

(25) Samson Madievski, op. cit.

(26) Maurizio Lattanzioni, *Staline et la question juive*, in *Revue d'Histoire Non Conformiste*, n° 3, June 1994; see elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2014/10/30/staline-et-la-question-juive. (27) <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1937/02/therm.htm>.

(28) Mikhail Baitailsky, *Russkii evrei vchera i segodnia*, unpublished. Quoted in Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*. translated by George Shriver, Columbia University Press. New York, 1989 [1972] ; Jeffrey Veidlinger, *The Moscow State Yiddish Theater: Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, 2000 ; David Priestland, *The Red Flag: A History of Communism*. Grove Press. New York, 2009; Edvard Radzinsky, *Joseph Staline, Le Cherche-Midi*, 2011 [1997].

(29) Jean-Jacques Marie, *op. cit.*

(30) William Korey, *op. cit.*, p. 224. See Commentary Bk, *Was Malenkov Behind the Anti-Semitic Plot? The Doctors' Frame-up and Its Reversal*, <http://www.commentary.org/articles/commentary-bk/was-malenkov-behind-the-anti-semitic-plot-the-doctors-frame-up-and-its-reversal>.

(31) Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967: A Documented Study*, Jonathan Frankel (ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, p. 90.

(32) Quoted in Sergei Khrushchev (ed.), *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev*, vol. 2, translated by George Shriver, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

(33) Benjamin Pinkus, *op. cit.* p. 91 et seq.

(34) Shimon Redlich, *Khrushchev and the Jews*, in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 34, n° 4, October 1972 [p. 343-53], p. 353.

(35) Maurice Friedberg, *Antisemitism as a Policy Tool in the Soviet Bloc*, in J. Jacobson (ed.), *Soviet Communism and the Socialist Vision*, New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1972, p. 124, 125.

(36) William Korey, *op. cit.* p. 75.

(37) Benjamin Pinkus, *op. cit.* p. 99.

(38) William Korey, *op. cit.* p. 75.

(39) Quoted in *ibid.*

(40) Quoted in Maurice Friedberg, *op. cit.* p. 137.

(41) Quoted in William Korey, *op. cit.* p. 138.

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 20, for an account, repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/25452/Selling+Anti-Semitism+in+Moscow.pdf?sequence=59.

(43) Ibid, p. 131.

(44) Quoted in Jean-Jacques Marie, op. cit.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Quoted in ibid.

(48) Ibid. See Alan M. Dershowitz, *Guilty or Crazy as Charged*, 20 November 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/11/20/archives/guilty-or-crazy-as-charged-guilty.html>.

(49) William Korey, op. cit. p. 77.

(50) Ibid.

(51) This article clearly inspired the UN drafters of the Decision adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in application of Article 14.

of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [2011]) (<http://docstore.ohchr.org/SelfServices/FilesHandler.ashx?enc=6QkG1d%2FPPrICAghKb7yhsINV6Z8nZXqCvGgfOQo8ok8yFgbhFrYQ%2Fgbs8ufS6GQOVcP17fIN9xr%2FIFxddmLpQkrzQ8LoURo36k0cJoLDq0EhJ%2FU9GBL3l%2FurXK%2B2ZjpyLr6jCaX06saKUgNTsp1TuQ%3D%3D>), immediately reproduced in the penal code of various "western" republics.

(52) From 1918 to 1921, "convictions and sentences for incitement to anti-Semitism were not unusual", but then "no one was accused of incitement to anti-Semitism, let alone convicted and sentenced for such crimes" (William Korey, op. cit., p. 328).

(53) William Korey, op. cit. p. 177.

(54) Yoram Dinstein, *Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism and the United Nations*, in *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights*, vol. 17, 1987, p. 15-23.

(55) See <http://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1990-07-23-mn-412-story.html>.

(56) See Michael Parks, *Anti-Semitic Tide Perilous*, *Pravda Says: Soviet Union: Party paper warns that rapidly growing prejudice undermines political and economic reforms*, 23 juillet 1990, <http://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1990-07-23-mn-412-story.html>. One of the group's directors, Constantin V. Smirnov-Ostashvili, aged 55, was the first person in Russia to be convicted of anti-Semitic insults. He committed suicide in prison. He did not commit suicide before hanging himself, and officials at the Tver penitentiary, about 60 miles north-west of Moscow, told the Tass news agency that his death was 'a mystery'" (id., *Russian Nationalist Imprisoned for Anti-Semitism Kills Himself*, 30 avril 1991, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-04-30-mn-988-story.html>).

(57) Fred Hiatt, Gorbachev, U.S. Jews

Meet, 3 October 1991,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/10/03/gorbachev-us-jews-meet/36e703e0-65b3-4aae-8bd2-da9867207eab>.

(58) Quoted in Peter Golden, O Powerful Western Star! American Jews, Russian Jews, and the Final Battle of the Cold War, Gefen Publishing House, 2012, p. 414;

<https://www.nytimes.com/1991/10/07/world/gorbachev-condemns-anti-semitism-past-and-present.html>.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Encyclopaedia Judaica: Year book, Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1990, p. 49.

(61) <http://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-106shrg55215/html/CHRG-106shrg55215.htm>.

(62) <http://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CRECB-1999-pt4/html/CRECB-1999-pt4-Pg4814-2.htm>. See also, on the campaign of the neostalinian nationalist Viktor Ilyukhin against Yeltsin and then Putin, Nadia

Russ, Russia is in a State of Ferment Again, New York, NY, NeoPopRealismPress, 2019.

(63) Susan Sarah Cohen (ed.), Antisemitism. An Annotated Bibliography, vol. 15, K. G. Saur, Munich, 1999, p. 430 refers instead to "the prominence of Jews in Yeltsin's government".

(64) Virginie Coulloudon, Broken Promises: Antisemitism under Yeltsin, Davis Centre for Russian Studies, Harvard University, February 1999. Quoted in Zvi Gitelman, Jewish Identities in Postcommunist Russia and Ukraine: An Uncertain Ethnicity, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, p. 204, who notes that, in Russia, more than three hundred anti-Semitic advertisements were listed in 1999, compared with around forty in 1991.

(65) See <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2015/11/21/vladimir-shlmv-poutine>.

(66) In November 2017, Putin's Russia went so far as to present the UN with a project entitled "The United Nations in the Middle East".

Combating the glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to alimenter les formes contemporaines de racisme, de discrimination raciale, de xénophobie et de l'intolérance qui y est associée", which was adopted by 125 votes in favour, 2 votes against (United States and Ukraine) and 51 abstentions. The opposition of the United States and Ukraine to the adoption of this draft,

wrongly interpreted in some circles as proof of the fascist nature of the governments of these two countries, is shown in detail on the relevant page of the UN website. Russia

Putin, who is regularly accused of fascism by other types of circles, had not shot himself in the foot.

Indeed, as a specialist in populist movements in post-Soviet Eurasia, Europe and the United States explains, "[...] Russia is by no means the only country in which a marginal element of society is inspired by the arguments of the extreme right, with or without references to historical fascism per se. Not only are these groups not authorised by law to take part in the game, but they are not allowed to do so.

But their sociological basis remains difficult to grasp. In the United States, for example, these groups can draw on deep-rooted traditions of slavery and segregation and on voters with a similar worldview, but this is not the case in Russia. The Russian authorities have in turn repressed, marginalised or adopted a policy of laissez-faire towards the initiatives of the [Russian] radical right, or even co-opted them, depending on the context. This interaction is in fact much more complex, because the Russian state is made up of a multitude of actors and 'spaces'. We can discern a dozen high-level political figures who, in one way or another, play the role of *eminence grise* by trying to promote, support and protect the figures of the radical right and to bring them closer to the State authorities. Two groups - the sections of the Church under the personal direction of Bishop Tikhon and several groups of high ranking members of the military, either in the They also seem to be supported by the Ministry of Defence and the security services. However, they represent only a small part of Russia's political elite. [...] The fascist 'tree The [Russian] ideological forest must not be allowed to obscure the existence of other ideologies, which celebrate the uniqueness of Russia in a more traditional way, emphasising national history and culture, orthodoxy or a certain form of Soviet nostalgia. The Classical fascism, i.e. historical European fascism or white supremacism, is still despised by Russian public opinion and widely repressed by Russian state bodies. What I call 'parafascism', i.e. Russified doctrines such as [that of the reactionary, monarchist and ultra-nationalist group] Black Hundreds, Eurasianism, Bolshevik nationalism, mystical stalinism, which may have certain conceptual characteristics in common with fascism - belief in a meta-ideology and an ecstatic elite, an appeal to mass indoctrination and state violence, a utopia of national regeneration through war - have some room for manoeuvre. They gives them the right to exist as the radical ends of a broader spectrum of accepted doctrines considered to be part of the classical forms of Russian nationalism or conservatism. Russian: the 'Black Hundreds' are the radical end of the continuum of rehabilitation of tsarism, Eurasianism the radical end of the continuum of belief in Russia as the pivot of Eurasia, mystical stalinism and national-bolchevism at the radical end of the continuum of nostalgia for Soviet greatness. These doctrines, which can exist thanks to some powerful patrons, are nevertheless outside the mainstream of what the presidential administration and the Russian government promote at the level of everyday government. Russia's main ideational current is based on a much more conventional and consensual approach, which combines nostalgia with the desire to make a difference. At the same time, we have seen the emergence of a new world order that would challenge the hypocrisy and moral decadence [...] of the West. At the same time, The official line continues to refer to Europe as a civilised cradle embodying a superior culture and quality of life (Engström, 2020) and to state that, in the 21st century, it is 'normal' for each country to accept modernity/modernisation/mondialisation. Cultivating doctrinal plurality, flou and implicitness, this current thinks of ideologies in a market logic: the Contradictory ideational products are developed for each micro-civic audience in order to obtain the greatest possible consensus around the regime. If there is a dominant ideological trend to be identified, it is ideiberalism" (Marlene Laruelle, *Is Russia Fascist?: Unraveling Propaganda East and West*, Cornell University Press, 2021) Putin's Rtssie gave the example, when, in May 2014, the Duma voted in first reading a law against the "rehabilitation of Nazism, thus reinforcing" the sanctions.

against the 'denial of the facts' established by the Nuremberg Tribunal, the 'apology of the crimes' established by the Nuremberg Tribunal, and the 'denial of the facts' established by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

tribunal, 'as well as the dissemination of false information about the activities of the Soviet Union during the Second World War' [...]" (The Duma passes a law against the "rehabilitation of Nazism", 4 avril 2014, <https://www.lapresse.ca/international/europe/201404/04/01-4754521-la-douma-vote-une-loi-contre-la-rehabilitation-du-nazisme.php>).

The crime "is punishable by a fine of up to 300,000 roubles (8,400 dollars) or three years' imprisonment. If a state official commits the offence, he or she is liable to a prison sentence of up to five years, a fine of up to 500,000 roubles or three years' imprisonment.

roubles (14,000 dollars) and a ban on holding government office for three years. The public desecration of symbols of Russian military history or the dissemination of disrespectful information on public holidays dedicated to the defence of the country are punishable by a fine of up to 300,000 roubles or one year's community service" (<https://www.ponarseurasia.org/the-implications-of-russia-s-law-against-the-rehabilitation-of-nazism/>).

The Hebrew Goddess

The Hebrew Goddess proves that the Jewish religion, far from being purely monotheistic, included marked polytheistic elements in the early days, the main one being the cult of the goddess mother. The centrality of the Goddess in Jewish esotericism (*), the Kabbalah, i.e. in the deepest and most fundamental part of Judaism, is highlighted. This provides a better understanding of what lies behind the ideology of Abrahamism and its modern derivatives, such as liberalism (**) and communism (***).

* * *

In the beginning God created [...]

This God is the Supernatural Mother who rides and rises with a triumphant cry.

Tikune HaZohar, 47a.

La Matronite - The Goddess of the Kabbalah

Let us turn our attention to the fourth person of the Kabbalistic tetrad, the Daughter, who, in addition to the ancient Talmudic name of Shekhina, is referred to by a profusion of names, epithets and appellations in Jewish mystical literature, but most frequently by the borrowed Latin name Matronita, i.e. "Matronite", or Matron. Of the four persons of the Kabbalistic tetrad, it is she who plays the greatest role, a central figure both in divine relationships and events and in the circumstances on which human destiny and in particular the destiny of Israel depend. She is the central link between the High and the Low. She is the person who enables man to grasp most easily the ineffable mystery of the Deity and who identifies most completely with the interests, joys and misfortunes of Israel. She is undoubtedly the most poignant and at the same time the most Jewish expression of the idea of the Goddess.

Here again - and this is a striking example of what is perhaps the most fascinating facet of the history of religious and mythical ideas, there is a precise similarity between the life story, the character, the acts and feelings attributed by Jewish mysticism to the Matronite and the testimonies of the ancient Near Eastern mythologies about the goddesses of their pantheons. In myths, epics, narratives and visual representations, these ancient Near Eastern goddesses are

l) The goddess of love and war

was downplayed, while its promiscuity was emphasised to such an extent that it became a divine prostitute. Many texts refer to Ishtar as the "Cow of the God-Moon Sin" and, as such, she is the "Cow of the God-Moon Sin".

As such, she ruled over plants, watering them and making them grow. An incantation to be uttered during childbirth says that this "Cow of Sin" was impregnated by a "restless young bull" and had a great difficulty carrying her child, before receiving the help of two celestial genies. Under her Before destroying them, she loved a long series of divine lovers, both human and animal, including a lion, a horse, a bird, a gardener, several shepherds, the hero Gilgamesh, Tammuz and others. She was also the wife of human kings such as Sargon of Agade. Her influence was felt throughout humanity and the animal kingdom: when she entered the world of the dead, neither man nor beast mated; when she left it, they were all seized again by sexual desire. But she was also the mother of the country (she says

I myself gave birth to my people") and the mother of many gods; the god of Fire was her first-born. One of her titles was "mistress of the soft-spoken gods".

Yet she was also "the most impressive of the goddesses", "Ishtar of the battlefields", clothed in divine fire, cloaked in the melammu that rained down fire on her enemies. It was she who granted victory to her lovers, the Babylonian kings, by entrusting them with her powerful armies. Of all

At the beginning of her career, she tried to win Gilgamesh's love by promising him "a chariot of lapis and gold" and, more than a thousand years later, in the Ptolemaic era, she was still known as "mistress of horses, lady of chariots". When she wasn't making love or waging war, she sat imposingly on a throne supported by two lions (2a).

The Canaanite Anath, whose exploits we discovered in Chapter II, is so close to Inanna in personality and attributes that she must be considered a simple Western variant of the great Mesopotamian goddess.

The Persian counterpart of the great virginal-impudent-maternal-warrior goddess was Anahita. Although the phonemic resemblance between 'Anath' and 'Anahita' is purely coincidental, the veneration of Anath may have spread as early as the first millennium BC from the shores of the Mediterranean as far east as the headwaters of the Euphrates, as indicated by the name of a commune.

Anat (now Ana), a few kilometres downstream from Dura-Europos. Herodotus informs us that it was the Persians (in a passage in which he makes the curious mistake of writing "Mithra" instead of "Anahita") who transmitted the veneration of Anahita to the Assyrians. Other Greek authors state that the cult of Anaitis (which is what they called Anahita) corresponded in all respects to that of the Assyrians.

the Babylonian cult of Ishtar and that representations of Anaitis were modelled on those of Ishtar.

In the Avesta, sacred writings that ancient Iranian tradition attributes to Zoroaster (who probably lived in the tenth century BC), but which only took their definitive form from the beginning of the twentieth century.

of the Sassanid period (3rd-4th centuries AD), an entire chapter (Yasht V) is dedicated to her. Her full name was Ardvī Sura Anahita, or "The Most High, the Almighty, the Immaculate" and she is described as a "beautiful, strong, majestic virgin, girded with a high belt... adorned with a most attractive mantle, covered with golden ornaments (and wearing) a beaver-skin garment (made from the skins) of three hundred beavers" (2b). So she is undoubtedly a virgin goddess, like her Sumerian, Akkadian and Canaanite counterparts. Yet her virginity, like theirs, did not prevent her from also being the goddess of fertility: she was the goddess of fertilising waters, of a supernatural spring located in the region of the stars, from where all the rivers of the world flow. She was the goddess who multiplied herds and wealth, brought fertility, facilitated childbirth and breastfeeding, and purified men's seed. She was invoked by nubile girls and women in labour. She was also endowed with many of the attributes of a prostitute, and in her sanctuary at Erez in Akilisene, which housed her golden statue, the daughters of the noble families of Armenia were given the honour of being called to her.

In Lydia, where she was identified with Cybele, the Great Mother, as well as in Armenia and Cappadocia, she was confused with Artemis Tauropolos. In Lydia, where she was identified with Cybele, the Great Mother, as well as in Armenia and Cappadocia, she was confused with Artemis Tauropolos, because the bull was sacred to her. And finally, like Inanna, Ishtar and Anath, Anahita was also the goddess of war, driving a chariot drawn by four white horses, Wind, Rain, Clouds and Hail, granting victory to combatants and giving them robust troops and brave companions. Because of her warlike character, she was also identified by the Greeks with Athena, while as goddess of fertility she appeared identical to Aphrodite. In the Hellenistic world, however, she was more commonly known as the "Persian Diana" or the "Persian Artemis". In astrology, the Iranians themselves considered her to be the personification of the planet Venus. According to Berossus, her cult was introduced to the Persians by Artaxerxes II (404-362 BC), who made built altars and erected statues in his honour in Babylon, Susa, Ecbatane, Persepolis, Baktra, Damascus (?) and Sardis. It was from these places that the Persian influence carried her cult westwards into the Greco-Roman world. In later times, she was regarded as the daughter of Ormuzd and the benefactress of all mankind, mother of all wisdom and queen (3).

II) Matronitis from the mythical-popular point of view

The same four characteristics of chastity and promiscuity, motherhood and cruelty characterise Matronite, the daughter-goddess of Kabbalistic literature.

According to Kabbalistic theory, the Matronite is the least important of the ten Sephiroth, mystical aspects or emanations of the Divinity, which to some extent correspond to the Gnostic Aeons. Nevertheless, whatever the original meaning and origin of the Matronite as a theosophical concept, she became, in Kabbalistic literature and particularly in the Zohar - the most sacred book of the Kabbalah - at the end of the thirteenth century, a concrete individual whose acts, words and feelings only make sense if she is considered a true deity.

mythological. Whatever the intention of the authors of the Kabbalistic treatises in creating or developing the divine feminine character of the Matronite, one thing is certain: there can have been very few Kabbalists who, on reading or listening to her exploits, described without complex, were able to see that she was nothing other than an aspect of the manifest nature of the one and only Deity. For most Kabbalists - and Kabbalism was a mass religious movement among Jews from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries - she undoubtedly had the characteristics of a separate deity; in other words, she was taken to be a goddess, separate and distinct from the male deity, who was designated as her husband, the King. The mythical-popular vision of the Matronite, as opposed to the mystical-intellectual one, was very similar to the popular Mariolatry of Latin countries, where the Virgin is not considered to be the Jewess in whose womb God chose to incarnate in human form - as official Catholic doctrine affirms - but the Mother of God herself. a goddess who, throughout the centuries, never ceased to perform miracles and to whom direct and personal adoration is therefore due. It was precisely in this light that the Matronite appeared to the more or less uneducated Jewish kabbalists; unlike the divine King, who, following the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, withdrew to the distant heights of heaven and went to his own home, the Matronite was not a goddess. Inaccessible, the Matronite remained on earth, continued to feel directly concerned by the well-being of her people and could be approached directly, anytime, anywhere. She thus provided the divine feminine figure of Judaism, so psychologically important in a religion where, before the appearance of Kabbalism, this element had been submerged for several centuries.

The relatively late reappearance of the goddess - I say reappearance because, as we saw in the first two chapters, goddesses figured prominently in Hebrew popular religion in biblical times - is in itself a remarkable religious resurgence. Even more so Remarkable, however, is the reappearance in the figure of the Matronite of the four fundamental characteristics of chastity, promiscuity, maternity and cruelty, which place her right alongside the ancient great Near Eastern goddesses of love.

III) Matronite virginale

There's not much to say about the first of these fundamental functions in the portrait of the divine Matronite. Virginity, after all, is a state common to all women and goddesses at the beginning of their lives. It only becomes remarkable if, after reaching marriageable age, a woman prefers to remain a virgin and does remain a virgin in an environment, whether terrestrial or Olympian, where there is an atmosphere of intense sexual activity, even promiscuity. She becomes even more

remarkable if the female figure in question herself indulges in the pleasures of the flesh without restraint, while retaining her virginity. Nevertheless, it is precisely this paradoxical chastity that characterises several ancient Near Eastern goddesses, and which they share with the Matronite (3).

The epithet "nu-nig" (which is also used to describe Inanna, Aruru/Ninmah, Nanaya and Nininsina) means "...a person who has been in the world for a long time".

immaculate". Another objection is that "virgin", in this context, should be understood not in the physical sense, but in the spiritual sense. This objection comes up against the fact that the young virgins consecrated to Ishtar lost their virginity in the temples in a way that was hardly metaphorical.

The Virgin Mary, to whom we have already referred, also belongs to this category of female deities, and her veneration can be cited as a further example that will help us to understand even better the paradoxical virginity of the Matronite. Mary bore Jesus for God and several other sons and daughters for her earthly husband Joseph, but nevertheless she remained 'The Virgin' and has been worshipped as such to this day. The same is true of the Matronite, who retained paradoxically her virginity, while being the lover of gods and men. The Zohar refers to her virginity both figuratively and explicitly. The

Bible verse about the "red cow, without blemish, without bodily defect, and that did not bear the yoke" (4), to explain that the forces of Evil ("neither Satan, nor the Destroyer, nor the Angel of Death", who

represent all the forces of Hell) will never be able to defeat her (5). Unlike the pagan goddesses, all of whom are said to have succumbed to Satan, she, the Shekhina, is a cup full of blessings that no one has yet tasted, untouched, in other words virginal (6). No stranger is allowed to approach her, and anyone who tries is condemned to death (7). In one respect, the Shekhina is identical to the Holy Land and, as such, has never been soiled or known by a foreigner (8).

IV) The lover of men and gods

This image of the virgin Shekhina is logically opposed, so to speak, by that of a goddess who was known not only by the divine King to whom she was legally married, but also by Satan, other gods, the heroes of biblical history and many other men. However, another

What she has in common with the love goddesses of the Ancient Near East is that none of these various unions are held against her. A goddess behaves in accordance with her divine nature and the human laws of sexual morality simply do not apply to her - this is a common attitude in the Ancient Near East as well as in Kabbalistic myths. As the father-god El says in a Ugaritic mythical poem: "[...] goddesses know no restraint." (9)

The Zohar tells us that, in mythical times, Jacob became the first husband of the Matronite. However, as long as Jacob was alive, the union was not consummated because, as an inveterate polygamist, he continued to have relations with his two wives and his two concubines, even after the goddess had left him.

attached to him. Consequently, it was only after his death, when his spirit entered the afterlife, that Jacob mated with the Matronite (10).

Things were different with her second husband. This one was none other than Moses who, once she had become his wife, separated from his earthly wife, Zipporah, after which he was authorised to do what Jacob had never done: mate with the Matronite in her carnal form (11).

We hear no more of the Matronite from the death of Moses - whom she carried on her wings from Mount Nebo, to bury in an unknown place 6.5 kilometres away (12) - until the time of the building of the Temple in Jerusalem. While Solomon was busy building the Sanctuary, the Matronite was busy preparing for her union with her divine husband, the King: she was preparing the house where he could take up residence with her and which, in a mystical way, was identical to the Temple in Jerusalem.

Jerusalem. When the big day arrived, her father and mother dressed her in such a way that her future young husband would want her (13).

The King and the Matronite were not just brother and sister, they were twins.

They had emerged from the womb of the Supernatural Mother in the androgynous form of a male and female body attached back to back. Soon, however, the King took his sister off his back and she, after trying in vain to attach herself to his back again, resigned herself to separating from him and keeping herself to one side.

some distance in front of it (14).

By human standards, a marriage between a brother and a sister would have been incestuous. the case in the kingdom of heaven: there, a text in the Zohar informs us, incest is not forbidden and so it was perfectly acceptable and legitimate for the King and the Matronite to marry (15).

The wedding, a veritable hieros gamos, was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. The Matronite, surrounded by her

The curtains were adorned with a myriad of precious stones and pearls. The curtains were adorned with a myriad of precious stones and pearls. At midnight, the

The tinkling of the bells he wore around his ankles heralded the arrival of the King. He was accompanied by a group of sublime teenagers, and the Matronite virgins greeted them by clapping their hands.

wings with joy. After singing a prayer to the King, the Matronite virgins withdrew and the young people accompanying the King did the same. Only the King and the Matronite embraced and kissed, then he led her to her bed. He placed his left arm under her head, his right arm embraced her and gave her the benefit of his strength. The pleasure their union gave the King and the Matronite was indescribable. As they lay there, they held each other so tightly that she etched her image into his body like a seal makes its mark on a page, while his fingers wandered between her breasts and, madly in love, he swore that he would never abandon her (16).

Some say that as long as the Temple remained standing, every evening at midnight the King would descend from his celestial dwelling to find the Matronite and make love to her in the bedroom of the Temple. The Sacred Marriage was thus repeated every day, or rather every midnight, according to a ritual that was performed, not by the human representatives of the god or goddess who usually took part in the New Year rituals of the Ancient Near East, but by the two deities themselves. This divine union had incomparable cosmic significance: the well-being of the entire world depended on it (17).

Others say that the King and the Matronite mated only once a week, on the night of Friday to Saturday. This divine weekly union served as a prototype, in other words as a mythical confirmation of the traditional weekly union of pious wives and husbands (18). When the Kabbalists, who were well acquainted with the mysteries of heaven, mated with their wives on Friday night, they were fully aware that they were performing the very important act of directly imitating the simultaneous union of the Supernatural Couple. If the woman became pregnant at midnight, the child's earthly father and mother could be sure that he or she would receive a soul from Above, one of those pure souls that are procreated during the divine mating of the King and the Matronite (19).

And that's not all. When a pious earthly couple performs the act, they set in motion all the generative forces of the mythical-mystical universe. The human sexual act leads the King to emit the fluid through his divine male genitals and fertilise the Matronite, which thus gives birth to human souls and angels (20). The passage from the Zohar where this thought is found This particular mythology (or mythologem) is so full of symbolic expressions designed to obscure its true meaning that one has the impression that they have been ambiguously formulated on purpose, so as not to offend sensibilities. The King's seminal fluid is regarded as a "river"; the Shekhina or Matronite as "The Sea" or "The Living Creature"; the King's genitals are called "the sign of the covenant" and so on. The meaning of the entire passage is no less clear: it concerns the sexual union between the King and the Matronite and the resulting procreation of souls and angels.

However, another version, which is also concerned with the times when the divine couple mates, speaks not of a weekly cycle, but an annual one. Every year, we are told, the people of Israel sins with a tragic inevitability that allows Samael, the Satan (or Azazel), to impose his will on the Matronite. Samael, in the form of a snake, or riding a snake, constantly prowls around the Matronite's private parts, hoping to penetrate her. Whether or not he succeeds in satisfying his desires depends on Israel's conduct. As long as Israel remains virtuous, Samael's lustful designs are thwarted. But as soon as Israel sins, as, alas, it cannot help but do

Every year, his sins increase Samaël's strength, and he sticks to the Matronite's body "with the adhesive force of resin" and defiles her (21).

Once he has defiled her, the Matronite's husband, the King, leaves her and retires to the solitude of his heavenly dwelling. This unhappy situation continues until the Day of Atonement, when the scapegoat, who is destined for Azazel (22), is thrown off a cliff into the Judean desert. Samël, attracted by the animal sacrificed to him, releases the Matronite, who can then rise to the heavens to find her husband, the King (23).

The union between the Matronite and the king is described in more graphic terms in a manuscript entitled *Sefer Tashaq*, written at the beginning of the 14th century by a Spanish Kabbalist by the name of R. Josef. The central part of this book is a mystical interpretation of the meaning of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet (including the Tetragrammaton) and an abstruse description of the body of the Matronite. The following brief extracts are drawn from the study of the mystical meaning of the letters zayin (ז) and het (ה).

"After the sacred body of the Holy One, blessed be he, who is the Covenant (24) of the Holy One, blessed be he, is made, he pours the good oil (25) on the Matronite [...] The letter het is open to receive the male, i.e. the letter zayin, which is called the Covenant [...] The letter het alludes to the Matronite: just as the woman is closed on three sides, only the fourth being open to receive her husband, so the Matronite is closed on three sides, only the fourth being open to receive her husband. The letter het, which is the Matronite, is opened to receive the vav, the King, the Lord of hosts. The branches of het are the legs of the Matronite, which are open, and the upper bar is the body of the Matronite. And zayin is the Covenant in relation to het and it is perfect; and the letter het resembles the two spread legs of the human body and the body which is above is the bar and this is its image:

image

Moreover, the woman is also like the letter he (ה), but, in the letter he, the son is not attached to her (26), whereas in the het he is attached to her and suckles her. Similarly, when the Metatron, the great and precious prince, does not suckle the Matronite, he is called he - there is a space between the legs, for he is not attached to the Matronite. But when he suckles the Matronite and is closely attached to her, he is called het and Metatron (27). And so it has been so far with the mystery of het. And each letter has many sacred chariots, for each letter is in the image of the Holy One, blessed be He." (28)

A new chapter opened in the life of the Matronite, when her bedroom, the Temple of Jerusalem, was destroyed. Since her husband, the King, was in the habit of mating with her only in the Temple, her destruction meant the sudden interruption of the intense love affair that had been theirs until then (29). This event was an absolute tragedy for the divine lovers. The Matronite was banished from her sacred home and from the Land of Israel, the King lamented bitterly over his great loss, and the Sun and the Moon and all that is Above and Below mourned and wept with him (30). The separation of the King and the Matronite stripped them of each other, and both remained in a state of "shameful nakedness" (31). Moreover, as it is a fundamental principle of both the physical and the metaphysical universe that "blessings are only possible where the masculine and feminine are united", the King, after he had been thus deprived of his Matronite, lost his "shameful nakedness". prestige and power, was no longer King, no longer great or powerful (32).

Soon, however, the king, who was not a man for nothing, was no longer able to endure the torment of solitude and let a slave goddess take the place of his true queen. This was one of the servants of the Matronite, who "once sat behind the hand mill". This concubine-slave, who was none other than Lilith, now exercised power over the Holy Land over which the Matronite had once reigned. This act, more than any other, caused the King to lose his honour (33).

As far as the Matronite was concerned, not only did she suffer the loss of her husband and be banished from her palace and her land, but in exile she had to resign herself to being raped by the gods. And even if she had not consented to these unions, once the other gods had mated with her, she was bound to them and the children of these other gods, the gentiles, were able to suckle her just as the children of Israel had done when the Temple was still standing (34).

However, both at home and in exile, the Matronite is irresistibly attracted to pious men. of Israel, especially when they engage in one or other of the two most meritorious activities: the study of the Law and the performance of good deeds. Men of this calibre make it a rule to sleep with their wives only on Friday night: for the six days of the week, they live as if they had been castrated, and devote themselves to their holy works. But in doing so, don't they run the risk of being impious, since "blessings are only possible where the masculine and feminine are united"? No, because whenever these men are away from their wives, the Shekhina mates with them. Similarly, when these wise men are away from their wives because of menstrual impurity, or when they are travelling, the Shekhina accompanies them; they are never deprived of the blessed state of union of male and female (35).

Above (p. 128), we saw that, from a Kabbalistic point of view, Rachel, the beloved wife of Jacob, was identified with the Shekhina. Since Rachel is the suffering mother of Israel and the Shekhina (or Matronite) is the personification of the community of Israel (see below, section 5), the identification of Rachel with the Shekhina touched deep sensibilities. Isaac Luria (1534-1572), the great Kabbalist from the town of Safed, recommended the practice of a certain mystical kavvana, i.e. a form of intense concentration, as a means of reuniting the exiled Rachel-Matronite with her husband, God the King. This Lurianic kavvana is described by Jacob ben Hayyim Tzemah (d. after 1665), a Kabbalist and physician, in his anthology of Lurianic practices:

"He will have to concentrate totally on two things, as a result of which he will be cherished On High and much loved On Low and a thread of charm will be placed around him that day and he will be accepted into the room of the

Matronite. He will first have to concentrate on this: at the beginning of the night, when he goes to bed, he will have to remember to concentrate on raising his soul to the mystery of the Matronite and to the mystery of the Feminine Waters, so that Leah may mate with Jacob. And, at midnight, he will no longer need to make

ascend'the Feminine Waters and consequently he will then have to concentrate a second time, this time to take part in Rachel's anguish, for it is then that she descends here below, into [the world of] [physical] creation. Therefore, at that time, he will have to weep for half an hour or more, thinking of Rachel's anguish, her banishment and exile and the destruction [of the Temple]. And it is particularly important to concentrate on this: because we have sinned, we have thrown the souls into the pods [i.e. into the impure physical world] and forced

Rachel, the Shekhina, had to go into exile here on earth to collect these souls. [...] Because of our many sins, she was forced to go into exile here below, and we are therefore responsible. And it is above all he who is descended from Cain, in whom is concentrated a large part of the filth of the serpent [see below, p. 242], in which the souls are buried, who does well to weep and lament so much, for he has a greater share in this perfidious act [which caused the exile of the Matronite] than the other strains. [...] And then, from midnight, let him absorb himself in the Torah until dawn. And you must concentrate on satisfying and uplifting the Shekhina, Rachel - who remains apart. And you must restore her through the Torah, in which you will be absorbed at that time, so that she is restored before dawn, [and be able and ready to] rise as the morning prayer rises, to mate with her husband [God] through the power you have brought to her overnight. And then you will be called the Matronite's best man, if you focus on this tirelessly, to take part in her anguish and restore her." (36)

V) Matronitis

The third characteristic of the virginal and immodest goddess of love in the ancient Near Eastern religions is their maternity. By an apparently paradoxical combination of features, the

The same goddess, who remains an eternal virgin and has an insatiable sexual appetite, is also the image of the mother, the woman who carries, nurses, raises and protects both gods and men.

In Kabbalistic mythology, motherhood was a character that originally belonged to the second character of the tetrad, the Mother-Goddess, the ancestress of both the Son-King and the Daughter-Shekhina (37), but it was transferred to the Daughter, as a few references will show. The Shekhina-Matronite, we read in the Zohar, is the (spiritual) mother of Israel and, as such, she is the incarnation of the "Goddess". community of Israel" (the Hebrew term, Knesseth Yisrael, is feminine). She lovingly nurses all the children of Israel, providing them not only with food, but also with total well-being. In fact, she is called the "Lower Mother" in relation to her people and in contrast to her own mother, who is the "Supernatural" or "Higher Mother". The Matronite's maternal fibre is so strong that she is unable to turn away from the gentle children who are forced upon her: following her exile from Jerusalem, when the "other gods", i.e. the deities of the "pagans", dictated their will to her, she nursed the "pagans" just as she had nursed Israel (38).

VI) Matronitis warrioris

The fourth character of the ancient Near Eastern virgin-impure-maternal goddesses is their thirst for blood. In ancient mythological texts, the virgin goddess of sexual love is often described as possessing the most appalling cruelty. The three millennia that elapsed between these myths and the time when the Matronite of Kabbalah developed obviously left their mark on the history of the goddess. imprint. In medieval sources, the warlike features of the Matronite are portrayed with more restraint. Nevertheless, the archaic character of her bloodthirsty aspect is clearly recognisable in the Kabbalistic references to the Matronite as leader of the divine armies and mistress of the supernatural forces opposed to the antagonistic human and infernal powers of evil.

For the moment, it would be futile to look for links between the bloodthirsty goddesses of the third and second millennia BC and the warrior Matronite of the thirteenth century AD. There was obviously nothing strange about the Hebrew biblical faith giving birth to the idea of a warrior deity, but in harmony with the monotheism that the Hebrews had officially adopted, all supernatural aggression was attributed to Yahweh, which explains why he is described as a "man of war", a slayer of dragons and a conqueror of human enemies whose blood colours his clothes (39). In the Talmudic period (first to fifth centuries AD), although the stigmatised and oppressed Judaism of the Roman and Byzantine periods had long ceased to regard God as a warrior, one of the traits attributed to the Shekhina, the personified Presence of God, imagined as a feminine entity, is undoubtedly a distant echo of the ancient pagan goddesses of destruction. Indeed, she was said to take souls

exceptionally deserving individuals, who were thus spared the bitterness of being mowed down by the Angel of Death (40). What is remarkable in this idea is not the association of compassion and the extinction of human life, but the attribution of this function, i.e. the murder out of compassion, to the Shekhina, the feminine principle. It was only in the Kabbalah, however, that the Shekhina, conceived at the time as a truly mythical female deity, took on the role of a "woman".

reminiscent of the ancient bloodthirsty goddesses of the Near East.

In the Zohar, it is to the Shekhina-Matronite that the King entrusts all his warlike activities: when he wants to take revenge on the idolatrous nations, the forces of Evil are aroused and the Shekhina gorges herself with blood and inflicts a bloody punishment on sinners (41). In her wars against the pagans, the Matronite commands myriads of supernatural soldiers of various kinds, such as, for example, the "lords of supernatural faces", the "lords of eyes", the "lords of weapons", the "lords of lamentations", the "lords of trembling" and other armed warriors provided with six faces and six wings, all girded with fearsome swords, all clothed in blazing fire and whose flaming sabres fly from one end of the world to the other. This was the army that the Matronite led against the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus (42).

In fact, the King gave up command of his forces altogether and placed them under the command of the Matronite. He entrusted her with all his weapons, his spears, his scimitars, his bows, his arrows, his swords, his catapults, as well as all his fortifications, his wood, his stones, placed all his military leaders under her command and told her: "From now on, you will be in charge of conducting all my wars". In accordance with this mandate, when the Great Ruler of the Egyptians, who was none other than Samael, at the head of his six hundred chariots mounted by angry warriors (or "accusers", because this battle was obviously a spiritual battle rather than a physical one), charged the fleeing Israelites, it was the Matronite who took up the defence and drove the attackers into the sea. A few generations later, when Sisera attacked the children of Israel, it was again the Matronite who delivered the enemy's chariots, which she destroyed (43).

In a Midrash that constitutes a later Hebrew version of the apocryphal Book of Enoch (probably written in 150 BC), a passage deals with the theme of the warrior Matronite. The Hebrew book in question is called *Sefer Hekhalot* ("Book of the Heavenly Halls") as well as *Sefer Hanokh* ("Book of Enoch"); it belongs to the abundant *Hekhalot* literature that developed in the early Talmudic period; it was known to the author of the Zohar and other Kabbalists. Its setting is Rabbi Yishma'el's visit to the heavenly halls, where he was welcomed and then guided by the one who, after being taken up to heaven, had been named the "Angel of the Face", the Metatron, who is none other than Enoch. Here is the passage:

"Rabbi Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, the Prince of the Face, said to me: In the seven palaces, four chariots of the Shekhina stand, before each of them stand the four camps of the Shekhina. Between one camp and the other flows and passes a river of fire. Between one river of fire and the other is a circle of luminous clouds. Between each of them stand columns of sulphur. Between each column stands a circle of flaming wheels. Between each wheel flaming sparks form a circle [...] " (44)

Even though the author, like most of those in the Hekhalot, concentrates on describing the wonders that can be seen in the heavenly halls, this passage clearly confirms the prezoharic character of the idea that the Shekhina-Matronite is responsible for the heavenly chariots and camps.

In the mystical present of the long exile, the wretched Galuth, as in glorious times, the Shekhini-Matronite is the belligerent defender and liberator of Israel. But her ability to defeat Israel's enemies ultimately depends on Israel itself. The Shekhina-Matronite is always in Israel's midst, ready to protect her from all sides and against all nations. But when Israel sins, the Shekhina's hands no longer have as much energy, she lacks strength and the great leaders of the other nations, that is to say their heavenly guardians, take over. But as soon as Israel repents, the Shekhinah is filled with strength; she neutralises all these great leaders, destroys the armies of Israel's enemies and takes revenge on them (45).

Closely linked to the warlike aspect of the Zoharic Shekhina-Matronite is its immense and monstrous appearance, which is described by the author of the Zohar in terms borrowed from the midrashic image of the Behemoth. The Midrash says of this mythical cosmic animal that it eats the grass of the Thousand Mountains every day and devours the many animals that graze on their slopes, that it drinks the waters of the Jordan in a single gulp and quenches its thirst by drinking the immense river Jubal, whose source is in Paradise (46). This mythology is elaborated in two Zoharic passages that describe the Shekhina-

Matronite like a monstrous cosmic woman who swallows the Thousand Mountains in a single mouthful, who swallows the waters of a thousand rivers in a single gulp, whose terrifying arms extend in 24,000 (or 25,000) directions and whose claws are always ready to tear or kill. Thousands of shields are caught in her hair, while her hair itself drags across the ground, earning her the epithets "Hair Moon" and "Comet Tail". Out of this long, Lilith-like hair come hordes of frightening, menacing warlords, each bearing singular names such as "lords of weights", "lords of severity", "lords of insolence" and "lords of lords", and who, taken as a whole, bear the title of "lords of the purple". No one can escape the cruel punishments inflicted by these warlords or by the Shekhina herself.

From between the legs of the terrifying monster-woman come an equally terrifying son, the first angel Metatron, who stretches from one end of the world to the other, and two daughters who are none other than the two infamous demon queens, Lilith and Naamah.

The terrible aspect of the Shekhina-Matronite makes it logical that the writers of the Zohar should have remembered her role in the Talmud as the bringer of death; the Zohar, in several places, states that the words of the Book of Proverbs (5:5) "His feet go down to death" refer to the Shekhina, symbolically represented by the forbidden tree which, for Adam, was a "tree of death" (47).

The warlike, monstrous and bloodthirsty aspect of the Matronite brings us back, for a moment at least, to the question of the link between Kabbalah and Hinduism (cf. above, pp. 132-33). The likelihood of a link between the two, and particularly between the Kabbalah and the Tantric and Shiva teachings of India has been further developed in my book *The Jewish Mind* (1977), in which, among many other subjects, I examine Kali, the beautiful but, at the same time, monstrous Hindu goddess, who is one of the many manifestations of Shakti and who has only been mentioned in passing here (p. 121). All just as Kali is correctly described as black, to underline her frightening character, so the Shekhina, says the Zohar, "tastes at times the other aspect, cruelty, and her face becomes black" (48) Marvin H. Pope, in his monumental commentary just published on the Song of Songs (in which he devotes 26 pages [p. 153-79] to a summary of the argument presented in the first edition of the present work), goes even further, drawing attention to the similarities between the Tantric hymns to the beautiful black goddess Kali and certain passages of the Song of Songs (especially 1:5) (49). After a thorough and interesting study of the "black and beautiful," Pope gives an overview of the surprisingly numerous black goddesses and expands on the "most famous of them all", the Indian Kali, who is "beautiful, always young and a virgin, and at the same time dreadful, violent, destructive and insatiable in her lust for blood and flesh, wine and sex." Unquestionably, the verse "I am black and beautiful, O daughters of Jerusalem" (Song 1:5) strongly recalls certain Hindu hymns dedicated to the black beauty of Kali, in particular the lines "You are dark like the blue-black cloud whose face is beautiful like that of Samkarshana [Shiva]" (50). These comparisons add a new dimension, an unsuspected historical depth, to the relationship between Kabbalism and Hinduism.

Another aspect of this relationship is that, despite the geographical distance separating Spanish Jews from India, intrepid Jewish writers such as the Kabbalist traveller Abraham Abulafia (see p. 132), his contemporary the Kabbalist translator and author Isaac Albalag, and others, familiarized Spanish Kabbalists to some extent with Hindu thought and doctrines (51).

VII) Marie and the Matronite

An interesting parallel to the warlike aspect of the Matronite is the evolution of the Virgin Mary, not only into a ruler of the world, but also into a patroness, or goddess, of Christian armed power. At the opening of the Council of Ephesus in 431 AD, Cyril of Alexandria gave a sermon in which he described Mary as the mother and virgin "through whom the Trinity is..."

sanctified [...] the Cross is precious, celebrated and adored throughout the earth. Through you heaven The angels and archangels rejoice, the demons are routed, the tempter is defeated and man is called back to heaven". (52)

Just in case you think that the triumph in heaven and the expulsion of demons attributed to Mary were considered to have taken place on a spiritual level alone, let us refer to Narses (ca. 478- ca. 573), a Byzantine general and officer under the Emperor Justinian, who on the battlefield expected Mary to guide him, to reveal to him the moment and hour of the attack (53); let us also refer to the Emperor Heraclitus (ca. 575-641), who wore her image on his banner (54). As early as 438, a portrait of the Virgin, attributed to Saint Luke, was sent from Jerusalem to Pulcheria, and this portrait came to be regarded as a kind of palladium, accompanying the Byzantine emperors in battle until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 (55). In the West, the Teutonic Knights (Deutscher Ritterorden) chose the Virgin as their patron saint (56).

Pope, in his commentary on the Song of Songs, pointed out that the Virgin Mary's role as goddess of war and the use of her image as a palladium and military standard "resulted from the beginning from the identification with the goddess Athena-Victoria. Emperor Constantine worshipped Athena and Apollo, who appeared to him in Autun before the battle of the Milvian Bridge. Constantine's labarum, under whose sign Christianity became a religion of conquest, ended at the bottom with a saltire, or pectoral belt, which was also worn by warriors and by the goddess of war. This continues to this day to be the symbol of the Queen of Battles on flags and banners. military uniforms. (57)

Mary, like the Matronite, was considered to have replaced God in the regal function of government and control, to such an extent that her sovereignty actually eclipsed that of God. She was

perceived as the empress of the universe, the sovereign of the world, the mistress who commands and the queen of heaven and earth (58). John of Damascus (c. 750) called her the sovereign lady, to whom the whole of creation had been subjected by her son, so that she could preserve it (59). Saint Peter

Damien (1007-72), an Italian cardinal and Doctor of the Church, called her deificata, "she who has been deified", and,

Two centuries later, the German mystic Matilda of Magdeburg (c. 1210-c. 1258) went so far as to call her a "goddess" (60).

The parallel between Mary and the Matronite extends to other aspects too. Like the Matronite, Marie was also considered to be the spouse of God; like her, she came to be seen as the mother of men in a general, mystical sense; and like her, she played the role of intermediary between God and men. men, she was regarded, if not as the only means, at least as the best and easiest, of reaching God... The ancient pagan goddess to whom the Israelites sacrificed cakes (61) reappeared among the Christians in the form of Mary, whom the Collyridians, a sect of zealous women of the V century, worshipped her by offering her cakes on certain days (62) and, among the Jews, under that of the Shekhina-Matronite, whose similarity to Asherah was recognised by Moses Cordovero in 16th-century Safed (63).

VIII) The meaning of Matronite

We have examined some of the characteristics of the four aspects of Matronitis - her chastity, promiscuity, maternity and bellicosity (or cruelty) - which are the most important components of her personality. The fact that these are precisely the same four aspects that characterise The fact that the ancient Near Eastern goddesses of love can also be found in the Virgin Mary gives us pause for thought. We feel compelled to ask why this paradoxical figure of the goddess persists in religions that are officially and openly monotheistic? To try and answer this question, there are two immediate alternatives. Either there has been diffusion, or there has been independent invention. The possibility of diffusion exists obviously: the prototype was the Sumerian Inanna, whose features can be clearly recognised in the Babylonian Ishtar, the Canaanite Anath and the Persian Anahita. It may be that the Hebrew monotheism was unable to exorcise the tenacious goddess, and it is not at all impossible that, even though she slumbered for several centuries, she awoke and reclaimed some of her ancient rights in the figure of the Mary of Christianity and in that of the Shekhina-Matronite of Talmudic and Kabbalistic Judaism. Indeed, not at all impossible. But how can it be And if a link could be proven, would we be any further ahead? And if a link were proven, would we be any further ahead? We still need to find out exactly why, of all the goddesses in the rich pantheons of the Ancient Near East, this is the one who found such a formidable second wind.(64) For To answer this question, we must move from the field of comparative mythology to that of psychology, where the question no longer arises as to whether this figure was disseminated or invented. independently. Whether or not the Matronite (and Mary) originated in Inanna, her advent in new and radically different religious environments shows that she met a psychological need in medieval Ashkenazi or Sephardic Jewry, as she had in Sumer in the third millennium BC. How can this psychological need manifest itself?

To try and answer this question, we must, of necessity, focus on the figure of the medieval Kabbalistic goddess dealt with in this chapter, the Matronite-Shekhina. If we want to see what the Matronite-Shekhina meant psychologically, we must

Consider the four main characteristics of this mythical figure that we have examined as a whole. They show that the Matronite-Shekhina is the mythologically objectified projection of the absolute woman, the woman who takes all the forms, all the aspects and all the appearances of the woman that man needs, not only for his biological survival, but also for the survival of his family.

also for its psychological existence. The character of his need, which accompanies him from birth to death, from the cradle to the grave, changes in the course of the years he is given to live. As s o n as he is born of her, he wants her to hold him close to her opulent maternal bosom and breastfeed him. As he grows, he needs her protection and advice. As soon as he realises that a woman is the opposite sex, she must appear to him emotionally as a pure virgin. When he has to fight off enemies or is tested by adversity, he relies on her, either concretely or in the form of a friend.

He imagines himself relying on her to fight the forces of evil that oppose him. When he is overwhelmed by frustration or discouraged by failure, he imagines her as a furious woman capable of doing for him what he himself is incapable of, fearlessly throwing herself into the fray and leading his battles. In the routine of regulated marital sexuality, she gives a metaphysical, even cosmic meaning to the act. When life at home becomes monotonous and trivial, she is there, with the thousand faces painted with his charm and the continual promise of his presence. And when life finally It is the hope of her last kiss that makes him forget the bitterness of death and see death as the beginning of a new life in a blissful Hereafter.

Matronite is thus the projection of all that a woman can be as a protector for man. In its many aspects, it symbolises the great affirmation of life, the basic satisfactions we derive from existence, and the comfort we find in a mother, a nurturer, the lover, the fiancée, the woman, the shameless seductress, the warrior protector and the one who opens doors to the Beyond.

The fact that the image is not lacking in contradictions more or less betrays the ambivalence of man's relationship with women (65). The Matronite, like the ancient great goddess of love, is both virginal and immodest. Virginal, because the man must idealise the woman: he wants his wife to be a virgin, to have waited for him for countless eons and to remain virginal and chaste even a s she yields to his embrace and his alone. Impudent, because at the same time he imagines the woman, whose body is for him a promise of voluptuousness, as the embodiment of desirability, as the one who, loved by men and gods, not only yields to him, but excites him, draws him into the labyrinthine mysteries of love. And, paradoxically, but inevitably because of his deep-seated nature, he imagines his virgin fiancée and his immodest wife as a

The third idealising character of the goddess is that of mother. The third idealising character of the goddess is that of mother. It expresses, if not necessarily oedipal inclinations, at least the desire to rediscover in the embrace of the beloved some of the happy security of the child cuddled in his mother's arms.

And as if that weren't enough, the mother-impudent-virgin amalgam itself appears to be just one of the two general aspects that are united in the goddess: the loving aspect, opposed to another A cruel and frightening aspect, that of the ruthless warrior goddess who sheds blood, destroys life and loves to do it as she makes love. And what is also paradoxical is that man feels attracted by the wrathful figure of this goddess of battle and blood as much as by the impudent virgin who beckons him to approach with a chaste, knowing smile, or by the mother who presents him with her bosom. opulent and nourishing.

So the goddess says four things to man: keep away from me because I'm a virgin; love me, love me, love me, love me, love me, love me, love me, love me, love me, love me, love me. because I'm available to everyone; come and snuggle up to my mother's breast; and die inside me because I'm thirsty for your blood. Whichever of these aspects momentarily has the upper hand, the male psyche is profoundly sensitive to it. The voices of the goddess penetrate the man and They compel us to pay homage to her and encourage us to lose ourselves in her, whether in love or in death.

Raphael Patai, The Hebrew Goddess, chapter VI: La Matronite - La Déesse de la Kabbale, 1990, translated from the American by J. B.

(*) On the centrality of the Goddess in Freemasonry, Muslim esotericism and Christian esotericism, see William Bond, Freemasonry And The Hidden Goddess, <https://masongoddess.blogspot.com> ; Laurence Galian, The Centrality Of The Divine Feminine In Sufism, <http://home.earthlink.net/~drmlig/id8.html> ; Timothy Freke, Peter Gandy, Jesus and the Lost Goddess: The Secret Teachings of the Original Christians, https://books.google.fr/books?id=swM_6ufZ2P4C.

(**) See Gene Heck, Charlemagne, Muhammad, and the Arab Roots of Capitalism, <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2021/01/01/les-racines-arabes-du-capitalisme-liberal/> ; Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Weber/ethique_protestante/Ethique.html ; Werner Sombart, The Jews and Modern Capitalism, http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/sombart_werner/Jews_and_modern_capitalism/Jews_modern_capitalism.html.

(***) See Dom Hisoard, *La propriété et la communauté des biens depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*, <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2012/09/30/les-racines-asiatiques-du-globalism/>.

(1) James B. Pritchard (ed.), *ANET*, ed. unspecified, pp. 41, 44, 54, 55, 56, 57, 159, 178, 309; Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians*, University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 122, 140-1, 153, 161-2, 197, 205-6, 262.

(2a) Stephen H. Langdon, *Semitic (The Mythology of All Races, vol. V)*, Boston, 1931, pp. 25-8, 94, 97; id. in *Babylonian Liturgies*, Paris, 1913, pp. 43, 95; James B. Pritchard (ed.), op. cit. pp. 83, 84, 94, 108, 111, 113, 118, 119, 123, 205, 250, 294, 298, 299, 383, 427, 449, 451.

(2b) This passage is based on Charles de Harlez, *Avesta : livre sacré du Zoroastrisme : Traduit du texte zend, accompagné de notes explicatives*, Maisonneuve, 1881 (N.d.T.).

(3) See Emil G.H. Kraeling, *Rand McNally Bible Atlas*, New York, 1956, p. 305 and maps iii and xi; Herodotus I. 131; Eduard Meyer, "Anaitis", in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, B. G. Teubner, 1897; Strabo XI. 532c; Franz Cumont, "Anahita". In James Hastings,

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 1, T. & T. Clark, 1910; Geo Widengren, "Stand und Aufgabe der iranischen Religionsgeschichte". In *Numen* I, 1954), p. 72 and idem, "Stand und Aufgabe der In *Numen* 2, 1955a, p. 92, 122-23. That Anahita was considered the daughter of Ormuzd is mentioned by the fourth-century Armenian historian Agathangelus. Agathangelus, cf.

Friedrich Heinrich Hugo Windischmann, *Die persische Anahita oder Anaitis, Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich, vol. 8, 1858, pp. 85-128 (Some - see, for example, Ruth Rusca, *Feminine Mysteries in the Bible*, Bear & Company, 2008, have recently asserted, without the slightest proof, that the term 'virgin' here does not mean 'who has never had sexual intercourse', but 'unmarried'. Not only is this a gratuitous claim, but it is formally contradicted by the fact that every priestess of Ishtar, who, like the goddess herself, were considered to be both virgins (nu-gig) and impure, could marry (see Stephen Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar: A Monograph Upon Babylonian Religion and Theology, Containing Extensive Extracts from the Tammuz Liturgies and All of the Arbela Oracles*, Clarendon Press, 1914 -p. 81 [N.d.E.]).

(4) Numbers 19:2.

(5) Zohar iii. 180b, Raaya Mehemna.

(6) Zohar iii. 89b-90a, Raaya Mehemna.

(7) Zohar iii. 267a, Raaya Mehemna.

(8) Zohar iii. 189a.

(9) Cyrus H. Gordon, "Canaanite mythology". In Samuel Noah Kramer (ed.), *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, 1961, p. 204.

(10) Zohar i. 21b-22a.

(11) Zohar i. 21b-22a.

(12) B. Sota 13b; Sifre Deuteronomy, 355.

(13) Zohar i. 49a, iii. 74b.

(14) Zohar i. 30b-31a.

(15) *Tiqqune haZohar*, *Tiqqun* 34, p. 77; quoted from Isaiah Tishby, *Mishnat haZohar*, vol. 2, 1949-61, p 623.

(16) Zohar Hadash, *Midrash ha-Néélam*, Warsaw, 1870, p. 183.

(17) *Ibid.*

(18) Zohar iii. 296a.

(19) Zohar ii. 89a-b.

(20) Zohar i. 12b.

(21) Zohar ii. 219b; 1. 64a.

(22) Leviticus 16:8-10.

(23) Zohar iii 79a; 1. 64a.

(24) In other words, the sign of the Covenant, circumcision. In this case, the divine phallus, as in the passage from the Zohar (I:12b) just quoted.

(25) In other words, its seed, which was referred to earlier as the "river".

(26) In the letter he (ו), the left "branch" is not attached to the upper horizontal part, the right "branch" is not attached to the lower horizontal part.

"In the het (ה), it is attached to the body. Note that here the imagery has changed: the "branch" has become the son of the Matronite.

(27) Below (p. 150), we again meet Metatron, chief of all the angels, represented as the son of the Matronite who emerges from between his legs.

(28) Extracts from folios 38b-40a of the *Sefer Tashaq* manuscript by R. Yosef, a photocopy kindly made available to me by prof. Jeremy Zwelling of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, who is preparing a critical edition of the book, based on several existing manuscripts. My translation is based on the original Hebrew.

- (29) Zohar iii. 42a-b.
- (30) Zohar i. 210a-b.
- (31) Zohar iii. 17a-b, 74b.
- (32) Zohar iii. 69a.
- (33) Ibid.
- (34) Zohar i. 84b.
- (35) Zohar i. 49b-50a, 66b; Moses Cordovero (1522-1570), *Pardes Rimmonim*, entry 16, section 6.
- (36) Jacob ben Hayyim Tzema, *Sefer Nagid u-Meʾawweh*, Amsterdam, 1712, p. 5b-6a.
- (37) See chapter V above, "The Kabbalistic Tetrad".
- (38) Zohar i. 84b, iii. 17a-b, 186b.
- (39) Exodus 15:3; Isaiah 51:9; Psalm 89:11; Isaiah 63:1-6.
- (40) Baba Batra 17a; B. Sota 13b; Sifre Deuteronomy. 355; cf. Deuteronomy Rabba, 11:10-fin; Song Rabba 1 and 3.
- (41) Zohar ii. 29a.
- (42) Zohar ii. 50b.
- (43) Zohar ii. 51a-b.
- (44) *Sefer Hekhalot*, included in Jellinek, *Bet haMidrash*, 5:183-84 (for the French translation, see Moshe Idel and Charles Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch, ou Livre des Palais*, Verdier, 1989, p 133).
- (45) Zohar iii. 75a-b.
- (46) An allusion to the "Behemoth on the Thousand Mountains" was detected by the authors of the Midrash in Psalm 50:10, where God says: "For every beast of the forest is Mine, and the cattle (in Hebrew: Behemoth) on a thousand mountains". Cf. *Midrash Kohen* 25; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 80b-81a; *Leviticus Rabba* 13.3; 22.10; *Numeri Rabba* 21.18; *Pirque diRabbi Eliezer*, ch. 11; see also Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Myths*, 6. n, o, et p.
- (47) The main passages are Zohar I. 223a-b and III. 60. Proverbs 5:5 is quoted in Zohar I. 35b, 221b, and II. 48b. Cf. the excellent analysis of these passages by G. Scholem in his *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit*, Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1962, p. 186.

(48) Cf. Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Mind*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1977, p. 134-50, and in p. 144, quoting G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, Schocken, New York, 1965, p. 107.

(49) Marvin H. Pope, *Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1977, p. 167.

(50) *Ibid*, p. 317-8; cf. also p. 191-2.

(51) Raphael Patai, *op. cit.* p. 147-8.

(52) See Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, "Mary". In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed (translated from Vincent Davin, *Saint Grégoire VII*, Casterman, 1861, p. 26).

(53) Cf. Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 24.

(54) Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, *op. cit.*

(55) J. B. Mayor, "Mary". In James Hastings, John A. Selbie, John Chisholm Lambert, and Shailer Mathews (eds.), *Dictionary of the Bible*, C. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909, p. 292.

(56) "Maria". In Johann Jakob Herzog (ed.), *Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 12, p. 319.

(57) Marvin H. Pope, *op. cit.* p. 170-71.

(58) James Hastings, John A. Selbie, John Chisholm Lambert, and Shailer Mathews(eds.), *op. cit.* pp. 290, 292; Johann Jakob Herzog (ed.), *op. cit.* pp. 316-7.

(59) *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *ibid*; Johann Jakob Herzog (ed.), *op. cit.* p. 316.

(60) Johann Jakob Herzog (ed.), *ibid*; "Marienverehrung". In *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. 4, Tübingen, 1960, p. 764,

(61) See above, p. 63-4.

(62) Johann Jakob Herzog (ed.), *op. cit.* p. 315.

(63) Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, Sha'ar 'Erkhe haKinuyim, Koretz, 1780, ch. 3, p. 120c (one of the aspects of the "Virgin" Mary that the author does not mention here is fornication. In the Protevangile, the Gospel that is supposed to have served as the source for the three Synoptic Gospels, Mary is called kadesha (Arabic: qadisha; the term is used in the Koran to refer to Muhammad's wealthy wife, whose money helped finance the Prophet of Islam's business venture), a term referring to specifically the sacred prostitutes in Palestine, Canaan and Babylon).

(64) The author needlessly complicates the issue by failing to draw all the consequences from the fact that he does not

could not have been unaware that most of the goddesses in the Near Eastern pantheons were nothing more than kaleidoscopic variants of the mother goddess.

(65) Let's say, more precisely, of "the ambivalence of the relationship of the feminine man to women". The type of man in question is one whose "principle is not self-sufficient. In terms of On the material level, it has value only as an instrument of generation; either it submits to the bond of the woman, or it is obscured by the demetrian luminosity of the mother. On the spiritual level, it is only through

a Dionysian ecstasy fostered by sensualist and feminine elements that he can form an idea of what is eternal and unchanging, that he can sense immortality - an immortality that does not have However, it has nothing to do with the celestial immortality of the Olympians and Heroes (see Julius Evola, *Le Madri e la Virilità Olimpica: Storia segreta dell'antico mondo mediterraneo*, electronic edition, Mediterranee,

2013), since it consists in the quality of that which is perpetuated indefinitely by generation alone, through an uninterrupted succession of similar organisms. Here, the woman is seen as a manifestation of what Aristotle called *ὑλη*, of the "materia prima", two expressions that R. Guénon sought to render by that of "universal substance", specifying precisely on the one hand that it "does not is not only situated beneath our world (substantia, from *sub stare*, is literally "that which stands beneath", which is also rendered by the ideas of "support" and "substratum"), but beneath it as well. of all the worlds or states included in universal manifestation

"On the other hand - and these four lines put what is generally understood by "science" in its rightful place and settle its account - "by the very fact that it is only potentiality absolutely".

indistinguishable" and undifferentiated, (it) is the only principle that can be said to be properly "unintelligible".

"Not because we are incapable of knowing her, but because there is in fact nothing to know about her...". (the remark is perfectly transposable to the psychological level, with regard to women and, in general, female beings). The "maternal mystery of physical generation" is

is at the heart of the religious systems of matriarchal societies. In the gynocracy, which is the political translation of matriarchy, "the individual does not exist in himself; he is transitory, ephemeral, and only the universal cosmic matrix is eternal, where he is born.

will dissolve again, but from which it will be eternally reborn, just as a tree that has lost its leaves

blooms again" (Julius Evola, *Metafisica del sesso*, 4th ed., Mediterranee, Rome, 2006, p. 75). The

The matriarchal societies to which the Italian author relates such religious conceptions in this passage from *Metaphysics of Sex* belong to the pre-Hellenic Pelasgian civilisation, but these conceptions, as he stresses elsewhere, are also those of the Near and Middle Eastern Semitic societies of Antiquity, where, although with a few rare exceptions, women never had a role equal to that of men in the State, the fact remains that, in addition to being the "head of the family", women were also the "head of the household".

family" (see - really - Alexis Giraud-Teulon, *La mère chez certains peuples de l'antiquité*, E. Thorin, 1867), even those who academically put the term "matriarchy" in inverted commas are forced to note that "female 'kingship'" occupied "without any possible dispute" the place of honour "in the religious imagination of the Ancient Near East", from the Neolithic onwards (Jacques Cauvin, "La question du 'matriarcat préhistorique' et le rôle de la femme dans la préhistoire", *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient*, 1985, vol. 10, n° 1, pp. 7-18).

The ambivalence of the feminine man's feelings towards women is ultimately the same as the Semitic man's attitude towards women (see Sigrid Hunke, *Le Soleil d'Allah brille sur l'Occident*, chapters *Modèles originaux de la gnädige Frau* and *Serviteur de Dieu et de la bien-aimée*). However, it does not follow that two opposing vocations, in this case fornication and motherhood, can exist simultaneously in a certain type of woman.

Anti-America

We think we know America well, this country that now exerts such great influence throughout the world in all areas of life. A more detailed study reveals that our early ideas were inaccurate, if not completely false. However, even a serious study of America will never be able to provide more than an imperfect knowledge of the country, for the simple reason that the official history of America is truncated and dominated by myth. Who today understands that America began to exist as a Judeo-Christian belief system long before it was 'discovered' in 1492? Who fully appreciates the impact of Puritanism on America? America, ever since the fanaticism of the "Pilgrim Fathers"? Who suspects that the United States is a creation of Freemasonry, which has held America's destiny in its hands since the first half of the eighteenth century? Who is really aware of the sectarian explosion that took place in the nineteenth century, and the role of sects in shaping the American spirit and mind? Finally, who is Is he capable, from a traditional point of view, of drawing a faithful portrait of American 'civilisation' if he does not know the true history of America?

In this essay, we aim to provide a synthetic answer to all these questions. We want to summarise what America really is, from the European expeditions of the fifteenth century to the present day. We are not inventing anything: everything we say is verifiable, but will generally be scattered throughout the literature. However, there are a few rare books which deal with the question of America in a masterly manner. These include the "Histoire secrète de l'Amérique" by Lauric Guillaud and Julius Evola's texts on America. We have drawn heavily on these two works in writing this essay, and would like to thank the authors.

In this essay, we use the term 'America' interchangeably with 'United States'.

Part I: America as a belief

The search for an earthly paradise and the development of positive sciences as motivations for the great European expeditions

The many European expeditions from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries enabled the Earth to be explored and mapped, and direct contacts to be established with other continents. extra-European populations, thus realising what has been called the "age of discovery". Two

motivations, more or less conscious, are at the root of this vast undertaking. The first motivation is the accumulation of rational, scientific data and knowledge, which we will call "scientific knowledge". the nineteenth century. Throughout the 'Renaissance', this work of planetary ants was pursued and expressed by several important figures of the time, including Giordano Bruno, who gave the order to 'weigh and measure everything'. Studying the physical world was also a way of getting closer to God, since, according to the first two chapters of Genesis, the Judeo-Christian God was the creator of the elements of time, geography and climate, as well as of animals and humans. The second motivation, which played the greatest role, was the search for an earthly paradise (1). In fifteenth-century Christian Europe, under the influence of the Protestant Reformation, the belief in a paradise saved from the Flood anywhere on earth was very strong. Paradise, an ancient notion that was very much in evidence during the Middle Ages, was often symbolically represented in the following ways identified with an insular place reached by a journey. In all cases, paradise is a place on Earth that can, in principle, be accessed, and it was not until the early modern period that the idea of paradise as an internal and essentially interior idea was replaced (2). Certain terrible events, such as the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War, with all their attendant evils, may have contributed to the development of enthusiasm for the search for an earthly paradise. The In fifteenth-century Europe, it was believed that the world would soon come to an end, and that the discovery and evangelisation of this paradise would lead to the end of the world. new lands would allow the renewal of the Christian world through paradise on earth, or "at the very least, the recommencement of sacred history, the reiteration of the events described in the Bible" (3).

So, in addition to Christophe Colomb, who believes he has arrived at the gates of paradise by "discovering" In America, several other expeditions set out to find paradise on earth: the four expeditions that set out from the Canary Islands between 1526 and 1721 were in search of Saint Brendan's "Promised Land", and the conquistador Ponce de León was in pursuit of the "Fountain of Youth" in the West, Vázquez de Coronado wants to find the "golden cities of Cibola", Sebastián Cabot is scouring the globe to find the "golden cities of Cibola". find the extraordinary land of the Book of Kings, the adventurers Ambrosius Ehinger, Georg Hohermuth and Gonzalo de Quesada are looking for the "Eldorado", and so on. Financial themes were already intertwined with la religion: in addition to their religious significance, the "Cities of Gold" and the "Eldorado" are made of gold, and paradise on earth is supposed to contain immense material riches. Generally speaking, even before America was 'discovered', the spirit and the material were intertwined in the minds of those who wanted to find paradise on earth.

Christophe Colomb, Judeo-Christian prophet and evangeliser of the world

Columbus did not 'discover' America in 1492. There is a great deal of archaeological, linguistic and mythological evidence to show that, from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, individuals and groups of people

the white peoples knew that there was a land beyond the Atlantic Ocean (4). Some were even born there. However, as far as Colomb is concerned, it is not the most important. His identity, even if there is still some uncertainty about who he really was. Indeed, more than fourteen countries dispute his birthplace and Simon Wiesenthal has redoubled his efforts to try and prove that Colomb was a Jew (5). We can affirm that, in view of his actions and his He was Judeo-Christian in spirit. Feeling close to the prophet Isaiah, knowing the kabbalistic and temporal teachings (6), Colomb dreams of evangelising the whole world, which is reminiscent of Saint Paul. In his "Book of Prophecies", Colomb asserts that the conquest of the new continent, its evangelisation and the destruction of the Antichrist will bring about the end of the world, allowing for the Second Coming of Christ, from a half-Enlightenment, half-Apocalyptic perspective. Although he does not go so far as to take on the role of an eschatological messiah, he nevertheless sees himself as the prophet of the New World and identifies with the pirate of the Argonauts. Addressing Prince John, he says: "God He has made me a messenger of the new heaven and the new earth, of which He speaks in the Apocalypse of Saint John, and of which He has already spoken through the mouth of Isaiah; and He has shown me the place where I can find it". Finally, thinking that the inhabitants of paradise should speak Hebrew and Aramaic and equating them with the lost tribes of Israel, he was accompanied by Rodrigo de Jerez, a Jewish convert who shared these languages. These themes, far from being ephemeral, would have a lasting influence throughout the history of America, on both the colons and the evangelisers. The first American was already a preacher.

The influence of utopias

The theme of utopia, which was grafted onto eschatology, also had a major influence, We can therefore say that the colonists had the Bible in their right hand and Thomas More's Utopia in their left. It was during the conquest of the continent that Utopia became increasingly important, as the colonists realised that this virgin continent could be fashioned into the earthly paradise they had imagined and dreamed of. Since the colons often hated Europe, which was considered corrupt and the Antichrist, this earthly paradise was programmed to be its antithesis. Reform, rigorous tolerance, the principle of reason applied to the kings and egalitarianism were all advocated. In concrete terms, religion should be a moral religion identified with science (7). The fraternity, love of order, devotion to one's country, equality between men and contempt for luxury are elevated to the rank of dogmas that must be obeyed, utopias having for the most part a character of their own. clearly authoritarian. Unashamedly proud of his country's superiority, the utopian is disdainful of other countries that are not on a par with his own, foreshadowing chauvinism and imperialism. of tomorrow's average American. They are the Indians, that "rude race to be civilised "In spite of the desire to break with Europe, this theme of utopia was nonetheless charged with a considerable Christian influence from Europe. Despite the desire to break with Europe, the theme of utopia is nonetheless charged with a considerable Christian influence originating in Europe, since there are several Christian-social utopias in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Tommaso Campanella, Giordano Bruno, Martin Luther, Giordano Savonarole, Johann Andrae, etc.), including this one by Rabelais, which perfectly describes what education would be like in America. Indeed, the

The Rabelaisian utopia is a large country monastery, a veritable haven of freedom, open to young boys and girls who practise sport and study in harmony. Science and religion were thus brought together. Many of these utopias included cabalistic, hermetic and technological elements, which were sometimes transcribed into the American landscape in the period of the 20th century. for example. Finally, we should mention Francis Bacon's influence on the "New Atlantis" utopia, which can be summed up in one of his declarations: "I am a citizen of the world" (8), thus prefiguring twentieth-century globalism.

The influence of the Reformation, of Christianity

The 'discovery' of America coincided with the Protestant Reformation, which, by accentuating the tendency of Judeo-Christianity to consider transcendence from a purely moral and therefore ultimately utilitarian point of view, turned this religion into pure humanism. Luther predicted the imminent destruction of the old world and preached that a 'new age' or 'millennium' would come. As for Calvin, whose family was called Cohen before changing its name, he advocated the dogmas of predestination and election, which were to be at the heart of the American Puritanism we will discuss later. In fact, the American Puritan was a despot who was fearless, intransigent because he was certain of holding the truth, doctrinaire and utopian, with a Manichean vision. These are still the characteristics of the average American today.

We are primarily interested here in the Anglican form of Calvinism, as it was the Anglicans who were to colonise the new continent. This is the Presbyterianism preached by John Knox, who succeeded in establishing a theocracy in Scotland. However, Calvinists were persecuted in England and Scotland, and it was this persecution that led them to go to America to find the paradise foretold by Calvin and to found their city of God. This wave of persecution also had the important consequence of dispersing the faithful to the four corners of the world, greatly helping to spread their faith. For the Calvinists, the break with the Church of Rome meant a break with the Church of Rome. This tabula rasa is also one of the reasons why many authorities will say that the founders of America were men without a past, and that they had no past. This tabula rasa is also one of the reasons why many authorities will say that the founders of America were men without a past, and that they had to start from scratch.

without history, which is reminiscent of the first Christians, whom Celse described in these terms: "he is a new race of men born yesterday, without homeland or traditions, united against all institutions religious and civiles, pursued by the law, universally noted for infamy, but making themselves gloire of the common execration: these are the Christians". (9).

The Anglicans, who were also to colonise America, were of the same mindset as the Protestants because, in everyone's opinion, the Anglicans were the "chosen people", chosen by God for the sacred mission of colonising America. Indeed, Anglican and Calvinist prelates advocated that "England is Israel", that "the God of Israel is the God of England" and that "the Ark of Alliance was removed from America". the land of Abraham to the land of England" (10). Similarly, Cotton Mather considers that God has chosen Angleterre for its great purpose. It could be said, then, that the Anglicans were appropriating the old Judaic theme of the Jewish people, which would play no less of a role in explaining Anglican racism during the building of the British Empire, racism having above all religious rather than racial foundations. Finally, if America is only now being discovered, it is because it was hidden by God until the Reformed came, God's children for whom it was destined.

At the dawn of the colonisation of America by England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Calvinism prevailed over Lutheranism in England. It was a struggle between moderate and intransigent Calvinists that would be at the centre of American ideological struggles. In addition to To colonise America, England wanted to impose Protestant Christianity and convert the godless and the Indians, who were considered obscurantist. This was the beginning of what would later be called American interference, a Calvinist sentiment that wanted to shape the world to make it conform to the divine will, which was obviously defined by the Calvinists.

As a result of the gradual move away from its metropolis, the young colony relied more and more on Calvinist institutions.

Part Two: Puritan America

The puritanical extremism of the 'Pilgrim Fathers

The importance later given to the "Pilgrims Fathers", whose adventures were mythologised and placed under the seal of Calvinist providence, bears witness to the predominance of Calvinism. not even the first colons. Myth and fiction still prevail over history today.

In England and Scotland, the future "Pilgrim Fathers" preached reform, attended secret meetings and lived on the fringes of society as outcasts. Denounced and hunted down, many fled to Holland, where they took advantage of the opportunity to recruit new members. Caught in their last entrenchments, their future uncertain, they decided to flee to America. The crossing, which had only been

chances of success, ends up succeeding. It's the first miracle in American history, with a happy ending typical of the American state of mind. The "Pilgrim Fathers" were Judeo-Christians in spirit: they saw themselves as missionaries, "propagators of the Gospel" (11), future saints of the New World, and wanted to be united with God by contract, like Israel with Jehovah. They know what the future American people will be like.

All in all, the "Pilgrims Fathers" were helped by the Indians, and the official history does not recognise this help enough, or else disguises it as a "miracle". The story of Pocahontas, the Indian woman who made it possible to supply the colony with beer, was also mythologised. Much more than anything else,

This illustrates the interracial mixing that was to become so common in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century.

The "Pilgrim Fathers" had a particular devotion to the Scriptures and Reason, which translated into an obsession with the Bible (both Old and New Testaments) and education, which were supposed to be a source of inspiration.

the fight against Satan and decadent Europe. This duality, the "natural" and the "supernatural", will always be present in the American soul, often bordering on schizophrenia. Education

In 1642, the French government made it an obligation to provide primary education for children (12). From that time onwards, the world-famous universities of today were built. Each was funded by a religious denomination or sect. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was the great industrialists and tycoons who acted in this way (13).

America is paradise on earth as defined by the sacred scriptures

The migration to America continued. John Winthrop, at the head of 400 colons, landed in 1629. HE imitates the language of Saint Matthew in order to build the City of God (14). This belief in the possibility of building an earthly paradise reflects an optimistic neurosis that would reappear throughout history. American. Believing they were reliving biblical times, migrants identified with the Hebrews of the Bible. crossing the Red Sea, fleeing persecution. They saw themselves as the "children of Israel" (Chauncy, Champion, Abbot, Hitchcock, etc.). For them, America was a marvellous country, "the garden of the world where milk and honey flow" (Daniel Price), "a telle land that God made" (John Smith), "this Canaan" (John Smith), "a land that God made" (John Smith), "a land that God made" (John Smith), "a land that God made" (John Smith), "a land that God made" (John Smith), "a land that God made" (John Smith). promised, which has been discovered by the grace of God to bless the labours of an ancient people", etc. (15). The various obstacles (wilderness, harsh climate, hostile Indians, etc.) encountered are perceived as "obstacles".

and, above all, as moral and spiritual trials that must be overcome in order to build paradise on earth. In this frame of mind, work, and especially clearing land, takes on extreme importance: it's the means by which we can create paradise on earth. We can see that the notion of progress was already very present in the millénarisme, which partly explains the future

Puritan conversion to mercantilism. Against this earthly paradise in the making, Europe was identified as its enemy (16). It was on this account that the colonists scorned culture and intelligence. John Cotton writes that "the more cultured and intelligent you are, the more you are prepared to working for Satan" (17). This gave rise to a veritable complex of moral superiority among the colonists, which would endure among modern Americans. This will be felt throughout American history, especially in foreign policy and the determination to spread the American way of life throughout the world (18), all the more so since, as time goes by, disappointed by the non-realisation of paradise on earth, Americans see the advent and hegemony of the American nation in the world as a more concrete divine promise.

The American is a being moulded by millenarism

The American man will be profoundly shaped by the various millenarist beliefs of the early days of colonisation, which will eventually take shape in a nationalist framework, so that it is to this period that we must attribute the origin of modern American mentality. Indeed, this is what explains why modern Americans are evangelists, preachers and zealots. According to the millennialist beliefs already mentioned, Christ's return to Earth was only possible once the Gospel had been "spread throughout the world". The American obsession with progress and novelty is the fruit of the Calvinist obsession with the "New World", a place that embodied a "rebirth" and was supposed to bring a new life that was ardently desired, as can be seen from the place names of many towns and regions (New York, New England, New Canaan, New Hampshire, Nova Scotiae, etc.). This explains the keen interest Americans have in the latest fashions, the latest gadgets, the latest cosmetic anti-wrinkle cream to make you look younger, the latest model of car and, above all, technology, so much so that we could boldly say that the modern world, dominated by technology, is a Calvinist, Biblical, Judaic product, just as "the United States is proud of Calvin" (19).

Propaganda and advertising are also two American inventions, the former having historically given rise to the latter. For example, "in southern Virginia, the land of 'Eden' is trying to attract older emigrants who are anxious to be rejuvenated" (20), with paradise on earth acting as a "magnet" for newcomers.

fountain of youth. Regeneration must also take place at a racial level, through racial and cultural cross-breeding. The American man is a composite of several races, a half-breed. Like the says Crèvecoeur: "Here, individuals from all nations merge to form a new race" (21). As far as racial cross-breeding with black slaves is concerned, it was much more important than we might suspect. The theme of regeneration was also linked to that of youth, with Americans often describing themselves as a "young nation" that had to take over from Europe. We'll see later that it's better to talk about infantilization.

The mid-war beliefs will come true, as the end of the world will not happen. Science, technology, industry and machines become the vehicles through which the regeneration of the world will be achieved, the theme of utopia still being present. To overcome the public's last remaining reservations, industry developed philanthropic activities, which are now compulsory for all large companies.

The puritan theocracy: the calvinist social contract

After committing themselves before God to create a body politic to establish a colony and the memory of God,

The "Pilgrim Fathers" established a puritan theocracy. Tolerance and democracy are not good bedfellows. The Puritan theocracy was repressing it. Although hospitable, the 'Pilgrim Fathers' did not want religious freedom and were decidedly authoritarian, even sectarian and fanatical.

The ordinance of 1631 stated that only members of the Church were citizens. Anabaptists and Quakers were persecuted. Religious service was made compulsory in 1651. It was forbidden to work, drink alcohol and travel on Sundays. Penalties were laid down for women guilty of "sexual delinquency". The much-vaunted Protestant work ethic had very negative origins: the Christian God, through original sin, condemned men to work. Austerity was the order of the day in all areas of life: parties, even religious ones, were outlawed, and women had to wear strict clothing. Everything was subject to theology and the Bible.

The social contract is introduced by a sermon by Winthrop ("A Model of Christian Charity", 1630).

Thus, "man is free to go to God under the protection of the authority of divine guardianship" (22). The texts of laws are inspired by the Bible. More generally, the Puritans saw themselves as the "people of the Law" (with a capital L), whether religious or civil. The long judicial episode against Thomas Morton, who was virtually eliminated from Puritan history books, is proof of this. Morton proposed an alternative way of life, more European in certain respects such as curiosity and tolerance, and for this he was hunted down by the Puritans. It can be said that the American obsession with legal proceedings is a trait inherited from the Puritans.

Economic life is also subject to theology. Man was in an unequal relationship with God, and this situation had to be maintained. The enslavement of blacks and the monopolisation of land are theologically justified. The communist aspects of economic life, inherited from the Bible, were to diminish, however, and the merchant economy appeared as early as the seventeenth century. By the 1660s, the children of the "Pilgrim Fathers" were forgetting God more and more, and giving priority to the Church.

material wealth. For Calvinists, God grants wealth to only a few 'élus'. Thus

wealth is a sign of election, of holiness. It's even more than that: it's the Judeo-Christian God's reward for those who serve him ("I will give you the hidden treasures and the buried riches, so that you may be able to enjoy them").

that you may know that I am Yahweh, the God of Israel, who has called you by name. Isaiah, 45:3; "But thou shalt remember the Eternal thy God, that it is he that giveth thee strength to acquire these riches, that thou mayest confirm his oath, which he swore unto thy fathers, as it appeareth this day." Deuteronomy 8:18). The "Pilgrim Fathers" will remember this.

The road to mercantilism had already begun. The Puritan utopia did not last long, even though it was to be a constant presence in American history, albeit in a different form.

Opposition to Calvinist puritanism

Over the years, a number of conflicts erupted, as puritanism failed to satisfy everyone.

Judged to be too rigorous, it could not integrate the mass of new arrivals who often brought their own beliefs and theological systems with them, especially if they came from countries other than England.

There are also purely theological disputes, with people disagreeing about the meaning of the Bible.

This in itself is not surprising, for there are as many versions of Christianity as there are Christians.

The Bible can be interpreted in many different ways, depending on each person's particular inclinations.

The important role played by women in American spirituality can already be seen in the following quotations

Anne Hutchinson, Mary Fisher, Ann Austin, etc. as dissidents. These schisms, for it is from this that il

However, from a higher, i.e. metaphysical, point of view, these different forms of Christianity are equivalent. However, from a higher, i.e. metaphysical, point of view, these different forms of Christianity are equivalent. They are still nothing more than devotional religions, downwardly oriented and resolutely telluric and chthonic, in order to

take up Bachofen's terminology (23).

Opposition to Puritanism was not only Christian in nature, although Christian ideas did reappear in this opposition, being practically engraved in the heredity of the colons. A significant proportion of the colons are not affiliated to any church and are ignorant of Christian practices. Sorcery, astrology (which, however, fits in well with Calvinism, since both make man an object that is subject to fate without being able to do anything about it), low-level alchemy, shamanism, invocatory magic, the ancestor of spiritism, voodoo, demonology, Satanism and occultisms of all kinds mix and mingle, giving rise to hybrid forms; It should be noted, however, that, as Alfred Rosenberg has pointed out, a certain form of black magic is present in Christianity, and in the Church.

Indeed, what are Jesus casting out the demons that penetrate pigs?

Is the calming of the raging sea at Jesus' behest, the resurrection followed by the ascension to heaven after death on the cross anything other than black magic? In most cases, Calvinist ideas and dogmas reappear in one way or another, more or less modified (for example, Indians are sometimes seen as Satan). To a large extent, then, these various practices must be considered as religious practices. Combined with the psychosis created by the Puritan crusade against heretics, they had a particularly negative impact on the American psyche.

The hold of the imagination and irrationality on the mind is very strong, and hallucinations are a common occurrence.

The same is also true of the "ghost ships", "the black figure of Satan in the forests, and sea monsters off the coast or on the shore" (24), which were commonplace from the late 1690s onwards. This partly explains the popularity of flying saucers and "aliens" in the twentieth century.

than anything to do with the "paranormal", which is considered very exciting. The neurosis runs deep: these days, millions of Americans claim to have been kidnapped by "aliens" (25). This penchant for the fantastic, the irrational, is evident in American literature and cinema, with, for example, 'fantasy' and 'science fiction' products. More generally, superstition, which is so widespread among the average American today, has developed to a large extent in the United States. at that time. The sectarian expansion of the nineteenth century confirmed all this.

The racility of Americans

Finally, because our essay follows a chronological order, and because the peoplement of America We must do so because race, whether of body, mind or spirit, is a determining factor in an individual's actions. We must do so because race, whether of body, mind or spirit, is a determining factor in an individual's actions. Many knowledgeable writers have judged as bad the hereditary quality of the human material that populated America. In the nineteenth century, Emile Boutmy said that America was increasingly "made of the mud of all races", of "the scum rejected by European society" (26). Henry Miller says that America received what was most degenerate in Europe (27). The immigrants of the early days were - with the exception of the Slavs and the Quech Asians - Aryans in body (often more or less Nordic, especially the pioneers) but Judeo-Christian in soul and spirit. Jews immigrated en masse to America towards the end of the nineteenth century (28). Numerous measures with consequences for the race were taken. implemented since the second half of the twentieth century: the abolition of segregation, mass immigration from the third world, the promotion of miscegenation, the increase in poverty, the falling education levels, etc.

Part Three: Freemasonic America

The invisible influence of Freemasonry on the destiny of America

Before beginning this section, we would like to make it clear at the outset that we consider Freemasonry to be one of the main actors in world subversion, an anti-traditional force, as is proved by numerous works on the subject (29). We will not therefore discuss what Freemasonry is. We will simply identify the activities of American Freemasonry.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, Freemasonry, which is known as "speculative" although in reality it is very active, has exerted a considerable influence on the destiny of America.

The United States was created by Freemasonry. In Europe, Freemasonry was vigorously opposed by a large part of civil society from the moment it showed its true face, i.e. from 1789. In America, on the other hand, Freemasonry was well received and prospered easily, although it met with some resistance at times. The favourable reception of Freemasonry must be explained in terms of the American soul. Since Freemasonry is predisposed to religiosity and is attached to community and ethical values, it easily identified with the Protestant mainstream of American society (30). Open to all European nations, any immigrant could hope to join. Membership of Freemasonry thus became a recognised sign of respectability. The attraction of secret societies of all kinds for Americans is confirmed by these figures: at the beginning of the twentieth century, over five million Americans, out of a population of around eighty million, were members of secret societies, belonged to more than 600 secret societies.

Known Freemasonic activity in America began in 1730 with the appointment by the Grand Lodge of London of Daniel Coxe to the rank of Grand Master Provincial, then the following year to the rank of Grand Master for North America. Jonathan Belcher, an American Freemason, was appointed by the King of England as Governor of the Colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Thus, from the outset, American Freemasonry had inferior members in its ranks, which undoubtedly facilitated its manoeuvres. In 1732, the separation from England was fomented and Coxe proposed a plan to federate the colonies. Unofficially, Freemasonry was politically neutral.

Unofficially, it supported democratic ideals and independence. From its headquarters in Boston and Philadelphia, an eminently Freemasonic name, Freemasonry has the ambitious project of creating a new society. Some fifty years later, the first stage was reached with the break with England.

The progress of American Freemasonry and the case of Benjamin Franklin, American Freemasonry's emissary abroad

The progress of American Freemasonry is inseparable from the life of Benjamin Franklin, around whom a myth has been created that makes it impossible to see. After his father's imprisonment, the young Franklin had to run the first "radical, anti-American and pornographic newspaper in the New World".

(31). In the 1720s, breaking with his Calvinist past, he was drawn successively to deism, materialism and mysticism, an ecology that summed up the American soul. He became a Freemason in 1731 and led a brief Freemasonic "career", full of zeal, until his death.

death. Franklin believes in divine 'providence', which means that we must love, fear and obey God. This makes us benevolent, i.e. philanthropic, and useful to others. This social and utilitarian faith will be at the heart of the ideology of American Freemasonry and, therefore, of the United States. It was also the basis of the humanitarian morality that was to develop rapidly throughout the world in the second half of the twentieth century.

From 1730 onwards, the Freemasonic movement spread rapidly throughout the United States, advocating national unity and patriotism. Military lodges were also created. Their influence was immense, as at least twelve (perhaps as many as thirty-three) generals in the continental army were Freemasons (32). Within thirty years, Freemasonry was established throughout the country. However, its newspapers were moderate in their rhetoric. But in their actions, Freemasons were among the first to rebel, once again demonstrating the duality of Freemasonry. Freemasons would be at the origin of what would become known as the American War of Independence.

Before tackling this part, it is necessary to detail the actions of Franklin who, from 1750 to 1775, was the main emissary of American Freemasonry abroad. Franklin established relationships with influents and sought to obtain support for the American cause. He became closer, among others, to Sir Francis Dashwood, the Anglican Chancellor of the Exchequer and political adviser to George III, who was also passionate about occultism and Satanism. Dashwood was himself the founder of the Hell Fire Club, a secret society whose ceremonies, whether they were all sexual or not, satanic or not, must be considered, in some cases, as recreations of the festivals of the Middle Ages. devoted to the mother goddesses of ancient Rome and Greece as part of a "lunar" culte, and "telluric". It is exactly this kind of deranged individual that Franklin obtains support from, by party through the Hell Fire Club, of which he is a regular member. Franklin did more than gain support and help the American cause. In 1772, he misappropriated secret documents, letters from the Governor of Massachusetts Thomas Hutchinson, which he had obtained through his Freemasonic associations or the Hell Fire Club. In these letters, the governor asked for armed reinforcements

to quell the rebellion. Franklin sent them back to his Freemasonic brothers in America, who published them in order to arouse popular vindictiveness. The indignation aroused will allow Freemasonry to go further and consider more daring symbolic acts of rupture with England. Plus or less unmasked as an infiltré, Franklin left in 1776 for France, which was already supporting the insurgents in order to fight Angleterre. "Thanks to his scientific reputation and his Masonic connections, "this new Prometheus who had seen fire in heaven", as Kant wrote, joined forces with all that Paris had to offer. account of notabilities" (33). There, he managed to convince a large part of the "educated" nobility to support American independence.

The first "false flag" operation in American history was Freemasonic and served to precipitate the War of Independence.

Revolutions and major upheavals are rarely spontaneous. It is a little known fact that the so-called French Revolution of 1789 began with a "popular reaction" carefully orchestrated by Philippe Egalité by means of a clever stratagem (34). The American revolution began with the same way. In June 1770, there was a dispute between British soldiers and American workers over salaries, as soldiers could have a civil employment outside their service (35). Attacked the soldiers opened fire and killed five people. This brawl had nothing to do with colonialism or American national unity. However, Freemasonry, and in particular the Freemasons Samuel Adams and Paul Revere, used propaganda techniques to turn the incident into an assassination (known at the time as the "Boston Massacre") in order, once again, to arouse popular vindictiveness. In their version, the bloodthirsty British soldiers fired on a peaceful, unarmed populace. We can already see the influence that the media and propaganda will have: the American revolution and the history of the United States begin under the sign of deception.

The protest, always orchestrated in the shadows by Freemasonry, continued until 1773, when the famous Boston tea party took place. The leaders of masons in Boston are claiming rights to the colonies and do not accept that Angleterre exceeds the colons of the tea market. Moreover, England had just imposed a tax on imported tea. Three large ships loaded with tea were docked in Boston harbour, providing an opportunity for a coup d'éclat. Dozens of men disguised as Indians came out of Boston's Freemasonry headquarters, set foot and threw into the water the hundreds of crates of tea that made up the ships' cargo. The English police never found the culprits. In the evening, the Freemasons of Boston singing "Gather round Mohawks! Dig up your battle axes! And tell King George that we will pay no taxes" (36). The escalation of relations between colonia and its metropolis would continue and be maintained until war broke out. Freemasonry c o m m i t t e d real attacks against the Anglicans: in 1772, the Freemasons John Brown and Abraham Whipple attacked a customs office in Rhode Island and set it on fire.

Thus, the many "false flag" operations used by the United States in the course of history to impose its world hegemony were based on the Freemasonic method. From telles operations will be used to justify wars in many cases: the scuttling by the United States of the of the USS Maine in 1898 to justify the war with Spain; the scuttling of the Lusitania to justify the justify the entry of the United States into the First World War (the liner was carrying arms and munitions, which is why it received a torpille allemand, but a non caused its sinking (37)); the "incidents" on the Golfe de Tonkin in 1964 to justify a war with Vietnam; the destruction of the USS Liberty in 1967 by supposedly Egyptian but actually Israeli aircraft, in order to justify the Six-Day War; the "attacks of 11 September 2001" to justify a series of wars in the Near and Middle East, etc. Most importantly, manipulation and deception are at the root of American foreign policy.

Freemasonry and the beginning of the War of Independence

It should be pointed out straight away that the major American loges were the first organisations to emancipate themselves from British control as soon as independence was declared, even though unofficially the break had been made long before.

The first Continental Congress met in September 1774 with the aim of developing a common defence policy. It was chaired by a Freemason, Peyton Randoif, who was Provincial Grand Master of Virginia. In 1775, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress announced plans for armed resistance, w h i c h forced England to declare the colony in a state of rebellion. Freemasonry did everything in its power to to inflame the situation and portray England as a tyrannical power from which it must distance itself. It was in particular the pamphlet Common Sense (1776) by the Freemason sympathiser Thomas Paine that made this possible (38). The inflammatory speeches of Freemasons also helped to sway opinion. For example, the Freemason Patrick Henry peppered his speeches with excoriations such as "Give m e liberty or give me death" (39). The third Massachusetts Provincial Congress, which decreed the mobilisation of 30,000 men in April 1775, was again presided over by a Freemason, Joseph Warren, the Grand Master for North America. In May 1775, the second continental congress met and authorised the creation of an army. It was presided over by two Freemasons: Randolph and John Hancock, of the Saint André Lodge. Command of t h e army was given to the eminent Freemason George Washington. The other contenders (Generals Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, Hugh Mercer, Arthur Saint-Clair, Horatio Gates, Israel Putnam and John Stark) were all Freemasons.

Imbued with Freemasonic ideals, Washington has belonged to the secret society since he was twenty. A zealous Freemason, he actively participated in the creation of new loges and knew how to get influential people on his side. He quickly climbed the hierarchical ladder and became Grand Master of Virginia loge.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are creations of Freemasonry.

In 1776, public opinion, manipulated by skilled propagandists such as Philip Freneau and Thomas Paine, finally shifted from moderation to radicalism. To mark this radicalisation, Richard Henry Lee unofficially proposed that the colonies should become "free and independent states" and that they should become "free and independent states".

that a Declaration of Independence be drawn up. At least three of the five drafters (Franklin, Livingston and Sherman) were Freemasons. The declaration is an exposition of the philosophy of natural law, "la Locke's thought offered to the mediation of the greatest number" (40). Equality, the inalienable rights of man, the consent of the governed, the right to resist oppression, the social contract, the pursuit of happiness and various references to natural law are cited. The signing of the Declaration was "mythologised" in order to make the Americans believe that providence had played an important role and that God had favoured the creation of the Republic. The war continued and the need for a

A true union, with a constitution, is in the making. The constitution of the United States will be identical in spirit to the Declaration of Independence. Thus, these principles which will be the basis of the democracies are creations of Freemasonry.

Some mythical elements symbolising Freemasonry's hold over America

To conclude this section, we will look at some of the elements of independence that symbolise Freemasonry's hold on America.

a) George Washington

First of all, there is George Washington, the zealous Freemason, who was elevated by nineteenth-century Republican propaganda to the same rank as the "Pilgrim Fathers" and perhaps even higher. It is above all the episode of the so-called "vision of Valley Forge", which we shall not describe here. We will simply point out what is important. This episode, whether it happened or not, is a perfect example of the desire to schematise American history, to turn it into images of Epinal that are easy to understand.

understandable to the public. The aim of this prophetic vision is to strengthen national unity, to place the United States under the auspices of providence, to prepare the population for potential future wars and to promote values such as equality, fraternity and unity. But, above all, it is a matter of saying that Washington, this "fil" of the Republic, is a divine being and that, therefore, what he does or represents cannot be bad. Apart from the excessive historical simplification, which will be an American trait, we should note the Christian influence in this vision with the trinity (three trumpet blasts, three perishes), the prophetic tone, the idea of miracles and the idea of Revelation. There is, however, a deeper meaning in this prophecy. It is the idea that, after the 'second' Europe, it is now the turn of the United States to be the axis of the Earth. As early as the end of the eighteenth century, comparisons of the United States and Europe were being made. The links between the United States and early ancient Rome are frequent in Freemasonic circles, but also in the United States.

in literature and art. Symbols that are more or less Roman, such as the plough (this symbol could be linked to a gynocratic and "telluric" civilisation, a pre-Roman substratum), which symbolises the and the eagle, which symbolises the empire, are used. There are also comparisons with the Christian missionaries of ancient Rome. This is, of course, the idea that the United States is the New Jerusalem, at least in a spiritual if not geographical sense.

The fact that Americans believe he was the first president when, technically, he was only the eighth bears witness to the process of mythologisation that took place around Washington. He became President on 30 April 1789 - symbolically, just a few weeks before the end of the French monarchy - by taking the oath of office on a Bible provided by the New York "n°1 Lodge" and presented by the Grand Master of the State of New York. He laid the foundation stone of the Maison Blanche on 13 October. 1792, in his capacity as a Freemason. He did the same for the foundation stone of the Capitole, in his capacity as a Freemason, this time as Master of Ceremonies of the "Alexandria Lodge". These two facts are not isolated. For a long time, Freemasons were considered to be founders and, logically, the public authorities would call upon Freemasons to inaugurate new buildings. Didn't Freemasons found the United States? The two vertical lines on the S of the dollar, established in 1792, would be the "Nasorean" pillars of "Mishpat" and "Tsedeq", known in Freemasonry under the names of "Boaz" and "Jakin", crowns of the entrance vault of the Temple of Solomon (41).

Washington was given a masonic burial on 18 December 1799. The formalities are remplied by la " Alexandria Lodge n° 22 ". The idea of building a memorial was immediately put forward, but funds were lacking. Around 1830, the president of loge 22 resubmitted the idea. The memorial was to be built with a monument to the memory of Freemasonry, the "Washington Monument", whose initial plan was to be the "Washington Monument".

is by the freemason architect Robert Mills. Although the monument does not exactly conform to the original design (the circular building was not built, but a circle of flags on its mast does), it is not exactly the same as the original.

It is a monument to the power of Freemasonry, standing at 169 metres tall. What's more, this monument is a good representation of the American soul, which is attracted by anything quantitative and materially large. The French understood this well when they

designed and presented the "Statue of Liberty", a monument that is also Masonic.

We will not study the Freemasonic symbolism in these two monuments or the other symbolic elements we have mentioned. It is important to understand that the "

Freemasonry's "symbolism" (or rather symbolatry) is of little interest unless it is stripped of the camouflage created by Freemasonry. Also, a certain proportion of the symbols used are old and often have nothing to do with Freemasonry. Freemasonry uses them to give itself the air of possessing superior, i.e. esoteric, knowledge (when it is merely erudition at best) and thus to impose itself on the 'layman'. It should be noted that a large proportion of Freemasonic symbols are of Judaic or Kabalistic origin. Many symbols also reflect a lunar and feminine spirit. For example, the compass and Freemasonic square, free from the interpretations given by Freemasonry, will not

This representation is far from rare from a historical point of view, since, as Bachofen has noted, symbols of women, sex and generation were common in ancient gynaeocratic civilisations. One last point: if these symbols are given such prominence, it is largely out of pure Freemasonic arrogance against the "profane", the "slave". For Freemasonry, the point is to express this: "I am your master, you see me everywhere but you don't recognise me". Thus, the Freemasonic signatures are very present and very visible in the field of architecture: the geometry of American streets, the plate of the ville of Washington which describes the F r e e m a s o n i c tablier, the Capitole rebuilt in 1812, the ville of Sandusky in Ohio which reproduces the compass and l'équerre, les 33 grandes routes qui sortaient du Washington du dix-neuvième siècle, etc.

b) The first American flag

We know how important the American flag is to the average American, who is very "patriotic", not to say chauvinistic. The legend surrounding the story of the first American flag outweighs reality. Set in 1776, it features a mysterious old scholar, democrat and astrologer, anonymous in the legend, who predicts America's independence and hegemony to Franklin and Washington. He proposed motives that were quickly accepted. The scholar must be seen as a Freemason. because Franklin's hand flinches when he squeezes it. The stars represent a "new constellation" and they also appear on the American seal.

c) The American seal

In 1776, Franklin, Adams and Jefferson were commissioned by Congress to "devise a seal that would reflect the aspirations of the Revolution and the destiny of the American people" (42). So we know what to expect. William Barton and Charles Thomson, a Freemason, were responsible for the final version of the emblem. We will only mention a few points of particular interest.

The eagle is to be interpreted as the eagle of ancient Rome, which the legions wore in conquered countries, thus reflecting, albeit with a distortion of meaning, the imperialist idea.

American. Some people say that the shield the eagle is looking at should be seen as a symbol of peace.

This is a possible interpretation, but the shield was also worn by victorious warlords. The pentagram-shaped shields above the eagle itself form a Star of David,

the seal of Solomon, indicating the Judaeo-Christian spirit of the founders of the United States. On the reverse, a number of symbols recall the divine role that America must play, guided by providence: the motto "annuit coeptis" ("he has favoured our enterprise"), meaning that the revolution was destined to take place in the United States, and the motto "he has favoured our enterprise" ("he has favoured our enterprise"), meaning that the revolution was destined to take place in the United States, guided by providence.

God, the oil of providence enthroned above the Masonic pyramid (which must be seen as representing America) and, at the base, we could say the voeity of a "new order of the times" ("novus ordo seclorum").

Thus, on the reverse of the seal, America, truly born in

1776, is the only nation born of God and guided by him, because it is above the others: it is a pyramid that towers over the other countries. It must imprint a new order on the rest of the world that it dominates: on the reverse side, the desire for a "new order of the times" that is everywhere. This new order is that of modern democracy. Those who believe, in the twenty-first century, in what is said about the "In reality, the new world order began with the destruction of the ancient world by, in part, the first Christians and the gradual Christianisation of the peoples of Europe; this annihilation of the ancient world is the first break in any discovery of the modern world as a whole. Now there can only be a new, even more destructive stage.

Freemasonry and post-war America

Under the impulsion of Freemasonry, the millenarist themes we have mentioned, especially the idea of providence. From now on, providence, combined with God, corresponds to newly won freedom. A new golden age, that is, a new beginning, like the one described in the Bible, can take place now that all the obstacles have been removed. The pastorate of the promised land is thus reactivated. The American personalities (for example, James Dana and his family) are the protagonists.

William Gordon) always compare America to Israel, the ancient nation. American immigration is compared to the immigration of the ancient Israelites. However, the theme of election is now part of a nationalist framework.

Finally, there appears to be a desire to extend these "divine blessings" to the whole world, as expressed on the reverse of the American seal. America's grandiose destiny escapes Puritan predestination

to fit into a humanist and progressive framework (science), of universal significance, i.e. Freemasonic (43), but also Judeo-Christian, since Judeo-Christianity is meant to be universal. It is within this framework that a good number of contemporary ideas must be interpreted, such as, for example, Darwin's evolutionism, which preaches the constant progression of man and which applies to all races. Under the influence of humanism, evolutionism considers man solely as a biological and material entity. The reality is quite different: it is better to talk about invocation (44).

Part four: Sectarian America

America attracts the world's poor and unequipped

It was not until the nineteenth century that mass migration to America took place and the many sects, although immigrants had already created a number of sects before this period. Millions of Europeans, as well as Asians, arrived. Many were destitute or persecuted people who saw America as a land of hope where their ambitions could be fulfilled.

This explains the thirst for money and the materialism of Americans before and now. This human material will also provide a rich source of 'followers' for the many sects and churches that will emerge. America is also

perceived by all the creators of new societies and new dreams as more virgin ground than Europe, as a place where they can launch their new societies and beliefs without real repression from the state. The United States itself is not founded on a act of dissent? The number of sects preaching inferior and frivolous beliefs (but all more or less linked to Calvinist and Puritan ideas and dogmas), as well as the craze for them, was a major factor in the rise of dissent.

will encounter are indicative of the inner, spiritual health of a large proportion of Americans in the nineteenth century and beyond. So, if these 'inventors' of new religions and new societies were rejected in Europe, there must have been a reason. We will now review the main American sects, focusing once again on the most interesting and least known points. It is important to understand that current American spirituality is largely based on the following principles formed by the ideas and beliefs we have just described.

a) Utopian sects

We have already mentioned the utopian ideology of Puritanism. The utopian sects were born in the seventeenth century with the socialist reductions of the Jesuits in Paraguay, which were veritable "utopias".

Christian socialist theocracies. There are utopian sects from the same period in North America. North: the Mennonites, the labadists and Keipius's Woman in the Wilderness. Later, there were the Beissel dunkers, who also created the "Seventh Day Church". The "Snow Hill" sect grew out of this. It was these sects that introduced a number of practices that were to leave their mark on America: personal preparation for the Last Judgement, communitarian organisation tending towards promiscuity, the use of the Internet, etc. separation of the sexes, celibacy and faith-based personal rituals designed to link man to a personal God, etc. Utopian communities flourished and numbered up to 300 by the time of the First World War. It is important to recognise that sects developed less in the South because, according to utopian ideology, progress followed a Western course. Thus, as we will come back to when we discuss the American Civil War, the South must be considered, historically, to be more sane.

Founded by a woman, the Shaker movement can be seen as a perfect example of inferior and "lunar" spirituality, reminiscent of some of its practices, such as its rituals. ecstatic cultes that include tremors, the cultes of 'primitive' peoples, although it would be better to say twilight cultes, since 'primitive' peoples are merely the remnants of degenerate races and not 'younger' humans destined to 'evoke'. The culte's founding prophetess, Ann Lee, forbade the carnal act, saying that it was the cause of original sin. A feminine incarnation of the spirit of Christ, she called herself "Mother Ann". She preached convulsive dancing as a means of communicating with the divine, celibacy, non-violence, the end of individual property and the segregation of the sexes. The Shaker villages had an authoritarian government, but with a clear orientation towards socialism. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the movement became involved with spiritism, which was, however, of a semi-enarist nature, since it predicted the end of the world. It had around 17,000 members in 24 communities. Under the name of "Amie publique universlle", another woman, Jermina Wilkinson, imitated Ann Lee and created her own sect, which was less successful: it died out in 1819 because of the rebellion of its members against Wilkinson's divine character.

Another utopian and semi-narrative community was the Rappites. Founded by the German George Rapp, who had been imprisoned in Europe for heresy on several occasions, it had up to 1,200 members by 1847, the date of Rapp's death. Believing that the "androgynous origins" could be recovered, sexual relations were banned. Industry and agriculture played an important role. The City of God, the future place where the souls destined to survive the apocalypse would gather, was founded in Pennsylvania. It's called 'Economy', which is further proof of the link between religion and material success for an American.

Of Asian origin, the separatists and inspirationists led by Joseph Bäumeier created several utopian communities in the nineteenth century. Some of them prospered, while others quickly collapsed. Although they were communist in orientation, the communities nevertheless granted

a certain importance to the arts. Some communities became wealthy and adopted a Saaria system.

b) Utopian and socialist sects

As a result of major population movements in the nineteenth century, the Protestant sects had to choose between two trends: the Christian God of love and tolerance (the New Testament) or a return to the tyrannical and intransigent Jewish God, Jehovah (the Old Testament). It will be the latter choice that will be favoured. It's a choice that expresses nostalgia towards the old order, as was that of the puritans. This meant the persistence of utopia, which was mixed up with egalitarian ideas from Europe, which had fallen prey to revolutions. In all cases, the increase in population meant the reign, combined with a materialistic ideology, of multitude, democracy and mass religion. In politics, the bipartisanship between Republicans and Democrats is the translation of the religious Manichaeism of the American soul. It was in this context that the utopian and socialist sects were born, with similarities to Bolshevik communism in the twentieth century. As we have seen, if the utopian and socialist sects failed, it was above all because of their atheism. They could have become predominant in America if they had retained at least a religious veneer.

The Briton Robert Owen created a social system in which machinery and science could meet the world's needs. He transformed his factory in New Lanark into a community association based on cooperative society. Industry and agriculture played an important role, unlike religion, private property, family and marriage, which were at a standstill. Although they numbered several hundred, Owen's communities were short-lived because of the hostility they received. their atheism generates in Americans.

The ideas of the Frenchman Charles Fourier, from which Fourierism was created, were very popular in North America from 1837 onwards. Fourier proposed a complete explanation of the world, which turned out to be very far-fetched and led to low-level occultism. However, his ideas on sexuality and his criticism of the capitalism anticipate those of Freud and Marx. Several communities and phalansteries, the egalitarian ideals advocated by Fourier, saw the light of day in North America.

French socialists arrived in Texas in 1848. They were disciples of Etienne Cabet, a French ideologue. communists, whose formative influences are Rousseau, Robespierre and Babeuf. For Cabet, as for many utopian socialists, Jesus Christ was associated with socialism, and the communists with socialism.

are the followers of Christ. Despite a number of setbacks, Cabet eventually succeeded in founding his utopia in Illinois. There, absolute equality, the pooling of goods and their distribution reign, l'étatisation de l'économie, l'ordre moral, l'censure, l'technocratie et l'uniformité générale. Unfortunately, this is a description that could apply to today's society. As he grew older, Cabet became despotic and was driven out of his utopia. He died a few months later.

c) The new messiahs

John Thomas and Thomas Lake Harris can be seen as new messiahs, but they can also be seen as 'dissidents' because, unlike most sect founders, they believe that the doctrine of the miracle will be realised through a second miracle, a second good news. With several thousand members, Thomas preaches that Christ must return to Palestine in order to convert the Jews, which will trigger Christ's new 1000-year reign. Harris, on the other hand, followed a non-Judaic path. He organised his movement around the theses of Swedenborg and attached importance to and love. He created a confused sexual mysticism tinged with orientalism. Like most American cult founders, Harris declared himself immortal. Shortly after his death, the community he founded dissolved.

The utopia of Oneida, created by John Humphrey Noyes, also attaches extravagant importance to sexuality. Using a facet of the doctrine of androgyny, Noyes preaches that free love, or libertinage, is the faith of humanity and a way of drawing closer to divinity. Noyes had a socialist vision of the economy and government, and rejected the traditional institutions of the state. family and marriage. Accused of rape, Noyes fled to Canada and his utopia died shortly afterwards.

Mormonism will be one of the most successful American sects in the long term. Today, over five million people worldwide (half of them Americans) are Mormons, and the Republican candidate for President of the United States, Mitt Romney, is a Mormon. Visit The founder of this sect was Joseph Smith Jr, a mentally ill-equipped person called "Joseph Smith". prophet and interested in occultism. In the book he claims to have found, Smith tells the story of a persecuted Israelite tribe, 2,500 years old, which is said to have reached America. Mormon is the last survivor of this race of martyrs. Thus, Salt Lake City will be the new Jerusalem of the Mormons. Syncretic, Mormonism is a melting-pot veritable that includes belief in Jesus Christ, le the rejection of original sin, the mixing of the Bible with other 'sacred' texts, apparent polytheism, polygamy, the presence of occultist doctrines and elements of Freemasonry, the belief in the sacredness of the United States Constitution, the borrowing of Indian ideas, etc. Witness to the pathology of Mormon mentality is the frenzy of genetic research on the part of the Mormon Church which

led it to dig vast underground tunnels to store memory banks on more than 80 million people who have died. The aim is to find out the names of these people so that they can be baptised and saved when the apocalypse comes, which was once thought to be the year 2000.

Another prophet is William Miller, the founder of the Adventist sect, which has around four million members today. A Vulgarian, a deist and a Freemason, he spent time in the Baptist Church before devising, from numbers found in the Bible, his millenarist prophecy selquelle

Christ would return in 1843. The Earth would then be set ablaze by a deluge of fire, and a new world would be born.

would come and the righteous would be resurrected. Miller found many supporters in the various churches, which enabled him to organise hundreds of conferences in which he aroused anguish and fear in the audience. Manifestations of emotional release (hallucinations, etc.) took place, as well as suicides and murders. As nothing happened in 1843, Miller set another date: 1844. Nothing happened and the movement was discredited. Miller died a few years later, but his movement survived him. Metamorphoses and schisms occurred, but there were few differences in doctrine. It should be noted that there is a strong filiation between Adventism and Jehovah's Witnesses.

d) Metaphysical-intellectual sects

Like the other sects in this section, described as "metaphysical-intellectual", the transcendentalists set calvinism aside, advocated the individual and intellectual freedom of each person, which amounted to defending an even broader humanism, and mixed science and religion, most often in a pragmatic and optimistic vision, while adorning themselves with oriental ideas. Transcendentalism, which emerged in the 1830s, was opposed to the conformism of society and religion.

Strongly humanist, transcendentalism practises charity, says that all men are good and places instinct above all else. The Bible is mixed with beliefs from India. On the ground, in the three utopian communities founded, transcendentalism promotes freedom, growth, justice and love. The Brook Farm community emphasised intellectual and physical pleasure in an environment of peace and harmony.

and utopian framework. It should be noted that this was the first time in American history that classical music had become an integral part of life. However, this community, like the other two, did not last long. Fundamentally humanist, not to say animalist, the Fruitlands bans beasts of burden and only tolerates ambitious vegetables, i.e. those that grow towards the sky. Despite these failures, transcendentalist intellectuals such as Emerson, Thoreau, Parker, Brownson, Alcott and Fuller became social reformers and paved the way for individualism, feminism, sexual liberation and orientalism. The movement would leave its mark on the New Age and on all twentieth-century communities.

It is now time to tackle the question of Spiritism and Theosophy, two intrinsically linked movements. We have already mentioned the similarities between Spiritism and the Shaker movement. Taking into account the real harmfulness of spiritism on the psyche (45), for

To give an idea of the extent to which Spiritism spread in America in the 1850s, suffice it to say that there were more than two million people taking part in Spiritist "séances", which is proof of the strong interest of the American soul in low-level "occultism". Theosophism was born in these shallows, thanks to the meeting of the American Freemason Henry Olcott with the Russian spiritualist Helena Blavatsky. Both were passionate about "occultism" and Blavatsky had an aptitude for mediumship and clairvoyance. The "Theosophical Society" was founded in 1875. set itself ambitious goals: to be the nucleus of a universal fraternity, to study ancient and modern religions and to research man's psychic powers and the laws of the universe.

nature. In reality, theosophy will always be a mixture of spiritism, freemasonry and foreign traditions, mainly from ancient India, which are often misunderstood and distorted. In addition to the negative psychic effects of Spiritism, it is this last point that is the most important.

particularly dangerous. Although it was international, Theosophism was strongly linked to the United States from its very beginnings, because the government of Freemasonic America saw Theosophism as a threat to the world.

an instrument that could be used to "open up new perspectives for humanity". Theosophism was supported by the American Freemason President Rutherford Hayes. After Blavatsky's death in 1891, the sect split into several groups and several people came to the fore.

Charles Leadbeater, Annie Besant and Alice Bailey. Katherine Tingley, a high-grade theosophist, set up the Point Loma centre in California, further west still, in order to be in line with the Calvinist ideas of the search for paradise (it is, moreover, in the spirit of the Theosophists that the most important of these groups are to be found).

For this reason, in the twentieth century, California became the focal point of all kinds of sects in America.) This shows the strong presence of women in spiritualism and theosophy.

There was also a strong female presence (Omiki San, Mary Anne Girling, Mary Baker Eddy, etc.) in the movement known as "New Thought", which developed mainly from the 1860s onwards. This sect proclaimed that the spirit, i.e. one's own faith, was stronger than science.

In this way, the pragmatic aspect of American beliefs was once again highlighted. Prefiguring certain sectarian currents of the twentieth century, the members of 'New Thought' assert that illnesses are the result of mental disequilibrium. Once this disequilibrium has been eliminated through reflection, the patient's health is restored. The sect also asserts that suffering and death are the effects of negative, materialistic thinking. From a theological point of view, the sect proposes an Iberian Protestantism and its own interpretation of the figure of Jesus, seen as a healer through the spirit. Now numbering more than two million

of followers, this sect, which now calls itself "Christian Science", was able to win the sympathy of the more regular churches while attracting a highly motivated following, thanks in particular to its scientific veneer.

The thinking of the Hollow Earth enthusiasts, a theme that was to be very visible in fantasy literature, highlighted the American obsession with mixing the concrete and the fantastic. Rationalised in the early nineteenth century by John Cleves Symmes and his son, the Hollow Earth theory was taken seriously by the American government, which granted hundreds of thousands of dollars to John. N. Reynolds in 1836 to explore Antarctica in order to find the hole that would allow him to enter the Earth's interior. He modified this theory and added several Judaic elements to it, Cyrus Reed Teed, whose father was a healer, founded a sectarian movement, Koreshanism, which was to enjoy great success.

e) Evoking Freemasonry

We have already shown in this study that the links between beliefs and political power are very strong, even going so far as to infuse American history with Puritan and Calvinist theology. We will deal briefly with American Freemasonry from the nineteenth century to the present day.

American Freemasonry continued to grow, claiming 550,000 members in the 1870s, even though it had to deal with a number of crises, such as the one caused by William Morgan. In this respect, it is important to note that the fight against American Freemasonry during the Second World War was a major one. the first half of the nineteenth century was of a different nature to that in Europe. It was above all for theological reasons, and with theological arguments, that American Freemasonry was opposed, with the most violent opposition coming from Christian circles, which considered it to be "the most dangerous form of Freemasonry".

as an emissary of the devil whose rituals are blasphemous (46). The deep-rooted reason for this opposition is the fear of the plot, a recurrent idea, not to say paranoia, in history.

America. Thus, for these devout Christians, if the Puritans' prophecy for America seems to be having trouble coming true, it is because of an entity that is plotting America's destruction.

Opposition to Freemasonry lost much of its intensity in the 1830s with the heavy defeat of William Wirt, the candidate of the Anti-Masonic Party, against the Freemason Andrew Jackson.

Freemasonry expanded rapidly from the 1850s onwards, with the number of Freemasons more than quintupling in 30 years. Membership of Freemasonry became a sign of respectability, i.e. of social success, and people did not hesitate to advertise themselves as Freemasons.

mason. For the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, the typical American Freemason, Freemasonry became a true religion. The most convincing proof of this transformation is the accession to Freemasonry in the 1890s of a large number of Baptist, Methodist and Episcopal pastors. In the 1920s, at a time when Europe was in the process of rejecting the

American Freemasonry, which is broadly open to the middle classes, enjoys unprecedented popularity and effectively runs the United States. President Harding, like many other presidents, was a Freemason of the highest rank.

The organisation had over two and a half million members and undertook ambitious building projects. The "New Deal" policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a high-grade Freemason, is part of the desire to get closer to the earthly paradise by organising a return to the earth in a socialising framework. Today, American Freemasonry has over four million members in more than 16,000 cities. It has a strong influence on the destinies of America and the world, although it is no longer alone because of the. Inevitably, other equally powerful players have been created.

Part Five: The face of contemporary America

Nineteenth-century America as seen by a perceptive observer, Tocqueville

Before beginning this section on America from the Civil War to the present day, we would like to quote some of Tocqueville's capital observations in his classic work on America. In doing so, we want to illustrate some of the typical characteristics of America as it was in the first half of the nineteenth century, i.e. an entity informed by all the elements described so far. We shall see, for example, that the America of 200 years ago was much the same as it is today, as is shown most clearly in *Democracy in America*, whose author, though critical of America, nevertheless seems to have been fascinated by it.

-The influence of religion: "It was religion that gave birth to Anglo-American societies: we must never forget that; in the United States, religion is therefore interwoven with all the national customs and feelings that the homeland gives rise to, and this gives it a particular strength. For this reason The religious order has remained entirely distinct from the political order, so that it has been easy to change the old laws without shaking the old beliefs. Christianity has thus preserved a great empire over the American mind, and what I want to emphasize above all is that Christianity has not been forgotten.

It should be noted that he does not reign merely as a philosophy that is adopted after examination, but also as a philosophy that is adopted after examination. as a religion, which is believed without question. In the United States, Christian sects vary infinitely and are constantly changing, but Christianity itself is an established and irresistible fact that no one attempts to attack or defend. The Americans, having accepted without examination the principal dogmas of the Christian religion, are obliged to accept in the same way a large number of moral truths which derive from it and are related to it. This narrows the scope of individual analysis, and removes from it many of the most important human opinions.

-The promiscuity of American society: "The political associations which exist in the United States form only a detail in the middle of the immense tableau which the associations as a whole present there. Americans of all ages, of all conditions, of all minds, unite ceaselessly".

The American Civil War

The Civil War should be given greater prominence because it was the North's victory that confirmed the country's democratic orientation. Indeed, a victory for the South would probably have made it possible, to a certain extent, to question the path on which America was heading. democratic, puritanical and Freemasonic. These are the reasons why we begin this section on contemporary America with a discussion of the American Civil War.

We would say at the outset that the American Civil War was not started to abort slavery (47), as we usually say. Rather, this conflict should be seen as a struggle between two world views, albeit to a limited extent. The North, fundamentally puritanical, Protestant and capitalist, wanted to destroy the South, which had a more European conception of the world, based on man's roots in the land he cultivates. We should mention, however, that the 'aristocratic' character attributed to the Old South has no historical reality (48).

The "aristocrat" was merely the peasant who had been more successful than his neighbours and had become gentrified. Moreover, there were a significant number of Jews among the Southerners and Confederates (49).

According to Calvinist and Puritan "sacred geography", the South is not on the axis of paradise and can therefore only be evil. In addition to this, there was the question of customs barriers: "When they explain to us at school that slavery was the cause and the issue of the American Civil War, they are making fun of us.

brazenly about us. The American Civil War was a tariff war. Nothing else. The North was protectionist, the South free trader. The North had rapidly industrialised and needed strong protection for its manufactured goods. The South, on the other hand, lived off its cotton exports, it found it more advantageous to buy its machines and fabrics in the European countries where it sold its products. Faced with being outnumbered, the South, on a number of occasions, was forced to sell its cotton.

threatened to withdraw from the Union. This would have been a catastrophe for Yankee businessmen: they would have lost both immense commercial outlets and access to the sea via the Mississippi - the Old Man River - control of which was essential to the prosperity of the Middle West. Each time, a more or less satisfactory compromise made it possible to temporarily postpone the conflict. Year after year, however, the quarrel became more acute, secession more threatening. It was obvious that the Northerners would never agree to a divorce, that they would go to war, if necessary, to maintain their sovereignty.

the Union and keep their customers. It's just that a war over customs tariffs isn't very admirable. It is much better to proclaim that we are fighting for human brotherhood, law, justice, liberty, democracy and the emancipation of slaves. The emancipation of slaves was the goal of the Yankees" (50). It must be understood that black slaves in the South were not treated well (apartheid did not exist until after the Northern victory, just like the segregation laws), unlike the proletariat, partly imported from Europe by recruiting sergeants who lied about the working conditions awaiting the masses recruited from the factories of the North, who barely earned enough not to starve: "The Southerners treated their slaves not at all

They were, of course, their equals - they were all too aware of their superiority - but with a familiar condescension for which there was no lack of sympathy. For the most part, they had been raised by one of those ebony grannies, vain and tyrannical, who took in each of their children a child of their own.

the importance of the nannies in the old Spanish repertoire. They knew black people, they knew their parler, inspire their confidence. Very few people abused their power. Race hatred, in any case, was a totally unknown feeling. This hatred only arose later, after emancipation, after Washington's "idealists" had unleashed the Civil War. And

then slavery gradually disappeared. Of course, no one imagined that freedmen would become the political equals of white men, but far-reaching reforms were in the making, aimed at improving the lot of blacks without compromising social equilibrium" (51). As we shall see during the Second World War, it was quantity that triumphed over quality: the Southerners were fighting an enemy four times greater in numbers.

Ku Klux Klan

The original origins of Ku Klux Klan are not known, but it seems that certain accepted ideas must be rejected. For example, it seems that many Jews were members, such as Simon Baruch, Bernard Baruch's father. This raises doubts about the anti-Semitic nature of the movement. Be that as it may, Ku Klux Klan was a reaction by Southerners dispossessed by the

Northerners and physically attacked by former Slavs, for whom Northerners had stirred up resentment and to whom they had given every right. A sort of "positive discrimination" had been implemented. the ex-Slaves, who were given important positions in "reconstruction".

Playing on superstition, Ku Klux Klan members used disguises and other stratagems to frighten the public, thereby encouraging the use of strong-arm tactics. The Ku Klux Klan quickly achieved its objectives and lost its importance. It was reborn in 1915, this time to tackle problems of a completely different scale. Ku Klux Klan denounced capitalism and Marxism. It advocated honour, family, a taste for family, austerity and patriotism. A nationalist movement, it attacked the foreign influences that governed America and was now more or less anti-Semitic. Despite strong support among the population, Ku Klux Klan was not of Luther's calibre. It lacked personalities of stature for the task it had set itself, and committed a number of imprudent acts. He was also discredited by the newspapers, which highlighted a series of

scandales, more or less invented, that would forever tarnish Ku Klux Klan in the minds of most Americans. Described as the first fascist movement in history (52), the Ku Klux Klan was not the first of its kind. left a lasting imprint on the United States.

The First World War, the inter-war period and the Second World War

The First World War was an opportunity for the United States to increase its financial and political power. Having suffered little from the war, the United States emerged as a major international power. Several large firms made huge profits by distributing arms and munitions to their allies and also by selling them to their enemies (53). For example, Bernard Baruch, a member of B'nai B'rith, who under the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt would be called the "unofficial president" of the B'nai B'rith, was a member of the B'nai B'rith.

of the United States (54), accumulated profits thanks to the war: "Before 1914, he had already accumulated a huge fortune by selling tobacco, copper and rubber on Wall Street. As soon as the war broke out, he joined the War Industries Committee and became a sort of economic dictator.

No cannon merchant can obtain credits without his consent. He is also the one who decides how much material the beneficiaries will receive and how it will be distributed. The profits he makes in this way, from the blood of others, are beyond imagination. He admitted as much to a parliamentary commission of enquiry which questioned him - very timidly, as always - about his actions:

- I probably had more power than any other man during the last war," he said.

When the peace conference opened, Bernard Baruch appeared in Paris in the age of Wilson. HE brought with him 117 co-workers, all Jewish, who helped him to consume his prodigious profits in the conference halls" (55). The government's rapid recognition of the Soviets American will be the personal work of Baruch (56). Buried deep in American consciousness shaped by Calvinism, the 'crusade' led by President Wilson was also a means of fulfilling the divine mission, the evangelising destiny of America: to 'civilise' the world, to conform it to his will. image so that 'American peace' could become a reality. From the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth, the occultary forces acted largely through the Rockefeller family.

The inter-war period was initially marked by sympathy for the Weimar Republic, which was despised by the conservative Allemands because it was subject to the interests of Freemasonry and weak on the international stage. This was followed by a propaganda campaign calling for war against National Socialist Germany. In addition to the increase in power that could be achieved by intervention

In a new war, as was the case during the First World War, the United States will go to war against social-nationalism for two reasons:

-Solving the domestic crisis with an external war: from the end of the 1920s, the United States went through a very serious economic crisis, which came to be known as the Great Depression. We won't dwell on what caused this crisis, but we can say that, in addition to the causes traditionally put forward, it had to do with the underhand actions of high finance, which was already very powerful at the time. Up to 15 million people were unemployed (57). But it should also be noted that there were already many unemployed, more than eight million in 1928 (58) in the prosperous years of the American economy (59).

Roosevelt's New Deal, combined with billions of dollars, failed to bring the number of unemployed below ten million. The consequences for mankind were dreadful. This is proved by the fact that Roosevelt found that one American in two was unfit for military service because of physical or moral insufficiency (60). Two-thirds of American children were born into miserable living conditions (61). Thus, the only solution of the money men who ran the United States, if they did not want to face a domestic revolution that would could destroy them, was war. Socialist-nationalist Germany became a scapegoat for the United States' internal difficulties. A war against fascist Europe and more particularly against nationalist-socialist Germany, made it possible not only to divert even more attention to the outside world and to explain away internal difficulties with the war abroad, but also to displace the industrial and agricultural needs necessary to rebuild the economy and provide work for at least half of the unemployed. Going against his promises, Roosevelt publicly declared in 1937 that the war was "necessary" (62). Most of the American press supported him.

-To bring down nationalist-socialist Germany and fascist Italy, enemies for metahistorical and metaphysical reasons: the true leaders of the United States sensed very early on that the worldview of the fascism and nationalism-socialism was their strictest opposition, almost metaphysically. Their vision of the world, based on quantity, resolutely democratic and

The capitalism that grew out of Protestantism and the spirit of Freemasonry was to bring down Fascism and National Socialism, which valued the quality, honour and dignity of man and gave him a meaning in life other than that of amassing wealth and perpetual enjoyment. If this vision of the world took hold in Europe, it meant the more or less rapid end of its opposite. As symbolised by the black nationalist swastika leaning to the left and the famous initiatory phrase "Germany, wake up", it meant the beginning of a new age, or rather the return to an age that has now been revoked, through the creation of a superior, reborn man, and the end of a largely Judeo-Christian and Freemasonic worldview. Ultimately, this meant a return to the ancient Roman spirit. Roosevelt and the real leaders of the United States therefore had to destroy this vision of the world by all available means, or they would end up being defeated by it.

As the Daily Express newspaper of 24 March 1933 reported, with the headline "Judea Declares War

On Germany - Jew Of All The World Unite In Action", the non-military war against National Socialist Germany was decided very early on. The individuals in Roosevelt's immediate entourage (Bernard Baruch, Henry Morgenthau Jr, La Guardia, H. S. Cummings, J. H. Jones, H. H. Sevier, J. Schenk, Felix Frankfurter, etc.) ensured that America would play a resounding part in this war, and then in the military war, first by supplying abundant supplies of material and food to the Soviet forces, which enabled the Soviets to repel the German army, and then by invading and occupying Europe.

1945 gave the United States global leadership. The United States and Soviet Russia effectively controlled Europe. We could even say that post-1945 Europe was primarily shaped by the United States and Soviet Russia. It is with this knowledge that we must interpret most of the processes that affect Europe today in one way or another.

A final analysis of modern America

This final analysis should be seen in the context of all that has been said above. The portrait of America that we have drawn up, which draws heavily on the writings of J. Evola, is the result of all the processes we have described. In accordance with our diachronic plan, as we are now dealing with the twentieth century, we will, as far as possible, set out the processes we have described. the similarities between Americanism and Communism, as developed in Russia from 1917 onwards, in order to demonstrate that America and Communism are not opposites but two sides of the same coin.

Extreme mechanisation, collectivism-promiscuity, the religion of utilitarianism, efficiency, production and technology, the all-powerful reign of money and materialism and, as we have already pointed out, the primacy of quantity over quality, are all characteristics that the United States and communist ideology have in common. It is thus that Soviet intellectuals louaient les Etats-Unis dès les années 1920 (63). Staline himself refers to Americanism (64). He decides that the union of the revolutionary spirit and Americanism defines the "style of Leninism... in the work of the party and the State" as well as "the complete type of the Leninist militant". Indeed, unlike the forces of subversion which continue to maintain the fictitious opposition between capitalism and communism, we must be aware that the United States and communism share many points of convergence. It is worth remembering that the advent of the "mass man" in America occurred almost spontaneously, whereas it led to a bloody revolt and numerous murders in Russia.

The American, having chosen to be subservient to production and seeing only one goal in life, "to make money", ceases to belong to himself and becomes "a man".

irremediably separated from the spiritual. He becomes an instrument of production, devoting all his physical and mental efforts to the pursuit of material greatness, a cog in the immense machine.

The American can no longer experience freedom. The wealth accumulated by the American does not even serve as an instrument for his free pursuit. Money is no longer a means of acquiring any extra-economic greatness, but a goal in itself. This unquenchable thirst for money condemns

The American view of life is diametrically opposed to the old European tradition. This conception of life is diametrically opposed to the old European tradition. In his *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, Chateaubriand said that "in the United States, we should not look for what distinguishes man from the rest of the world".

other beings in creation" and that "the American has replaced the operations carried out by the operations of applied science".

All areas of life are affected. Art and the spirituality that is the source of all true art are brought into disrepute, a characteristic shared by all peoples among whom the feminine spirit reigns, according to Bachofen. The average American is indifferent to the figure of the artist.

(Chateaubriand notes that "poetry and imagination, shared by a very small number of idle people, are regarded in the United States as the puerilities of the first and last ages of life", and that "poetry and imagination, shared by a very small number of idle people, are regarded in the United States as the puerilities of the first and last ages of life", and that "poetry and imagination, shared by a very small number of idle people, are regarded in the United States as the puerilities of the first and last ages of life".

The only literature to be found in America is "applied literature, serving t h e various uses of society; it is the literature of workers, merchants, sailors and sailors"). The intellectual

is of no use to the common man, since it does not even provide any tangible entertainment. Even when the lords of the Third State attract to America, thanks to their dollars, representatives or works of the old European culture, they are only subjects of relaxation and amusement. The figure of the inventor will always be held in higher esteem than that of the intellect, for he is creating something tangible, whether it be a machine to increase output or a new form of entertainment for the mass-market. So utility is the criterion of truth, and the value of anything must be judged by its economic and social efficiency. We can say that the American man is pragmatic.

In the field of science, the American Dewey and the Soviet Pavlov were united in their subjection to the idea of a "new world".

one with behaviourism, the other with his theories on conditioning, that man does not have an ego or consciousness as a substantive principle. This 'democratic' theory therefore proclaims that anyone can become anything within the limits of the technological means at their disposal. Man, reduced to a shapeless and malléable substance, to a

This explains, by the way, the importance in America of advertising and propaganda. This explains the importance in America of publicity, advertising and propaganda.

Despite his inner inconsistency, the American is convinced that he is always right. He believes it is his moral duty to bring the world up to his level (a level he sometimes doesn't even have), he believes it is his moral duty to bring the world up to his level (a level he sometimes doesn't even have).

conformism and standardisation being at the heart of American mentality. It is the equivalent of state thinking, such as existed until recently in Soviet Russia. The American, the international politician like the average person, is above all a preacher (the figure of the preacher is very widespread in American literature). The result is the intrusion of the collective and the social into the individual sphere. Far from being as 'open-minded' as he claims to be, the American is full of taboos and prejudices of which he is not even aware.

In the economic sphere, this desire to standardise everything had reduced millions of men to mere machines, through Taylorism and Fordism. Ford and Staline joined hands here. Uniformity and reduction to a few types are a common feature of Americanism and Communism, even if today the diversity of types in industry is greater. Craftsmanship and the qualitative dimension of work have been eliminated. The work no longer exists; it is replaced by the product.

This desire to 'standardise' the world is often accompanied by an almost animalistic brutality. For example, during Roosevelt's crusade in Europe, American primitivism expressed itself violently. Anglo-American planes killed some 70,000 French civilians during air raids (65). War crimes committed by American soldiers, both white and black, against civilian populations

The French, Italians and Germans were numerous and often sadistic. Without going into detail, after sowing chaos in England, where the British judged them to be very sexually inclined, the American soldiers committed at least 3,500 murders and rapes, American soldiers committed at least 3,500 murders and rapes in France between June 1944 and June 1945 (i.e. counting only those exactions that led to prosecutions) and 84% of those sentenced to death for these exactions in France were black soldiers (black soldiers in the American army represented only 10% of the total strength). In Germany, at least 11500 murders and rapes were committed by Americans. Eisenhower greatly relaxed the penalties for acts of violence against blacks.

women. Viol was practically tolled: it was considered to be a simple delit qualified as "illicit sexual relation with an unmarried woman" or "illicit pursuit of desires".

Eisenhower did not think that the rape of a female asylum seeker deserved too harsh a punishment (66). American brutality was expressed in another, much more serious way: hundreds of thousands of German soldiers, up to 800,000, died in Eisenhower's "prison camps" in 1945. This sinister individual, together with Henry Morgenthau and high-ranking Frenchmen, implemented a 'punitive' policy, i.e. a policy of extermination, against the German civilians, which resulted in millions of deaths (67).

As far as 'culture' is concerned, jazz perfectly represents the American soul in the field of music. "In the great salles of the American villes, where hundreds of couples shake in concert like epileptic and automatic puppets to the syncopated rhythms of black music, it is truly a "state of madness", the life of a mechanised collective being, that awakens. There are few phenomena that express, as this one does, the general structure of the modern world in its final stage.

phase: this structure is characterised by the coexistence of a mechanical, soulless element, essentially made up of movement, and a primitivist, sub-personal element that draws man into a world of disturbing sensations ("a petrified forest in which chaos stirs", H. Miller)". (68)

The importance of sport, especially collective sport, in American life is another consequence of everything we have described so far. Above all, it is the narcissism and the culte of In a society that has eliminated all spirituality and is purely materialistic, isn't it normal for all the attention to be focused on the body? In a society that has eradicated all spirituality and is purely materialistic, isn't it normal that all attention is given to the body? There is also the collective dimension of the soul.

American culture, expressed in the practice of sport and gigantic sports meetings. Sport is not used to overcome the body, but to give it even greater importance. The importance record" is another purely American trait. One writer has said that modern sport is the religion of the working man (69). It would be better to say that it is the religion of the plebeian separated from any spiritual influence.

We have analysed the chaotic origins of religion in America. Protestantism has rejected the few superior and truly traditional elements that Christianity had preserved. American religiosity is more than a mere moralism in the service of a conformist collectivity. And even morality is disappearing definitively in America. However, most of the themes of the seventeenth-century and early twentieth-century sects are still relevant.

eighteenth century continue to reappear in one way or another in the great diversity of American churches.

This drop in general levels obviously affects relations between men and women. It was in America that women's emancipation and feminism took shape. This was only possible because men's role was no longer purely material and utilitarian, that of the 'bread winner'. The American man's only right was to earn money for his children and his family.

a consumerist and superficial woman. The family is disintegrating because of the many divorces and a legal system that favours women too much. Women believe that they can rise above their responsibilities by taking on a new role.

masculine activity. In reality, she has renounced her nature and finds compensations in drugs, the narcissistic culte of her body through sport, consumerism, etc. In addition to the destruction of family, the promiscuity between the sexes, the fact that young men and women consider themselves to be as friends, also has an American origin. The predominance of the gynaeocratic factor in America means that every woman is considered to be morally superior and to have the right to choose. an innate innocence that man does not have. Rather, he is considered to be endowed with an inferiority and negative feelings, all the more so if it is white. Even the so-called "American media" are not immune.

reactionaries" were affected by this gynaeocratic sentiment. All this found its equivalent in Soviet Russia.

J. Evola says that "America is not only 'negrified' racially and demographically" but that it is "also and above all in terms of culture, behaviour and tastes, even when there is no miscegenation as such". (70) After noting that the "folklore

The 'American culture' is largely made up of black elements, and, like Carl Jung, he gives black culture as the origin of several characteristic traits of the American. These include the exuberant manner of the American (the loud laugh, the slovenly gait, the quantity of clothes, etc.).

movements, etc.), the omnipresent chatter, the outward and unrestrained manifestation of the religious feelings, an extremely lively temperament (as seen in baseball), a collective life with little intimacy, a taste for brutality in all its forms (as seen in American films, boxing fanaticism, wrestling, etc.), a pathos that is banal in sentimental relations but a

Sombart says of Americans: "they mistake bigness for greatness", and so on. Evola continues his critique in another chapter

chapter (71) and says that the taste for vulgarity, whether in words, dress or more generally behaviour, is an American characteristic. The perversion and self-sadism present in many American products should be highlighted here, as they showcase a fallen humanity that the public must laugh at, degrading itself in the process. Obvious examples include

Examples include 'reality' programmes and most 'comedies', whose aim is to disseminate the dumbing-down standards of globalised ideology. This trend is widespread

today. It can be likened to true Satanism, just like pornography, which is almost entirely in the hands of non-believers. It is a powerful agent of feminisation and physical and psychological corruption.

Conclusion

Throughout this study, we have shown that America was the antithesis of the European spirit and that it played a leading role in the global battle against the white peoples. As a nation of pariahs (in the ancient sense, i.e. those without race, homeland or traditions), America fought against all that remained superior in the world, so that, from a metaphysical point of view, it can be considered a "nation of pariahs".

seen as an evil entity. Americanism is a subhuman way of life that is becoming the norm throughout the world and, more particularly, in Western Europe, under the influence of the American Revolution.

American domination since 1945. Its corrosive action can be compared to that of Christianity, when it imposed itself through cunning and the sword. Far from being negligible, the consequences of Americanism are clearly visible, if only in everyday life, although the process is only just beginning if nothing is done to stop it. The most visible consequence of Americanism is multiculturalism and multiracialism, which have been imposed on Europe, as has been emphasised, not least, by the United States.

To take just one example, the Jew Wesley Clark, in his capacity as head of the mundialist organisation NATO: "In the modern Europe there is no room for homogeneous national states. It was an idea from the 1800s, and we are going to carry it (multi-culturalism) through... and we are going to create multi-ethnic states

" (72). Although the effects of these two phenomena are already immense in 2013, what will they be like in just 50 years' time, when most of the inhabitants of the European continent, which will no longer be European in name only, will show signs of racial mixing?

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The world revolution of the peoples of colour

Jahre der Entscheidung had not been published when it was banned by the National Socialist authorities, not without reason, given the rather aberrant views it contains.

on race in general. The fact remains that O. Spengler had a good grasp of the balance of power that existed between the white race and the coloured races in his day, a balance of power which, as he pointed out, would continue to evolve in favour of the coloured races; he also saw clearly that a race war had begun, that it had been started by the coloured races and that it had been "destroyed" by the white races.

prepared on the soil of our continent by the class struggle.

Two French editions of this work have been published to date, in a partly faulty and sometimes even tendentious translation. Here is the nineteenth chapter.

Western civilisation in this century is threatened by not one, but two revolutions of the world. Both have yet to be recognised in terms of their true proportions, depth and effects. One comes from below, the other from without: the class struggle and the race struggle. One is already largely behind us, although its decisive blows - somewhere in the Anglo-American zone - are still to come. The other has resolutely begun with the Great War and rapidly acquired a definite trend and form. In the coming decades both will fight side by side, perhaps as allies; this will be the most serious crisis that the white peoples - united or not - will have to go through together, if they want to have a future.

All the cultures of the past have also experienced this "revolution from without". It has always originated in the compulsive hatred that the unquestioned superiority of a group of cultural nations, based on political, military, economic and spiritual forms and means that had reached their full and harmonious development, inspired in those around them, in inferior beings without hope, in savages" or "barbarians", among those who were exploited and without rights. No high culture lacks this colonial style. But this hatred did not exclude a secret contempt for the foreign way of life, which was gradually learnt, mocked and finally dared to be seen.

evaluate the limit of the effects. We have seen that many things can be imitated, that others can be rendered harmless, or that they do not have the force that was initially attributed to them in silent horror (1). Wars and revolutions were observed within these races

By being forced to use them, they were initiated into the secrets of armament (2), economics and diplomacy. In the end, the true superiority of the foreigners was doubted and, as soon as it was felt that their resolve to reign had weakened, the possibility of an attack and victory was considered. This is how it was in China in the third century B.C., when the barbarian tribes north and west of the Hong Ho and south of the Ian Tse-Kiang were drawn into the decisive struggles of the great powers; in the Arab world at the time of the Abbasids, when the Turco-Mongolian tribes had appeared...

First as mercenaries, then as masters, and this was especially the case in classical antiquity, where we can examine with precision events that are very similar to those towards which we are inexorably marching.

The barbarian attacks on the ancient world began in the year 300 with the migrations of the Celts, who were constantly approaching Italy, where the Gallic tribes had supported the Etruscans and Samnites against Rome in the decisive battle of Sentinum (295) and where Hannibal had again used them successfully. By 280, other Celts had conquered Macedonia and northern Greece, where the whole of Europe had been conquered.

In Thrace and Asia Minor they had founded barbarian empires among a Hellenised population, some of whom were even Hellenic. In Thrace and Asia Minor they had founded barbarian empires among a Hellenised, and in some cases Hellenic, population. A little later, in the East, in the decadent Empire of Alexander the Great, the barbarian reaction began with countless revolts against the culture Hellenic, which had to retreat step by step (3), so that from the year 100 onwards, Mithridates, allied with the "savages

In addition to the Scythians and Bastarnians of southern Russia, the Parthians of the Ostiran region, who were also part of the "Russian army", were also involved.

were advancing further and further into Syria, could hope to destroy the Roman state, which was then sinking into

chaos of class struggles. He could only be stopped in Greece. Athens and other cities rallied to him, as did the Celtic tribes still in Macedonia. A frank revolution reigned in the Roman armies. The parties fought against each other and the leaders

killed each other, even in front of the enemy. At this time the Roman army ceased to be a troop and became the personal retinue of individuals. Those whom Hannibal had led against Rome in 218 were not the Carthaginians themselves, but above all the men of the savage tribes of the Atlas and southern Spain, with whom Rome was to conduct subsequent battles from 146 onwards.

terrible and interminable battles - it was the losses caused by these wars that had led to the insurrection of the Roman peasants during the Gracian tumults - and with whom the Roman Sertorius later tried to found a state directed against Rome. From 113 onwards, there was the Celto-Germanic attack by the Cimbres and Teutons, which could only be repulsed after the loss of entire armies, by the chief Marius, the revolutionary who had just defeated Jugurtha, had armed North Africa against Rome and prevented any counter-attack by corrupting politicians for years.

Romans. Around the year 60, a second Celto-Germanic movement began (the Suevi, the Helvetii), which Caesar thwarted by conquering Gaul, while at the same time Crassus attacked the victorious Parthians.

But by then, resistance through expansion was over. Caesar's plan,

Tiberius had to move the frontier back into Germania again. Tiberius had to move the frontier back into Germania again, because they had not succeeded in replacing the annihilated legions of Varius, and after the death of Augustus the first revolt of the frontier legions took place. From then on, he a defensive system reigned. But the army filled up more and more with barbarians. It became an independent power. Germans, Illyrians, Africans and Arabs (4) became leaders, while the men of the Empire sank into "eternal peace" in the manner of the fellahs,

when the great attacks began in the North and East, it was not just the population that made treaties with the invaders and voluntarily became their subjects: late pacifism of a weary civilisation.

However, a systematic defence had been possible during the centuries that this state of affairs lasted; indeed, the *Orbis terrarum* of the Roman Empire was a defined region with borders that could be defended. Far more serious is the situation in today's Empire of the White Peoples, which extends over the entire surface of the earth and includes the coloured races. Mankind

The White Empire, in its irresistible desire for unlimited horizons (5), has dispersed everywhere, going to North and South America, South Africa, Australia and the countless places between these continents. The brown, yellow, black and red peril is within the White Empire, penetrating the military and revolutionary conflicts between the White powers, taking part in them and threatening to become the ultimate master of events.

But who makes up this world of coloured peoples? They are not only Africa, the Indians - along with negroes and half-breeds - of the whole of America, the Islamic peoples, China, the India as far as Java, but also and above all Japan and Russia, which had once again become a great Asian power, a "Mongol". When the Japanese defeated Russia, hope was awakened throughout Asia: a young Asian state had defeated the West's greatest power, using Western means, and had thus destroyed the nimbus of invincibility that surrounded "Europe". This acted as a signal to India, Turkey, even the Cape and the Sahara: it was therefore possible to restore to the white peoples the sufferings and humiliations of a whole century. Since then, the deep-seated cunning of Asian men has been thinking of ways that are inaccessible and superior to Western thought.

And finally, after suffering the second decisive defeat on the Western side in 1916, to the ironic satisfaction of allied Britain, Russia threw off the "white" mask and once again became Asiatic with all its soul and with a burning hatred of Europe. It took account of experience of Europe's intrinsic weakness and, armed with this knowledge, created methods of

This is the second real consequence of the Great War, alongside the victory of workers' socialism over the society of the white peoples. Alongside the victory of workers' socialism over the society of the white peoples, this is the second real consequence of the Great War.

The war was a defeat of the white races, and the peace of 1918 was the first great triumph of the coloured peoples. This war was a defeat for the white races and the peace of 1918 was the first great triumph for the coloured peoples: the fact that these peoples, by sitting in the "League of Nations" - which is nothing but a miserable symbol of shameful things - have the right to take part in discussions of contentious issues concerning the white States, is symbolic.

The fact that overseas Germans were mistreated by the natives at the behest of the English and French was not a surprisingly new process. It began with the liberal revolution of the 18th century: in 1775, the English had stirred up the Indian tribes, which had

attacked the American Republicans, burning and scalping them, and we must not forget how the Jacobins stirred up the negroes of Haiti for the "rights of man". But if the coloured peoples of the whole world were led, on European soil, by whites against whites, if they learned the secrets of the most modern military means and the limits of their effects, and if they had been sent home with the belief that they had defeated the white powers, it was this that fundamentally changed their ideas about the relationship between the powers. They felt their strength

They began to despise the whites as Jugurtha once despised the might of Rome. It was not Germany, it was the West that lost the war when it lost respect for the peoples of colour.

Moscow was the first to understand the full significance of this shift in the political centre of gravity. In Western Europe, it is not even understood today. Whites, the superior race, have fallen from their former position. Today they conduct talks where they were in command yesterday, and tomorrow they will be obliged to flatter in order to be entitled to talks. They have lost their sense of power. as a matter of course, and they don't even realise it. In the whirlwind of the "revolution from outside", they let slip the choice of the hour, which went to America and above all to Asia, whose frontier is now at the Vistula and in the Carpathians. They are once again forced to defensively - for the first time since the siege of Vienna by the Turks - and they will need great forces, both moral and military, in the hands of very great men, if they are to withstand the first gigantic assault, which will not be long in coming.

In Russia, the two revolutions, the white one and that of the coloured peoples, broke out simultaneously in 1917. One was superficial, urban, workers' socialism with its Western faith in the programme and the party (6), created by literati, proletarian academics and nihilist agitators of the Bakunin type in alliance with the ferment of the big cities, rhetorical and bookish throughout, which massacred the society created by Peter the Great, mostly of Western origin, and installed on the scene the noisy cult of the "worker". Machinism, so foreign and so odious to the Russian soul, is suddenly became a divinity and the very meaning of life. But underneath it all, slow, tenacious, silent and full of promise, the revolution of the muzhik, of the village, Asian Bolshevism, had begun. as such. The peasant's eternal thirst for land, which drove the soldiers away from the front so that they could take part in the great division of the land, was its first manifestation. Workers' socialism quickly recognised the danger. After the alliance of the beginning, it took advantage of the hatred of the peasants characteristic of all urban parties - whether liberal or socialist - to begin the fight against this element.

He expropriated the peasantry, re-established the de facto serfdom and the corvée that Alexander II had imposed. He expropriated the peasantry, re-established de facto serfdom and the corvée that Alexander II had abolished in 1862 and, thanks to bureaucratic management hostile to the rural economy - any socialism that moves from theory to practice very quickly suffocates in bureaucracy - he has ensured that the fields are no longer cultivated, that the quantity of livestock is only a fraction of what it once was and that

Asian-style famine has become a permanent condition that only a weak-willed race, born to slavery, can withstand.

But "white" Bolshevism is rapidly disappearing. The Marxist face is only there to unleash and lead the revolt against the white powers in South Asia, Africa and America. A new, more Asian layer of leaders has replaced the old, half-Western one. They are once again living in villas and castles around Moscow, keeping large numbers of servants and already daring to display barbaric luxury in the style of the Khans.

Mongols of the 14th century, enriched by booty. There is a new form of "wealth", which fits in with proletarian ideas.

In the same way, we will return to peasant property and to private property altogether, which does not exclude the fact of serfdom; we can do this, because it is the army that has power, it is no longer the civilian "party". Soldiers are the only people in Russia who have enough to eat, and they know why and for how long. This power is unassailable from the outside thanks to the country's geographical expanse, but it attacks itself. It has mercenaries and allies all over the world, disguised as it is disguised.

itsself. Its strongest weapon is the new, revolutionary, very Asiatic diplomacy, which acts instead of negotiating (7), from behind and from below, by means of propaganda, assassination and insurrection, and which is thus far superior to the diplomacy of the white states, which, despite all the journalists and political lawyers, has not yet lost its old aristocratic style, Bismarck was its last master.

Russia is the master of Asia. Russia is Asia. Japan is only part of it geographically. As far as its 'race' is concerned, it is certainly closer to the East Malays (8), the Polynesians and certain Indian tribes of western America. But it is on the sea what Russia is on land.

It is master of a vast region where the Western powers no longer have any prestige. England is not master to this degree in "its" Empire, or even in its Asian colonies - far from it. Japan extends its influence far and wide. It has influence in Peru and near the Panama Canal. The alleged blood kinship between the Japanese and the Mexicans has been emphasised and occasionally celebrated on both sides (9). At the beginning of 1914, in Mexico, the Indian ruling circles formed the "San Diego Plan" according to

in which an army of Indians, Negroes and Japanese was to invade the states of Texas and Arizona. The white population was to be massacred, the negro states were to become independent and a larger Mexico was to be founded as a purely Indian state (10). If this plan had had been achieved, the Great War would have begun with a completely different distribution of powers and on the basis of different problems. The Monroe doctrine in the form of dollar imperialism, with its tip towards Latin America, would thus have been destroyed. Russia and Japan are now the only active powers in the world. Thanks to them, Asia has become the decisive element in the destiny of the world.

the world. The white powers are acting under its pressure and don't even realise it.

This pressure consists in the activity of the racial revolution of the coloured peoples, which uses the white revolution - the class struggle - as a means. The root causes of the economic catastrophe have already been mentioned. After the revolution from below in the form of workers' socialism had made the breakthrough by means of wages, the economy of the coloured peoples, led by Russia and Japan, invaded the world with its weapon of low wages and is in the process of completing the destruction (11). Added to this is the political and social propaganda carried out on an enormous scale, Asiatic diplomacy in the true sense of the word. It has completely penetrated India and China. In Java and Sumatra, it gave rise to a racial front against the Dutch and led to the decomposition of the army and of the fleet. From the Far East she endeavoured to win over the highly gifted Indian race, from Mexico to Chile, and for the first time she awakened in the Negroes a sense of their community, which is the basis of their identity. directed against the superior white races.

Here, too, it was the white revolution that paved the way for the coloured peoples from 1770 onwards. The English liberal literature of Mill and Spencer, whose way of thinking dates back to the eighteenth century, is a source of inspiration. century, delivered "philosophy" to the higher schools of India. The young reformers then found their own way from there to Marx. Sun-Yat-Sen, the Chinese revolutionary leader, found it in America. This gave rise to a national revolutionary literature whose radicalism far surpassed that of Marx and Borodin.

The independence movement in Spanish America since Bolivar (1811) is unthinkable without Anglo-French revolutionary literature and the example of Napoleon; the same is true of the North American independence movement from England. Originally, it was a struggle solely between the whites - between the Creole aristocracy, who had lived in the country for generations and owned landed estates, and the Spanish officials who maintained the relationship of colonial domination. Bolivar, a pure-bred white man (12) like Miranda (13) and San Martin, had a plan to found a monarchy based on a purely white oligarchy. The Argentine dictator Rosas - a powerful figure in "Prussian" style - still represented this aristocracy against Jacobinism, which spread very quickly from Mexico to the far South, found support in the anti-clerical Masonic clubs and called for universal equality, including that of the races. that the movement of pure and mixed Indians began, directed not only against Spain, but against white blood in general. It has progressed steadily and today is close to its goal. A. V. Humboldt had already noted that in these countries people were very proud of their purely Iberian origins, and the tradition of the origins of the Visigoths and Basques (14) still lives on in the noble families of Chile. But in the midst of the anarchy that has reigned since the middle of the 19th century, this aristocracy has, for the most part, been able to survive. Some of it has disappeared, others has returned to Europe. The "caudillos", warrior demagogues of indigenous origin, were masters of politics. They include some extremely gifted full-blooded Indians, such as Juarez and Porfirio Diaz. Today, the white upper class, or those who consider themselves as such

comprises a quarter to a tenth of the population, with the exception of Argentina. In some In the States, doctors, lawyers, professors and even officers are almost exclusively Indian, and they feel a kinship with the mixed proletariat of the cities, the "Mehopelo", in their hatred of white property, whether in the hands of Creoles, English or North Americans. The so-called communism of the Incas was worshipped, with the support of Moscow. The racial ideal of a purely Indian Administration is perhaps close to realisation.

In Africa, it was the Christian missionary, particularly the English Methodist, who, in all innocence - with his doctrine of the equality of all men before God and the sinfulness of wealth - ploughed the land on which the Bolshevik envoy sows and harvests. Moreover, the Islamic missionary, coming from the North and East and already on the banks of the Zambezi (Nyassa country), is following in his footsteps with much greater success. Where there was a Christian school yesterday, there will be a mosque tomorrow. The virile (15), warlike spirit of this religion is more comprehensible to the negro than the doctrine of mercy, which only deprives him of the respect of whites; and, above all, the Christian priest is suspect because he represents a superior white race, whereas Islamic propaganda, which is more political than dogmatic, sets itself up against him with skilful determination (16).

This global revolution of all the coloured peoples of the world is advancing through very different national, economic and social trends.

Sometimes it is against the white governments of the colonial empires (India) or of his own country (Cape Town), sometimes against a white upper class (Chile), sometimes against the power of the pound or the dollar, against the foreign economy in general, or against the financiers of his country because they do business with whites (China), against the aristocracy or the monarchy of his country; the religious element is added to this: hatred against Christianity, or against the priesthood and orthodoxy in general, against manners and customs, against the conception of the world and morality. But deep down there is always one and the same thing, ever since the Taiping revolution in China, the Cipayan revolt in India and the Mexican revolt against Emperor Maximilian: it is hatred of the white race and the absolute will to destroy it. It does not matter that very old and weary civilisations, such as the Chinese and the Hindus, are hardly capable of maintaining order without foreign domination.

are capable of shaking off the white yoke, and this is the case. As to which of the colour will be the next master, whether it will be Russia or Japan, or a great adventurer with a vast It doesn't matter where he came from, that's what will be decided later, or perhaps it will never be decided. Ancient Egypt has changed rulers many times since 1000 BC.

- Libyans, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans - it has never been able to govern itself, but always and every time it has been capable of victorious revolts. And whether any of the many other objectives will be achieved or can be achieved is, for the moment, an entirely secondary question. The great historical question is this: will we succeed in overthrowing the White Powers? And, on this subject, a great unity of decision has been formed, which

gives food for thought. And what does the white world have in the way of moral and material resistance against this peril?

Oswald Spengler, *Decisive Years. L'Allemagne et le Développement historique du monde*, 5th edn, Paris, Mercure de France, 1934, translated from the German by R. Hadekel, revised and corrected by B. K.

(1) Jugurtha's judgement on Rome.

(2) The Libyans and the "seafaring peoples" by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom, the Germans by Rome, the Turks by the Arabs, the Negroes by France.

(3) Eduard Meyer, *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien*, K. Curtius, 1925.

(4) 4. Even if these peoples were all etymologically barbarians, it is absurd, even aberrant, not to distinguish between them from a racial point of view. Even if, from this point of view, there is no doubt that the peoples who descended from Scandinavia into southern Europe in several migratory waves between 400 and 800 AD were not pure, the fact remains that they were related to the original Romans and that their blood revived civilisation to a certain extent.

(Editor's note).

(5) What dominates the Hellenic mind, and the Aryan mind in general, "is a disdain for the infinite, that rebellious, formless notion. Hellenic thought [and "Aryan" thought in general] considers perfect only what is completed, defined and therefore limited, which forms a harmonious and organic whole". C. Labo, *Aristote*, Paris, Mellottée, 1922, p.36-37. So what, if I may put it this way, could have gone on in the mind of the white man, so that, several centuries after the end of the Greco-Roman world, the "disdain for the infinite", the very impossibility of conceiving it, gave way to an "irresistible desire for the infinite", the innate sense of measure and proportion, to an appetite for excess and a thirst for disproportion and disharmony?

All crossovers aside, it is certain that continual and intense exposure to the siren song of the by-product of an ideology in which God is indeterminate (Yahweh is unknowable, ineffable, without qualities) is not to blame.

On a more contingent level, whatever the racial pedigree of C. Columbus, a much-discussed question (a significant fact is that he reported in his diary that the reconnaissance team he sent inland on his arrival on the continent he believed to be Asia included a Converso, a certain Torres, who "understood Hebrew and Chaldean and even a little

He was to act as interpreter if the expedition came across Indians who spoke Hebrew.

Columbus asserted that it was quite possible that these peoples were descendants of the ten tribes of Israel, whose fate is described in the biblical canon itself), we know that those who, like Luis de Santangel, financed his long-distance expeditions were of Jewish origin. Once the other four continents more or less conquered and more or less organised by the whites, we also know that the Jews got their hands on the trade: from sugar to cocoa, from peppers to tobacco, almost all the products were sold in these countries.

industries were under Jewish control - and would remain so. For North and South America, see P. Bernardini, N Fiering, *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*, European Expansion and Global Interaction, vol. 2, Berghahn Books, New York, 2001. (N. D. E.)

(6) If it had its geographical origin in Western countries, that's not to say that, spiritually, this faith was 'Western', rooted as it was in Eastern philosophical thought of the Enlightenment. The rationalism, liberalism and universalism that Slavophiles and pro-Western Russians identified as an intrinsic component of the European spirit - some rejecting them, some advocating them - originated in the Semitic spirit, as we showed in "Freedom: a concept of slaves". As for Peter the Great, who is generally presented as the creator of the modern "European-style" state in Russia, it is not uninteresting that it was under his reign and on his initiative that orientalism became an academic discipline; the philosopher Leibniz had not been for nothing in this initiative (D. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism*, Yale University Press, 2010, p. 224. (N. D. E.).

(7) Let's say it does both: it acts, while negotiating. Stalin was one of the first tyrants to understand the importance of "debate" in the democratic economy. "Bring them to the table He used to say: "While they're all around the table, we'll be going behind their backs". Today, there isn't a politician who doesn't go on about the "debate", the "great debates". (EDITOR'S NOTE)

(8) The Boughis or East Malays are originally from Celebes (N. D. E.).

(9) Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 1920, p. 131 ff.

(10) In Mexico City there is a statue of Guatimozin, the last Emperor of the Aztecs. Nobody would dare erect a monument to Fernando Cortez.

(11) When we learn that Japan sells bicycles in Java for 12 marks (70 fr.) and electric light bulbs for 5 pfennigs (50 cent.) a piece, while in white countries we have to charge ten times that amount just to cover expenses; when the small Javanese peasant with wife and children offers a bag of rice, harvested by him, at half the price that modern plantations with their white employees are obliged to charge, then the whole abyss of this struggle opens up before our eyes. Since technology The contrast is no longer in the method of production, but solely in the cost.

(12) Bolívar was in fact "of mixed race, with a predominance of the Caucasian type", <http://www.courrierinternational.com/article/2011/07/27/bolivar-petit-mais-les-dents-blanches>. (EDITOR'S NOTE)

(13) There are many indications that Miranda's surname is of Jewish origin. <http://www.sephardim.com/namelist.shtml?mode=form&from=D&to=K>. (Editor's note)

(14) And Arabs and Jews who were forced to convert; the latter are recognisable by their very Catholic names: Santa Anna, Santa Maria, San Martin (this does not prevent the author from indicating, a few pages earlier, that San Martin was a "pure white blood". (Editor's note.)

(15) The belief in the virile nature of Islam was widespread among Orientalists and traditionalists of Spengler's time, and it still holds true today. To get Firstly, the Arabs were organised into tribal groups, and these tribal groups were based on kinship ties. Secondly, they had a pantheon of deities. Thirdly, the fundamental virtue was "murûwa", i.e. the qualities of the "big man", the chief, on whose patronage all the members of the tribe depended. Fourthly, the supreme goal of life was to perform deeds that would be remembered for generations to come. Fifthly, the model of legitimacy was based on ancestral tradition.

Mohammed questioned each of these aspects. He reversed them: firstly, the criterion of legitimation would not be "what has always been done", but "what God has sent", namely the revelation; secondly, the supreme goal of life lies in the return to God, from whom each person came, on the Day of Resurrection or Judgement; thirdly, given the objective, the virtue of the "God-fearing" or the person who prepares for the great day becomes primordial - therefore, not the virtue of the "God-fearing" or the person who prepares for the great day, but the virtue of the "God-fearing" or the person who prepares for the great day. manhood, but "Taqwa" (humility and fear of God). Fourthly, there is only one God, who is unique, for he has neither consorts nor equals; fifthly, the fundamental unity of human society is not the tribe, but the ummah, a community founded on piety. Here, the criterion is not ancestral lineage, wealth or any other aspect of worldly existence: "The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the most pious." (49:13) (see Lawrence C. Becker and Charlotte B. Becker, *Encyclopedia of Ethics*, vol. 1, Routledge, New York, 2001, p. 890)

Murûwa is translated, among other things, as "courage", "bravery", "generosity", "zeal" and, precisely, "virility"; as "murûwa" derives from "mar", "man", this last meaning seems quite plausible to a non-Arabicist; however, some Arabists have pointed out that, in one of its meanings, it refers to "man". (Tarek Al No'man, "La responsabilité dans la culture arabe islamique", translated from English by Laurent Bury, in Edith Sizoo (ed.), *Responsabilité et cultures du monde : dialogue autour d'un défi collectif*, Ed. Charles Léopold Mayer, Paris, 2006, p. 202) and that these, in pre-Islamic Arabia as later in 'medieval' Europe, in addition to the cult of honour and that of arms, included the cult of women, 'murûwa' would not be superimposed on 'virility' and would be 'masculinity'. even rather far from the true meaning of this term. (Editor's note.)

(16) But there is also an Ethiopian Methodist Church that is hostile to Europeans, whose missionaries come from the United States and which has provoked revolts, for example in 1907 in Natal and in 1915 in Nyassa.

The change of race in the Spanish nobility (700-1600) (1)

Purity would be dangerous, purity would be impure, unless it was the purity of water. potable in Africa, or of "the purity of revolutionary principles" to which Robespierre and his followers refer in the law of 22 Prairial which they ask the National Convention (*) and by virtue of which they will be able to "protect and defend the interests of the people". in which all persons of "impure blood" are condemned to "water (their) furrows", or the "purity of republican principles", under which the law of 5 pluviôse an II proposes to hand over "the culprits who corrupt (it)" "to the sword of the law, using swift, just and severe means" (**), to say nothing of the purity of cocaine and the purity of the diamond used to trade it.

In all other areas, starting with race, mixing is said to be a good in itself, so much so that it has become an ultimate goal, to be achieved at all costs. The man of tomorrow," wrote Coudenhove-Kalergi prophetically in *Praktischer Idealismus* (1923, p. 22), "will be a half-breed ("der Mensch der fernen Zukunft wird Mischling sein"). Coudenhove-Kalergi, founding father of the United States of Europe and first winner of the Charlemagne Prize (***), was descended from a Japanese woman and an Orientalist aristocrat of Greek, Hungarian, Czech and Flemish descent. Anyone who wants to mix is himself the product of a mixture.

The occupier's anti-racist propaganda never ceases to drum into the media the fact that today's European peoples are the product of mixtures, in the belief that this refutes and ruins racism. But racism In the mid-19th century, Arthur de Gobineau explained the decline of civilisations in terms of race and, more specifically, miscegenation; H.F.K.

Günther, in his *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (1922, pp. 130-31), acknowledges that "the majority of Germans are not only descended from progenitors of diverse but pure races, but are also the results of the mixing of elements that have already been mixed"; Julius Evola, in addition to making the distinction between "pure" and "mixed", also makes the distinction between "pure" and "mixed".

between favourable cross-breeding (between certain strains of the same race) and unfavourable cross-breeding, will never cease to emphasise that there are no pure races in the absolute sense today (see, in particular, *Synthèse de doctrine de la race*). But, he immediately adds, "this in no way prevents the concept of a pure race from being taken as a point of reference, as an ideal and as a goal to be achieved". What applies to a race applies a fortiori to a people.

Left to their own devices by Christianity for two millennia, white people have not been able to protect themselves mentally and psychologically against the miscegenation encouraged by this ideology. genocidal in the etymological sense. The benevolence with which a majority of white men today welcome foreigners of colour into their countries, if it is due in part to the effeminate character of these whites, is also explained by the fact that the race of the soul of a certain number of them, because of an ancestry more or less affected by crossbreeding more or less

In other words, they are only skin-white. In other words, they are white only in their skin: psychically, they belong to races other than white. The mass immigration of The population of colour that has plagued our continent since the end of the 1970s could only have been passively accepted by the white peoples because the genetic ground had been prepared over generations, particularly in the upper strata. Of all the countries concerned Spain was undoubtedly the first country to be affected by hybridisation.

PART ONE

Spain has a special history, in that since the 8th century it has been the scene of a conflict between three peoples: the Castilian, the Moor and the Jew. For a long time, none of them was able to take control of the country. over the others. They had to live on the same territory and it is appropriate to speak of them as "castes", which, however, gradually mixed.

This mixture may explain the very existence of imperial Spain in the 16th century. The Spanish empire was the product of Castilian self-confidence and military valour, the Moor's taste for technology, the Jews' knowledge of finance and their utopian dream of a world empire.

By the time the empire began to take shape, many Jews and Moors were already part of the Castilian nobility and government. From 1478, the year in which the Inquisition was established, more and more Jews converted to Christianity (hence the name "conversos"). One of the stated aims of the Inquisition, in addition to imposing Christianity on everyone, was to bring about the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, was the "extirpation of all forms of Judaism", seen as essential to the maintenance of the kingdom (however, the fanaticism and intolerance of the Inquisition, of which it is not surprising that many The fact that many officials were of Jewish origin is alien to the Aryan mentality - as is the distorted concept of "limpieza de sangre") (1). Furthermore, it seems that the hostile measures against the Jews were taken by the king under pressure from the population and not from the nobility.

At the same time, the last Moorish stronghold in Spain, Granada, had been conquered. In the end, the Castilian caste prevailed. It regained its privileges, which the Moors and Jews had denied it. had fought over. A strictly segregated society was emerging. The time had come to draw up lists and determine who was who. This was not easy, as it turned out that many Castilian families had Moorish and Jewish blood.

Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla published two important books on the subject - *Libro verde de Aragón* and *El tizón de la nobleza de España* - at a time when the king had just completed the reconquista and established the Inquisition. Both books showed that most of the 16th-century Castilian nobility had Jewish and Moorish blood, including Ferdinand II the Catholic, who was Jewish through his mother, Juana Enríquez. Both books were eventually banned by royal decree and burnt; not immediately, but in the first half of the 17th century. This is why only three or four copies remain today.

Don Francisco wrote *El tizón de la nobleza de España* because he was offended that his nephew had been refused an appointment because of his (alleged) dubious ancestry. He wanted to show that most of the Spanish nobility were themselves of mixed race. His sources were perfectly valid and included, for example, the well-known *Libro de Genealogías* by Count Don Pedro.

Don Pedro had tried to show that a number of Spanish houses had Jewish or Moorish blood. Don Francisco went further and carried out a more in-depth analysis. For example, he asserted that the famous knight Don Hernando Alfonso was a Moor, that several houses descended from him in one way or another and that, when Toledo fell, he converted to Christianity and became a Moor. baptised by the Christian king, who had showered him with gifts. He also claimed that the families Portocarrero and Pacheco were of foreign origin, the latter descended from the Jew Ruy Capón, the former from a Jewess called doña Polonia, or Paloma, or Palda. As we shall see, these two families passed on their blood to countless noble families.

We will now go into more detail about Don Francisco's statements and examine some of the most striking cases of noble families of mixed descent, in order to gain a clearer picture of the racial state of the Spanish nobility. This text can also provide insights into the history of other European countries. If we accept that a similar process occurred throughout Europe, Guéron's remarks on the marked changes in the mentality of European peoples in the fifteenth century take on their full meaning.

SECOND PART

Pacheco

This family descended from Don Gonzalo López Tabiera and Doña María Ruiz, whose father was the Jew Ruy Capón, a prosperous merchant in the first half of the 14th century. After his conversion to Christianity, he was appointed Superintendent of Finances by Queen Doña Blanca. He was then knighted and received great gifts from King Don Alfonso, who even gave him his daughter in marriage. Other members of the Ruy Capón's family entered noble and royal houses through marriage.

María Gómez Távira, one of the daughters of Ruy Capón and his noble wife, was married to Lope Fernández Pacheco, Lord of Ferreira d'Aires in Portugal. Dozens, if not hundreds, of noble families descended from, or were related to, this blood. Here is a list, although it is probably incomplete: Conde de Benavente, Duque de Florencia, Marqués de Villafranca, Conde de Aranda, Duque del Infantado Duque de Castro Villa, Marqués de Montesclaros, Conde de Medellín, Conde de Alcaudete, Duque de Alba (de Tormes), Almirante de Castilla, Marqués de la Guardia, Conde de Luna, Conde de Alba de Liste, Conde de Monterrey, Marqués de tavarán Don Bernardino de Mendoza, hermano de Mondéjar, Marqués de Priego (Pliego), Adelantado de Castilla, Marqués de Viana, Duc de Feria, Duque Alburquerque, Marqués de Gibraltor, Marqués de Comares, Marqués de Mondéjar, Marqués de Ayamonte, Conde de Agudos (Monteagudo), Conde de Oropesa, Duque de Maqueda, Conde de Fuensalida, Conde de Osorno, Don Francisco Pacheco, Señor de Almunia, Señor de Albadalejo, Señor de Malpica, Doña Magdalena de Bobadilla, Marqués de las Navas, Casa de Palma, la Casa del Duque de Arcos, Casa del Marqués de los Vélez, Marqués de Villanueva del Fresno, Duque de Alcalá, Condestable de Castille, Marqués del Carpio, Conde de la Puebla, Conde de Castro, Conde de Montalbán, Conde de Castro, Marqués del Carpio, Casa del Señor de Pinto, Marqués de Camarasa, Casa del Señor de la Casa Rubios, Conde de Valencia, Duque de Nájera, Conde de Buendía, Marqués del Carpio, Marqués de Montemayor, Marqués de Cerralvo, Don Diego de Acuña, Don Juan de Acuña, Don Fernando de Acuña, Conde de Villa Mediana, Casa del Mariscal de Valencia en Zamora, Señor de Peñaranda, Duque de Medina Celi, Marqués de Falces, Marqués de la Guardia, Conde de Aranda, Conde de Coruña, Marqués de la Fuente, Lope de Guzmán, Álvarez de Toledo, etc.

Portocarrero

This old Castilian family descended from Don Hernando Alfonso, a wealthy and prominent Moor of the 12th century, born in Cordoba, who converted to Christianity when Alfonso VI took Toledo. Many Spanish houses are descended from Don Hernando Alfonso. Don Pedro Portocarrero († circa 1600), a descendant of Don Hernando Alfonso, was married to Beatriz Enríquez, a Jewess born in Guadalcanal and related to King Don Alfonso.

Don Pedro de Castille, Bishop of Palencia

Don Pedro of Castile (1394-1461) had a concubine, Isabel Oleni, whose father was an English Jew from the lowest stratum of society. The spelling of her name varies greatly in the documents of the time: Olin, Oleni, Dioelni, Drohelin, Droklin, etc., but never Droellin, the name of a Jew. They were an English family of high nobility, as some interested genealogists would have us believe. They had two sons and two daughters, ancestors of many Spanish houses: Marques de Alcañices, Conde de Denia, Marques de Poza, Conde de Miranda, Conde de Salinas, Conde de La Coruña, Duque de Villahermosa, Señor de Fuente y Dueña, the sons of Don Pedro de Zúñiga, the sons of Don Francisco de Castilla, Don Alfonso de Castilla, the brothers of Marqués de Gibraleón, Marqués de Frómista, Don Antonio Fonseca de Toro, the sons of Don Gómez Henríquez, Don Pedro Castilla en Valladolid, Don Juan de Castile, Madrid, Don Juan de Castilla y Aguayo, Marques de Santa Cruz, Conde de Santisteban del Puerto, etc.

The Dukes of Bragança

This house, which became so powerful that it eventually ruled Portugal and Brazil, was descended from Alfonso, bastard son of the King of Portugal, and Inés Fernández de Esteves, whose father was a Jewish civil servant who converted to Christianity. Many other noble houses are descended from this blood.

The Counts of Mirabel, Veras and Davila

One of the members of this line had a daughter with the wife of a barber and married her off to a nobleman. At least three different houses were thus contaminated. Although this was not a large house, his case illustrates a trend that seems to have been general among the nobility of the time, namely to have children with a plebeian - often Moorish or Jewish - and marry them off to nobles.

The Duke of Villahermosa

The following case is symptomatic of the frivolity of the European nobility in recent centuries, a frivolity that ultimately proved fatal. The Duchy of Villahermosa had been created in ancient times. Alfonso de Aragón y Escobar (1417-1485), Duke of Villahermosa, son of King Juan II, had taken a

Jewish mistress, María Sánchez (Junques) - nicknamed "La Coneja" - who had converted to Christianity. This union produced two children, both of whom were legitimised and awarded prestigious titles. Naturally, they in turn had children with nobles.

The Counts of Puñonrostro

This house was descended from Pedro Arias de Ávila, a Jew (converted to Christianity) who served King Enrique IV (1425-1474) as a colonial administrator. The son of a merchant, he was already very wealthy when he was ennobled. He had two sons: one became Bishop of Segovia, the other Count of Puñonrostro, county created especially for him.

Don Pablo de Cartagena y Burgos

Don Pablo, bishop of Cartagena, writer and poet, whose real name was Salomon Halevi, remained faithful to Judaism for a long time, until a pope authorised him to join the Church. He quickly rose through the ranks, becoming tutor to King Juan II of Castile and later Bishop of Cartagena and Burgos.

Aragón

According to the author, Aragón was one of the regions hardest hit by miscegenation.

Navarre

According to the author, there were many conversos in Navarre who held important positions.

Vizcaya

A Jewish doctor from Vizcaya, Mosén Pablo, had four daughters, whom he managed to marry off to members of the noble houses of the region.

El tizón de la nobleza de España, or Jewish and Moorish ancestry in the Spanish nobility

Racial change in the Spanish nobility (700-1600)

T. L., 2015, translated from the English by B. K.

(*) Jacques Necker, *De la révolution française*. New edition with additions by the author, vol. 6, Paris, 1797 p. 348.

(**) Baron Auguste Edmond Petit de Beauverger, *Les Institutions Civiles de la France*, Paris, 1864, p. 119.

(***) The Charlemagne Prize was awarded in 2018 to the transsexual and Coudenove-Kalergi enthusiast who has been enthroned in the Elysée Palace since May 2017.

(1) On 10 January 1433, Queen Maria decreed on behalf of the conversos of Barcelona that there should be no legal distinction between old and new Christians. The following year, the Council of Basel ruled that "... because by the grace of baptism they become fellow citizens with the saints and people of the house of God, and because there is much more merit in being born again in the spirit than in being born again in the flesh... converts enjoy privileges, freedoms and immunities in the towns and places where they are born again in baptism; privileges that others obtain only through birth and descent". A few months later, King Alfonso of Aragon rejected the discriminatory measures that were about to be taken against neophytes in the province of Catalunya. On 31 January 1437, the Pope

Eugene V, challenged by the converts of the Crown of Aragon, condemned these "sons of iniquity... Christians in name only", who demanded that the new converts be banned from any public office or employment" (eds. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend*, The University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 80).

However, the *sentencia estatuto*, promulgated in 1449 by the alcaide of Toledo, Pedro Parmiento, is generally considered to be the first statute of "limpieza de sangre", even though the reasons given for expelling all conversos from the administration were in no way racial.

(eds. Andrew M. Beresford, Louise M. Haywood and Julian Weiss, *Medieval Hispanic Studies in Memory of Alan Deyermond*, Tarnes Book, 2013, pp. 219-20), but exclusively religious. It "was the first chapter of a dense and complicated controversy involving some of the

(eds. Barbara Borngässer, Henrik Karge and Bruno Klein, *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal*, Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2006, p. 181).

The following year, Alfonso de Cartagena, son of the Jewish bishop of Burgos, published a theological refutation of Parmiento's status, significantly entitled *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae*. Pope Nicholas V, to whom he had appealed to annul the decree, followed him, denouncing "the exclusion of the Christians (the conversos) from their duties for the sole reason that they belong to a certain race". On 24 September 1449, Nicholas V, in a bull just as significantly entitled *Humani generis inimicus*, condemned, on pain of excommunication, all those who made "any difference between recent converts and other Christians". He rescinded it the following year with two new bulls, apparently under pressure from the king. This annulment only served to inflame the debate between those who defended the conversos and those who demanded that they be handed over to the Inquisition. Alfonso de Espina established himself as the sworn enemy of the conversos. General of the Franciscan Order, rector of the University of Salamanca and confessor to King Henry IV of Castile, a fierce supporter of a crusade against the Saracens and a "reconquest of the Holy Land", he wrote a five-book treatise against those who denied the divinity of Christ, heretics, the Jews, whom he wanted to see expelled from Spain, Muslims and the devil. *Fortalitium Fidei* particularly attacked the Jews, whom he accused of poisoning wells and committing ritual murders, while asserting that it was the duty of the Church to force them to baptise their children. On the other hand, de Espina explains that the Jews came from Adam's union with animals (eds. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo et Maureen Quilligan, op. cit., p. 82). One researcher recently ruled that de Espina, long suspected of being a converso himself, was not one and that this suspicion was based "on fragmentary knowledge, secondhand sources, and in many cases, unfounded argument" (Meir Amor, Abstract: State Persecution and Vulnerability: A Comparative Historical Analysis of Violent Ethnocentrism Ph.D. 1999, University of Toronto - at <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp04/nq41006.pdf>, p. 295, consulted on 10 February 2015). The fact remains that de Espina is a Sephardic name (<http://www.sephardim.com/namelist.shtml?mode=form&from=D&to=K>, accessed 10 February 2015)

The rest is history. The statutes multiplied and were all eventually approved, not only by the popes and the various religious orders, but also by the contemporary Spanish monarchs. What is much less well known is that they were not applied to the letter. The first point is that they were mitigated to a greater or lesser extent. For example, among the Jesuits, "In open violation of the thought of Ignatius of Loyola, the Fifth General Congregation, convened at the end of 1593, ordered in its decree 52 that candidates of Jewish origin should not be received into the Society. Fr Ribadeneira protested strongly against the adoption of this statute of purity of blood.

protest at the Vth General Congregation limitavit, held in 1608: this, however, mitigated the impediment and "ad quintum generationis gradum". This did not prevent many Jesuits (I.S. Revah, La controverse sur les statuts de pureté de sang. Un document inédit: "Relación y consulta del cardenal G[u]evara sobre el negocio de fray Agustín Saluzio" [Madrid 13 August 1600], p. 269) The Order of Saint Jerome, highly prized by the Spanish aristocracy, was reputed to welcome conversos with open arms, at least until 1486, when, due to the discovery of monks of Jewish origin in the monastery of Guadalupe and the ensuing trials, entry to the Order was "provisionally" refused. forbidden to converts and their descendants. But "the status was far from unanimous within the order,

and it was not very strictly applied for several years" (Sophie Coussemaeker, *Convertis et judaïsants dans l'ordre de Saint-Jérôme: un état de la question*, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 1991, volume 27). It was not until 1492 that the case came to light. In the meantime, four of the defendants in the Guadalupe trial were acquitted and the other five acquitted.

The case of one of the latter, Diego de Zamora, a professed monk from Lupiana, is reminiscent of that of de Espina: this monk, who "had led an operation to segregate Jews and converts in the province of Guadalajara, at the request of the Queen", "was originally a convert and on several occasions during his life was tempted to return to Judaism" (*ibid.*, p. 18).

Hernando de Talavera, prior of the Pardo de Valladolid, bishop of Avilla and first archbishop of Granada. Accused of being an apostate and of turning his palace into a "veritable synagogue", he himself was subjected to an Inquisitorial trial in 1505. As the records of this trial have been lost, it is impossible to know whether he was asked for proof of "purzza de sangre" at the hearing. Although of Jewish descent by his mother, he would have had no difficulty in providing them, since - and this is the second point - false genealogies, which would be fabricated everywhere fifty years later (Pierre Cosabel, *Sciences de la Renaissance*, p. 51), were already commonplace. In any event, de Talavera was acquitted and his family, most of whom were Jewish, were released.

These few examples, which could be multiplied, show that it is perfectly true that the notion of "limpiezza de sangre" was distorted. They also show that the racist image of Spain at the time is a caricature.

The change of race in the Spanish nobility (700-1600) (2)

Jews are often portrayed as having been what is known in the Judaic religion as "scapegoats" during the "Middle Ages", in the so-called "West", and even more so during the "Dark Ages".

period when the Inquisition was active. Accustomed to victim-blaming, what the latter fail to mention is that the Church made the Jews "scapegoats" for purely religious reasons: as killers of Christ, infidels, non-Christians, and so on. Nevertheless, it was business as usual for the diplomats and financiers who worked for the Spanish monarchs. "In 1484, King Ferdinand invited him [Rabbi Don Isaac ben Judah Abravanel] to be the collector of royal revenues, even though it was illegal for a Jew to hold such an important position and the Spanish Inquisition was in full swing." (*) What about the Inquisition? It seems to have been a

between Jews, since there are strong indications that Torquemada was a Jew (**). The word "scapegoat" has been placed in inverted commas above, as Jews over the centuries often turned to the Pope for help and protection, which the Pontiff granted them. In 1493, for example, not all Jews fled to Muslim countries after they, or at least some of them, had been expelled from Spain. Some, who settled at the gates of Rome, were welcomed by the papacy (***). More than one pope, while condemning the Talmud, did not oppose the privileges granted to the Jews. Far from the sensationalist tone of many historical studies of relations between the Papacy and the Jews, Kenneth R. Stow, in a meticulous study of papal policy in the centuries leading up to the "Holocaust of the Jews", is far removed from the sensationalist tone of many historical studies of relations between the Papacy and the Jews.

Renaissance", reminds us of their reality: "Papal policy rested on a delicate web of checks and balances designed to ensure, on the one hand, that the Jews fulfilled in their daily lives the emblematic and subservient role ordered towards them in the first place by Paul [...] and, on the other, that the Christian society protected the legitimate privileges of the Jews it was obliged to shelter within its midst". (****) The author of the study fails to point out that "legitimate privileges" included usury and spoliation, and does not explain how a "servile role" could be anything other than a farce for Jews. whose moneybags and mortgages make them the true masters of the society in which they live.

PART ONE: Introduction, on the conversion of the Jews

Contrary to popular belief, Jews in Spain had converted to Christianity centuries before the aggressive measures of 1391 and the coercive Inquisition. This was particularly true in Aragon.

For example, before the fall of Zaragoza to King Alfonso I in 1118, three important Jews lived in the city: Mosse Sefardi, Ben Ezra and Abraham bar Hiyya. In 1106, Mosse Sefardi chose to be baptised and took the name Pedro Alfonso. He had been a rabbi for decades. Another case is Pedro de Almeria, who embraced the cross and became tutor to King Pedro I, over whom he exerted great influence.

A large proportion of conversions were not caused by violence or physical threats. Rather, it was proselytising campaigns and theological debates, such as the dispute at Tortosa (1412-1414), that led to conversions. The Jews who converted were educated and wealthy.

There were many conversions in Aragon from the early fifteenth century onwards. The registers mention hundreds of families. However, the synchronicity of so many conversions, in such a short space of time, raises the question of whether they were part of a concerted action and whether the quarrels theology were not used as smokescreens. There is a bolder hypothesis. That all the Inquisition affair, which ended up being very beneficial for many Jews who had converted to Christianity since it enabled them to climb the social ladder quickly by marrying into noble Christian families and obtaining influential positions, was not in part set up precisely to achieve this goal. After all, wasn't Ferdinand II, the king who established the Inquisition, of Jewish extraction through his mother? Didn't many conversos call on their Jewish brethren to convert?

In Aragon, around half of the twelve thousand Jews chose exile, but a number of them gradually returned over the years. The Inquisition's power to disperse them was nonetheless great (to Portugal, Avignon/France, Italy, North Africa, etc.). The other half converted to Christianity. From a racial point of view, it doesn't matter whether they really embraced their new religion or remained secretly faithful to Judaism.

PART TWO: El libro verde de Aragón

As mentioned above, a number of conversos, the "new Christians", rose socially and obtained enviable positions through nepotism. The "old Christians" were threatened and a rivalry arose. It was around 1550 that El libro verde de Aragón, a handwritten document, appeared. In the years that followed, it caused a stir because it showed that the most powerful families in Aragon had Jewish origins - although the book did not focus solely on noble families. In 1622, it was publicly burnt in Zaragoza, and banished the following year. Only a few copies survived.

Who knows what happened before that? There is no systematic description of the racial state of Spain before that. We can only admit that the racial change we are describing began earlier because mass racial mixing does not begin suddenly.

We are going to look at three cases.

The Uluf-Sanchez family

The case of this family is particularly interesting as it illustrates the mechanism of social elevation produced by conversion and interracial marriages over several generations.

It began with Azach Abendino and Myra or Maria Esquera, two Jews from Belchite, who had four daughters.

One of them, Jamila, married Alazar Uluf, a Jew from Zaragoza, with whom she had a daughter, Orosol. All three converted to Christianity and changed their names to Luys Sanchez, Aldonza Sanchez and Brianda Sanchez.

Their daughter, who had become Brianda, married Francisco de la Caballeria, a converso and finance minister of King Don Juan, and they had a son, also named Francisco de la Caballeria.

The latter married Violante de Santa-Maria, also a conversa, with whom he had two sons, Pedro and Juan.

Pedro married Catalina de Albion, daughter of Don Bartolomé de Albion, first bailiff of the town of Caspe.

After her husband's death, Brianda Sanchez married don Gonzalbo de Santa-Maria, also a converso. They had several children.

One of them, Gonzalbo, married a conversa and became an advisor to the governor, although he died in the jails of the Inquisition.

Another, a daughter, had descendants. A woman of his blood married the son of don Juan de Moncayo, who was governor of the town of Orihuela.

There were many other relatives of this family who climbed the social ladder by marrying non-Jews.

One of his descendants, whose Jewish father had become a town governor, married the bastard daughter of the Count of Fuentes. Their daughter married the Lord of Guerto.

Another descendant married the lord of Çaydi.

Alazar Uluf, alias Luys Sanchez, remarried after the death of his wife Jamila. His new wife was a younger sister of Francisco de la Caballeria. They had several children. One of them was made prior of Arguedas and Exea, while another became a jurist who was executed by the Inquisition for his involvement in the murder of Inquisitor Arbues.

Alazar Uluf had four brothers - the group was known as the "Ulufs of Zaragoza" - from poor backgrounds. Like Alazar, they converted to Christianity and took the names Pedro, Anton, Gayme and Juan Sanchez.

Pedro Sanchez became a notary public and had six sons by a woman from Tortosa. He died quickly and a prophecy made by his widow was recorded for posterity: "My sons, I have nothing to give you.

May you one day be tired of receiving the king's riches! Little did she know that this prophecy would soon become reality.

One of their sons, Luys Sanchez, became Minister of Finance in the government of King Ferdinand the Catholic and, later, Bailiff of Aragon - when he took up the latter post, it was his brother Grabiél who became Minister of Finance. He married a conversa woman, with whom he had two sons.

One of them married a non-conversa with whom he had a son and a daughter.

This son married a noblewoman after murdering her lover, don Juan de Lanuça. They had a daughter named donia Juana Sanchez.

Luys Sanchez's other son married twice, to a daughter of Juan Enrique de Esparça and a daughter of Juan de Pomar, Lord of Riglos.

Grabiél Sanchez, mentioned in the above paragraph, married donia Albamunte de Santa Anguel, daughter of Luys Santa Anguel. They had two sons and two daughters. One of them, Luys Sanchez, was

married twice, to Ysabel de Francia and donia Maria de Toledo, with whom he had eight children. One of them, donia Maria Sanchez, married don Juan de Torellias. Grabiél Sanchez died in 1505 and Luys Sanchez, his son, mentioned above, became Minister of Finance of the Reyes Catholicos until his death in 1530.

Grabiél Sanchez's other son was Gabriel Sanchez, brother of Luys Sanchez. He married Donia Ysabel de Granada, with whom he had several children.

One of them, Luys Sanchez, married Ysabel de Rirl, daughter of the Baron of Eril in Catalonia.

A daughter of Grabiél Sanchez married don Miguel de Gurea, with whom she had three children.

The eldest was called don Francisco de Gurea. He became governor of Aragon and married Ysabel de Moncada, daughter of don Juan de Moncada, with whom he had two children.

On his death, he married Donia Leonor de Castro, daughter of the Viscount of Ebol, with whom he had two children.

Grabiél Sanchez's other daughter, donia Ana Sanchez, married don Juan de Mendoza, lord of the town of San Juan.

Their son, don Francisco Mendoza, married noblemen twice - one of them a conversa.

Grabiél Sanchez, son of Pedro Sanchez discussed in the previous section, had a brother called Miguel or Grabiél.

The latter married Dona Violante de Castejon, with whom he had three sons - Luys, Juan and Francisco - and three daughters - Beatriz, who married Pedro Sanchez, governor of the town of Calandre, Francisca and one who became a nun.

Luys Sanchez married his cousin Juana de Besalu, with whom he had a daughter named Ysabel Sanchez.

The latter married Don Juan de Moncayo, Lord of Plasencia, with whom she had several children.

One of them, donia Ysabel de Moncayo, married Phelipe de Pomar, Lord of Sallillias. Juan

Sanchez became a clergyman.

Francisco Sanchez had no children.

Another brother of Grabiél Sanchez was Juan Sanchez. He began life as a notary public but later turned to commerce, which made him very wealthy. It seems that he was involved in the assassination of Inquisitor Epila, as he fled and was burnt in effigy. He married a conversa with whom he had two daughters.

The latter had several descendants, but only a few married into the aristocracy.

Another brother of Grabiél Sanchez was Francisco Sanchez. He was first steward to the Catholic king. He had a son who also became the king's first steward.

Another brother of Grabiél Sanchez was Alfonso Sanchez. He was Minister of Finance for the Kingdom of Valencia. He married a conversa with whom he had several children.

One of them was Miguel Sanchez. He succeeded his father as Minister of Finance and married Donia Ysabel de Hixar, the bastard daughter of the Count of Belchite.

Maria Sanchez was the sister of Grabiél Sanchez. She married twice, first to a commoner with whom she had a daughter, Maria Sanper. Later, she and her daughter married respectively don Sancho Perez de Pomar and don Carlos de Pomar, who were lords of the town of Sigues (Maria Sanper was eventually murdered by her husband for adultery). They had one son and three daughters.

The son, named Sancho Perez de Pomar, married Donia Beatriz de Moncayo, daughter of the Lord of Rafales, with whom he had a daughter who married Francisco de Mendoza. His second wife was donia Catalina Cerden, daughter of the Lord of Castelliari, with whom he had several children.

Blanca de Pomar was one of the daughters of Carlos de Pomar and Maria Sanper. She married first a commoner and then don Pedro Feriz, Queen Guermana's finance minister, with whom she had the following children
three children.

Alazar Sanchez had a brother named Anton Sanchez, as mentioned above. He married Gracia Sanchez de Sunien, with whom he had three sons.

The first of them, Juan Sanchez, was a lawyer who died without issue.

The second, Anton Sanchez, was First Prior of Exea and then Prior of Sariñena.

The last, Martin Sanchez, married a sister of the Duke of Luna's mother, who was of Jewish origin. They had descendants.

All three brothers were prosecuted by the Inquisition, although no death sentence was passed.

Alazar Sanchez had a brother named Juan Sanchez. He married a daughter of the first bailiff of Zaragoza, don Juan Ruys, with whom he had two sons.

The first of them, Juan Sanchez, married Leonor de Tamarit, whose fate was to be burnt by the Inquisition, with whom he had three sons - Pedro, Agustin and one who became a church canon - and four daughters.

Agustin Sanchez married donia Juana de Espital, while Pedro Sanchez married Constanza de Francia, with whom he had several children.

One of the daughters married Martin Doce, governor of Monçon, while another married the lord of Arascues. The latter had four sons and three daughters.

One of the daughters married Don Juan de Foces, Lord of Balarias, with whom she had a son and a daughter.

Their son, Felipe, became Lord of Balarias and married Donia Ana de Cuebas, a conversa, daughter of the Count of Fuentes.

From 1486 onwards, the following members of the family were punished by the Inquisition:

- Those fined were Aldonza Sanchez, Juan Sanchez and his sons Juan, Luys and Miguel, Martin Sanchez and Pedro Sanchez.

- Those burned (C for body, E for effigy) were Juan Sanchez's wife, Leonor de Tamarit (C), his sister Almenenara (C), Juan Sanchez (C), Alfonso Sanchez (C), Anguelina Sanchez (C), Valeriana Tamarit (E), Juan Sanchez (C), Beatriz de Tamarit (C), Brianda Sanchez (C) and Anton Sanchez (E).

In conclusion, we can say that relatively few members of the family were prosecuted and punished by the Inquisition.

The Caballeria-Paternoy family

Vidal de la Caballeria and his wife were two Jews from Zaragoza. They converted to Christianity and changed their names to Gonzalo and Beatriz de la Caualleria. They had two daughters, who married Cipres de Paternoy, a farmer, and Gaspar Ruyz, who was also a converso.

Cipres de Paternoy had a son, Sanchez Paternoy, who married Aldonza de Gordo, whose father had been executed by order of the King for his criminal activities. They had three sons - Gonzalo, Sancho and Joan - and five daughters.
daughters - Beatriz, Isabel, Maria and two Violantes.

Gonzalo Paternoy was appointed "maestre racional" (finance minister) of Aragon and henceforth called don Gonzalo. He married Leonor de Moron, with whom he had a son, Gonzalo Paternoy.

The latter married Dona Isabel de Aragon, daughter of the Count of Ribagorza, who had Jewish origins. They had four sons and three daughters.

Sancho Paternoy, Gonzalo Paternoy's brother, had a bastard daughter, Isabel de Paternoy, who married the bastard son of don Joan Perez de Escauilla, with whom she had three children.

Joan Paternoy, Gonzalo Paternoy's brother, had a son, Joan de Paternoy, whose mother was Leonor de Sese.

Beatriz Paternoy, sister of Gonzalo Paternoy, married Don Joan de Francia, with whom she had two sons and four daughters.

One of the daughters married Domingo Aznar, with whom she had a son and two daughters.

The son married the daughter of the Lord of Cipres, with whom he had a son.

Another daughter of Beatriz Paternoy and Joan de Francia married the Lord of Puisech, with whom she had a son and a daughter.

The son married dona Catalina Gotor and the daughter of don Gaspar de Gurrea, Lord of Argauieso. They had several descendants.

Isabel Paternoy, sister of Gonzalo Paternoy, married Don Martin Cabrero, with whom she had six sons and three daughters.

One of his sons, Joan Cabrero, was archbishop of Zaragoza.

Another, Martin Cabrero, married Dona Aldonza de Reus, with whom he had several children who married into the aristocracy.

Another, Miguel Cabrero, married Dona Timbo de Torrellas, with whom he had several children.

One of the daughters married Don Joan de Gamboa, with whom she had several children. Most of the other daughters married into the aristocracy.

As explained above, Vidal de la Caballeria alias Gonzalo de la Caballeria had a second daughter who married the converso Gaspar Ruyz, with whom she had a daughter.

The latter married Don Pedro de Francia, Lord of Bureta, with whom she had a son, Pedro de Francia, who married Isabel de la Caballeria.

Before she had her husband murdered, they had a son and a daughter.

The son became Lord of Bureta and married Dona Anna de Gurreea, with whom he had several children. One of them married the Lord of Botorrita.

The daughter, Isabel de la Caballeria, married the finance minister Luys Sanchez, as mentioned above.

Bonafos de la Caballeria and Bienvenis de la Caballeria converted to Christianity and changed their names. Bonafos became Pedro. He had two sons, Alfonso and Jayme, before he was executed by the lord of Castellar.

Alfonso de la Caballeria was a jurist who was made vice-chancellor to King Ferdinand the Catholic. He married Dona Isabel de Arasso, a "christiana limpia", with whom he had two sons and four daughters.

Their eldest son, Sancho de la Caballeria, became very famous for his literary works. He first married Dona Maria Manrique, with whom he had no children. He then married Dona Margarita Cerdan, sister of the Lord of Castellar, with whom he had a son and three daughters.

The son married Joana de Aragon, the bastard daughter of the Count of Ribagorza.

The eldest daughter married Innigo de Mendoza, Lord of San Garren, who had married Dona Anna Sanchez.

Alfonso de la Caballeria's other son married Dona Brianda Cerdan, daughter of the Lord of Sobradiel, with whom he had a daughter.

Alfonso de la Caballeria's eldest daughter married Don Pedro de Francia, Lord of Bureta.

Another daughter of Alfonso de la Caballeria married Martin Gurreea, Lord of Argauieso, with whom she had three sons and four daughters.

Their eldest son married Dona Beatriz de Francia, with whom he had three sons and four daughters.

Their eldest daughter married the Lord of Quinto, with whom she had several children. Another daughter of Alfonso de la Caballeria married the Lord of Alcarax.

We will not discuss the case of the Caballeria family further as it is a well-known case. However, most studies of converso families focus on the positions of power that some attained but few mention the extensive racial mixing that occurred. What's more, only the Libro verde exposes so much genealogical detail.

Don Alfonso of Aragon and Estenga Conejo

Don Alfonso, the bastard son of King Don Juan, married Estenga Conejo, the eldest daughter of Auiatar Conejor, a Jew from Zaragoza. She had converted to Christianity before she had three sons and a daughter.

The eldest son was made Count of Ribagorza. His wife was from the house of Lopez de Gurrea and was the daughter of the governor of Aragon. They had a son. He remarried and had other children. The first son had three different wives with whom he had more than ten children, all of whom married into noble families.

The second son was made bishop of Tortosa and archbishop of Tarragona.

The third son was don Hernando. He was made commander of San Juan and prior of Catalonia. Their daughter married the Count of Albaida, with whom she had one son and eight daughters who married into noble families.

PART THREE: Conclusion

We have only discussed three cases, but the Libro Verde describes dozens of lines. Below are the names of all the families described:

Acaz Abendino (fol. 2v)

Alazar Uluf (fol. 2v)

S[enn]or de Arascues, de Huesca (fol.

24v) Aznares (fol. 29)

Arbas (fol. 31,

93v) Arbolex (fol.

38v)

Arin[n]o (fol. 44v, 79v,

136) Aldobera (fol. 57v)

Albion (fol. 74, 77, 79, 80)

Almaçan (fol. 76v, 90v, 94v, 147, 174)

Artal (fol. 93, 94)

Aliaga (fol. 95)

Arabiano (fol. 103v)

Arbustante (fol. 116v, 129,

130) Azlor (fol. 118v)

Abiego (fol. 120,

120v) Arbues (fol.

130)

Alfajarin (fol. 132v)

Aguilar (fol. 172)

Almenara (fol. 173)

Aduarte (fol. 181)

Ara (fol. 185)

Aragon (fol. 188v)

Aranda (fol. 202v)

Brianda Sanchez (fol. 2v, 3)

Biu de Quinto (fol. 31)

S[enn]or de Botorrita (fol.

37)

Bordialba (fol. 49v)
 Bolea (fol. 56, 66, 87)
 Bardaji (fol. 75, 172v, 175)
 Barrachina (fol. 88)
 Bueso (fol. 114v)
 Bidal (fol. 150)
 Benet (fol. 159, 182v, 183)
 Bertiz (fol. 172)
 Belseguer (fol. 179)
 Biota (fol. 179v)
 Bonifante (fol. 179v)
 Belber (fol. 180)
 Baptista (fol. 202)
 Caballeria (fol. 26v, 38, 52v, 55, 55v, 58, 77, 105)
 Cerdan (fol. 4, 5v, 32v, 43v, 93)
 Celdran (fol. 4)
 Castro de Sarinina (fol.
 23) Claberol de Lerida
 (fol. 24) Cabreros (fol.
 29v)
 Come[n]d[ad]or de Calatrab[a] (fol. 30)
 Coronel (fol. 56v, 114)
 Cunchillos, Tarazo[na] (fol. 66v)
 Coscones (fol. 72v)
 Cosidas (fol. 77v)
 Cleme[n]te (fol. 85, 136)

Cabeça de Vaca (fol.
88v) Carnoy (fol. 100v)
Cenedo (fol. 110, 188, 204)
Contamina (fol. 112)
Castellon (fol. 127)
Cruilliad (fol. 132)
Cabra (fol. 137, 139, 143)
Caseda (fol. 141, 178)
Cortes (fol. 144)
Casanate (fol. 150v)
Carbi (fol. 156v,
165) Caportas (fol.
181v) Castro (fol.
193)
Dalmau (fol. 16, 119v,
187v) Doc (fol. 22)
Diaz (fol. 136v,
187v) Duen[n]as
(fol. 149) Donlope
(fol. 149v) Duarte
(fol. 178)
Espital (fol. 54, 63v, 177)
Exea de Alago[n] (fol.
116v)
Esteban (fol. 119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 156)
Eslaba (fol. 163)
Embun (fol. 184)
Eril (fol. 194)

Espes (fol. 203v)

Ferriz (fol. 18, 51v, 116v)

Fozes, s[enn]or de Vallarias (fol. 22v,
114) Francia (fol. 33, 35v)

Funes (fol. 101)

Fatas (fol. 111, 176)

Ferrer de Calatayud (fol.
164v) Faxol (fol. 172v, 186v)

Ferrer de Huesca (fol. 195)

Gurrea (fol. 11v, 34v, 41, 158v)

Gamboa (fol. 30v)

Guilaberte (fol. 89v)

Guete (fol. 108v)

Gonzalez (fol. 133, 134)

Gomez (fol. 183)

Gurrea (fol. 192v)

Garcia (fol. 195)

Herm[an]a de M[icer]. Gonzalbo [de] S[anta] Ma[ri]a (fol. 4)
/fol. 212v/

Jasa (fol. 117v)

Ixar (fol. 126)

Junqueras (fol. 166v)

/fol. 213/

Luis Sanchez (fol. 2v)

Lopez (fol. 102, 107, 110v, 113, 115, 158, 171v, 176)

Luna (fol. 137, 199)

Losilla (fol. 170)

Lunel (fol. 180v, 187)

Moncayo (fol. 4, 4v,
14)

Mendoça, s[enno]r of Sangarren (fol. 13, 39v, 89)

Moreno de Daroca (fol. 21v)

Manente (fol. 32)

Martel (fol. 66v, 108v, 110v,
171) Monzon (fol. 97v, 176v)

Mauran (fol. 107v)

Maluenda (fol. 115v)

Molon (fol. 129v, 134v)

Moros (fol. 133, 134)

Manresa de Aznar (fol.
142) Marquina (fol. 165v)

Medrano (fol. 166)

Morales (fol. 175)

Milla (fol. 190v)

Martinez Royo (fol. 205)

Nueros (fol. 202)

Nauarro (fol. 203)

Ortigas (fol. 115v,
128) Orera (fol. 181)

Omedas (fol. 194)

Pomares, s[ennor]es of Salillas (fol. 14v, 16v, 44)

Perez (fol. 19v, 112)
 Porquete de Monzon (fol.
 23v) Paternoy (fol. 26v, 196)
 Pueyo (fol. 88, 108)
 Pilares (fol. 108,
 157v) Prior (fol. 127)
 Porta (fol. 146)
 Polo (fol. 148,
 174v) Portoles (fol.
 203)
 Queralte (fol. 40)
 Ram (fol. 15v,
 180v) Ruiz (fol. 35,
 73)
 Resende, s[enno]r de Alcaraz (fol. 37, 45v)
 Rio de Huesca (fol. 72)
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El libro verde de Aragón, or Jewish and Moorish ancestry in the Spanish nobility

Racial change in the Spanish nobility (700-1600)

T. L., 2015, translated from the English by J. B.

(*) <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/Abravanel.html>.

(**) In particular, "It seems that Torquemada had Jewish ancestors: the contemporary historian Hernando del Pulgar (himself a converso) wrote that Torquemada's uncle, Juan de Torquemada, had an ancestor called Alvar Fernández de Torquemada who was married to a first-generation converso. sus abuelos fueron de linage de los convertidos a nuestra santa fe católica" (which translates as "his grandparents were among those who converted to our holy Catholic faith").

According to biographer Thomas Hope's book *Torquemada, Scourge of the Jews: A Biography*, Torquemada's grandmother was a conversa. (<https://www.geni.com/people/Tom%C3%A1s-de-Torquemada/6000000017664118272>)

(***) Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe After the Black Death*, p. 23.

(****) Kenneth Stow, *Popes, Church, and Jews in the Middle Ages: Confrontation and Response*, p. 108.

Race change in ancient Rome Publisher's

presentation

Martin Persson Nilsson (1874 - 1967) was a Swedish philologist and mythographer specialising in Hellenistic, Greek and Roman religious systems. He obtained his doctorate from the University of Lund in 1900, with a thesis on the festivals of Dionysus in Attica. He was recruited as a lecturer in Greek language and literature at the same university, where he also taught archaeology and history. He began to take an interest in ethnology and ethnography. Between 1905 and 1907, he took part in the Danish excavations at Lindos in Greece. In 1909, he took up the newly created Chair of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History at Lund. In addition to his work on Greek religion and folklore, he published a number of books on the subject. books on Swedish folklore. Later, Nilsson became secretary of the Royal Society of Letters in Lund and an associate member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts, History and Antiquities. In 1924, he was appointed a corresponding member of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences. In the 1930s, he taught at several American universities, including Berkeley.

Many of his works, published in Swedish and German, were translated into English between the mid-1920s and his death. The only one to have been translated into French, based on his English edition, is *Den grekiska religionens historia*, under the title *La religion populaire dans la Grèce antique* (Pion, Paris, 1954), which analyses the gradual disintegration of Hellenic piety from the 5th century BC to the 2nd century AD. to the second century AD and, secondly, the conditions for the emergence of new religious concepts, linked to the rise of astronomy and astrology and the parallel development of occultism. At the same time, the thesis is put forward that the orientalisation of Hellenic worship was due not so much to the importation of Eastern doctrines into Attica as to the increasingly frequent and close contacts between the Greeks and the Semitic populations living around Greece, a "mixture of blood and ideas" that "produced a hybrid race that had no basis in the nation of the father or of the mother, but rather in the nation of the father and of the mother". borrowed from both abilities and points of view" (p. 109).

Hereditas is a scientific journal of genetic research which publishes articles in English on human and medical genetics, animal and plant genetics and microbial genetics, agriculture and bioinformatics. Founded in 1920 by the Swedish writer and editor Robert Larsson and published by the Mendelian Society of Lund, it originally published articles in English, German and French on applied science, racial biology and plant breeding. Herman Lundborg (1868 - 1946), director of the Swedish Institute of Racial Biology in Uppsala from 1922, was one of the members of its editorial board. Another was the eugenicist and friend of Martin Nilsson, Herman Nilsson-Ehle, who, in 1920, announced that the study he had just carried out on the consequences of the racial mixing of the three ethnic groups of northern Sweden, the Swedes, Finns and Lapps

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=8963> ;

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/hrd2.00073/pdf>), proved that hybridisation had negative effects on the products of cross-breeding (it was naturally up to science to 'prove' what every sane person instinctively knows). In 1921, Martin Nilsson published *The race problem of the Roman Empire* in *Hereditas*. The thesis, advanced by Arthur de Gobineau five decades earlier in his *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, was that the decline and fall of Rome was due to the almost universal racial mixing of its inhabitants.

In 1939, he retracted this statement in an article also published, albeit in German, in *Hereditas* (Über Genetik und Geschichte, vol. 25, pp. 210-223): hybridisation was no longer the primary cause of the decline and fall of Rome. What could have happened in the meantime? Had science, as usual, invalidated what it had first 'proved'? The 1939 article, as far as can be judged from the confused and summary account given of it at

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/hrd2.00073/pdf>, endeavours to mobilise scientific 'evidence' that was absent from that of 1921, but the veneer they clearly provide fails to conceal the real reason for the author's about-turn: his aversion to nationalism.

socialism, in power in Germany since 1933 and guilty, in his view, of having hijacked the racial doctrines. On his return from the United States, Nilsson took his role as an extra in the Allies' Hollywood ideological super-production so seriously that he went so far as to substitute the word 'variety' for 'race' throughout the article and to consider Aryans as a destructive element.

Translator's foreword

Many authors have examined the reasons for Roman decadence. Some have explained it by the loss of Roman values; others, inspired by historical materialism, by purely economic and financial motives, and still others by the advance of Christianity. Few have been sufficiently lucid to realise an essential fact, which conditions everything else, to

Between the founding of Rome and the end of the Roman Empire, the racial substratum of its population changed. Hence the change in the character of the Romans, the denaturing of Romanitas, the mutation of the Roman Empire and, consequently, the progress of philosophy and letters, of aphroditism, of Afro-Semitic cults and, in the final analysis, the triumph of Christianity (*). The most astute will see this as the fundamental cause of the collapse of the Roman Empire, which was then no more than a degenerate ersatz of what Rome once was (**).

The fall of the Roman Empire is history's greatest tragedy. States have been swept away and peoples crushed before and since, but the fall of the Roman Empire also meant the fall of the only great world culture that existed before the one to which we now belong. Humanity returned to much more primitive conditions of social and economic life, not to mention education and culture.

Various causes have been sought for the rapid demise of the glory that was Rome. There is no need to discuss them here. There is more than one cause, and it would be difficult and misleading to reduce them to a single common formula. That there is also a biological problem was first pointed out by Professor Seeck (1). His views were a result of the popular Darwinism typical of the time in which he wrote. The emperors, through their cruelty and suspicious nature, eliminated and killed all those who, through their mental qualities, skills and energy, rose above the average. Through artificial, inverted selection, independence and originality were eradicated and a servile people created. The possibility of such a process cannot be denied, but to be completely effective it would have had to have been carried out on a much larger scale and over a long period, since the population of the empire is thought to have been around 100 million (2). Proportionally, the number of victims of the emperors' cruelty was very small, and their disappearance could only have had a minimal effect on the empire's population base. In fact, the Professor Seeck's thesis does not hold water. But the problem does exist and I think it can be approached more reliably in the light of modern research.

There are great innate differences between the races of humanity: some have more natural faculties than others. It has sometimes been fashionable to deny this and to claim that a people with all its peculiarities is the result of its environment, milieu and country. The facts show clearly the opposite. What was the American continent before it was discovered, and what has it become since it was occupied by Europeans? The area around L'Hèbre is more or less the same. The Macedonians created a great empire, while the Thracians were barely able to form a state, although Herodotus claims that the Thracians and Indians were the greatest peoples of his time. The natural features of Southern Italy and Sicily are very similar to those of Greece, but the original inhabitants of these countries did not create any culture: the Greeks brought it to them. The Greek people, not the Greek country, created the culture that is and always will be the basis of Western civilisation (3).

The hereditary dispositions of the different races are very different, although we cannot yet grasp these distinctions in detail. There are hereditary dispositions of greater or lesser value. There are provisions that enable a people to organise a state and create a culture. In ancient times, the Greeks and Romans did it, and only they did it on a large scale. They

were the people who created ancient civilisation and the Roman Empire; their fate depended on them.

There is no need to discuss civic or cultural issues here. We know that the different rights of the empire's inhabitants were levelled downwards and that Greco-Roman culture spread throughout the empire.

all the provinces. The question is whether the Romans raised the provincials to their level and assimilated them, or whether they were assimilated by the provincials, which would imply a levelling of the Roman Empire.

culture from below. During the first two centuries, this was generally the first process at work, which was reversed during the following centuries. None of this should be confused with the spread

I now turn to the biological problem, which is at the root of the problem of cultures. For an examination of this question, I refer the reader to my forthcoming book on the Roman Empire (4), and I turn now to the biological problem, which lies at the root of the problem of cultures.

If the Romans wanted to assimilate the provincials, they first had to multiply themselves, i.e. their birth rate had to be sufficiently high. The Romans had once successfully completed a task similar on a smaller scale - the Romanisation of Italy. Roman colonies were scattered all over the country, the Roman people multiplied in great numbers, the reserve practically Rome's unlimited supply of soldiers from its colonies gave it victory over Hannibal's superior strategy and genius. After the Social War, the Osco-Umbrian tribes, relatives of the Romans, and shortly afterwards the Celts of the Po Valley, merged into the Roman nation, enlarged it and reinvigorated it. The new task, the Romanisation not of a single country, but of the empire, of a the world, was gigantic and required a proportional birth rate.

But the project failed. Today we see that the decline in the birth rate begins in the upper classes and spreads shortly afterwards to the lower classes. This decline seems to be common to all field crops, or at least the same phenomenon appeared among the civilised populations of the empire, the Greeks and the Romans. As for Greece, the statements of Polybius and Plutarch are well known. Polybius wrote, in the middle of the second century BC, that childless marriages were common and that the population was decreasing, while neither the plague nor war had put a stop to its increase. Plutarch, at the end of the first century AD, states that the whole of Greece would not have been able to raise the 3,000 soldiers that the small town of Megara had sent to the battle of Salamis.

As far as Rome and Italy are concerned, there is abundant evidence to show that the birth rate fell during the early years of the Empire. In the countryside, the decline in the birth rate dated back to the Republican era and was linked to agrarian problems. The class of small farmers, from which

Rome, which had once drawn its irresistible armies, was driven from its land by the formation of large estates farmed by slaves. This is one of the best-known features of the period.

The bonds of marriage had been loosened, and the birth and upbringing of children were regarded as a matter of course.

as a burden. In the past, parents had the right to expose children they did not wish to educate. This practice is excusable among "primitive" peoples who do not have much in the way of food. In a civilised people where economic selfishness has destroyed the natural feelings of parents, it is nothing less than legalised infanticide. This stain on ancient culture, however, had no noticeable influence on population numbers. Most of the babies exposed were taken in by slave hunters; they lived, even if in the condition of a slave, with their parents.

slaves. More importantly, the educated classes were decimated in this way. The ancients also knew of other, less revolting ways of controlling the birth rate, whose effect was arguably far greater. These

Expedients are often mentioned in the medical literature of this period and many seem to have viewed them in the same light as some of today's extreme feminists (5).

A curious circumstance shows how common infertility was among the upper classes. It was the race for inheritance, which moralists satirised and condemned in vain. It was not just a literary platitude, but a very real evil. The philosopher Seneca wrote to a mother who had lost her only son that, in those days, infertility contributed to a person's importance rather than detracted from it. Laws were even passed to combat this scourge (6).

Far more important are the legal means used to encourage an increase in the birth rate. The first emperor, Augustus, despite fierce resistance, promulgated the famous laws that required all Romans of noble birth between the ages of 25 and 60 to be married, or at least engaged (7). Ironically, the two consuls who gave their names to the law were not married. The parents of three or more children, particularly those who were senior civil servants, had considerable prerogatives. Unmarried persons were deprived of the privilege of going to the circus and the theatre and could not receive legacies; childless legatees were deprived of half their inheritance. These measures were more draconian than any that have been devised to date, but they had no effect.

The fall in the birth rate began in the upper classes, and Augustus may have thought that if it was stopped there, the example would influence the lower classes. But he also tried to help poor families with large families. He offered them 1,000 sesterces per child. An inscription from the small town of Atina

in Lazio states that a certain Basila donated a fund of 400,000 sesterces to the city so that the children of the inhabitants could be fed on cereals and that, when they reached puberty, they would each receive a sum of 1,000 sesterces to enable them to start out in life. This was the first example of how subsequent emperors tried to increase the birth rate in Italy. In

In reality, this measure enabled the cost of feeding the children of married couples to be transferred from the parents to the public purse. The emperors Nerva and Trajan in particular implemented this scheme on a large scale, and patriotic private individuals contributed large donations. Pliny the Younger, for example, gave half a million sesterces to his home town of Comum for this purpose. The emperors of the second century carried out the work with determination and created a team of supervisory agents (8). It has to be said that the authorities recognised the problem and did their best to deal with it. Proportionate to the finances of the time, the use of these funds for encouraging an increase in the birth rate of the Roman population was the greatest social measure ever seen in history. But it failed. During the difficult times that Rome went through in the third century, the funds diminished and eventually disappeared altogether.

In some cases, it is possible to show where the men who replaced the Roman elements of the population came from. The old Roman nobility had been severely tested during the proscriptions at the end of the Republic. Augustus made a serious attempt to save what remained, but without success. The old families died out in the first century AD (9). Pliny the Younger's correspondents do not bear the old illustrious names. In their place, provincials entered the Senate, first those from the most Romanised provinces, southern Spain (Baetica), south-eastern France (Gallia Narbonensis), then, later, those from Africa (Tunis) and Asia Minor. The first consuls from Spain appeared in the final years of the Republic and were followed by several others during the first century AD. The first consul from Gallia Narbonensis is found under the reign of Tiberius. The first consuls came from Africa and Syria during the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian respectively. From Trajan onwards, even the emperors were provincials. Trajan and his successor Hadrian were Spaniards, Antoninus the Pious belonged to a Gallic family and Mark Aurelius came from a Spanish family, Septimius Severus was a native of Africa and his successors were Syrians. It was difficult for a man from the Greek part of the empire to rise to high office, because knowledge of Latin and Roman law was necessary to do so and was not widespread in the East, which prided itself on its own ancient culture. Nevertheless, after Hadrian's reign, a number of Orientals appeared in important positions; the Western world seemed almost exhausted.

The army was not large in proportion to the population of the empire - during the first two centuries, there were around 300,000 men, whereas it is considered that the number of inhabitants of the empire was 70/100 million - but it played a very important role in changing the population. Augustus ordered that half the army, the legions, were to be recruited from Roman citizens, and the other half, the so-called auxiliary troops, from provincials, who, once demobilised, were to be given the right to vote,

obtained citizenship. It was in this way that many provincials and their descendants became Roman citizens. In addition, Augustus decided that the legions should be recruited from Italy and from the oldest colonies of Roman citizens in the provinces, the "provincias" and the "provinciae". elite troops - the Praetorians - in certain regions of central Italy, where the purest Roman blood had been preserved. However, this principle could not be maintained. In the first century, more and more citizens from the provinces joined the legions, and recruits from all parts of Italy were brought in. became praetorians. The old recruitment regions were less and less sufficient. Hadrian reversed the principle of legion recruitment: from his time onwards, legions were recruited from the regions where they were camped, i.e. the borders of the empire, where civilisation, uniquely in its own right, was still present. represented by the army, was at its lowest ebb. Septimius Severus dissolved the old Italian praetorian corps and created a new one, recruited from the legions. This was how the army became barbaric and, in the

In the third century, it was only through the army that it was possible to rise to an important position (10). From the time of Maximinus Thrax onwards, the emperors were barbarians, many of them Illyrians; in all probability, they belonged to the rebellious people we know today as Albanians (11). They turned the empire upside down in the third century, but the

The vigour of these emperors at least allowed order to reign. The lack of recruits, however, was not entirely due to the decline in the number of civilised people in the population: the profound pacifism of the time was also felt here; it contributed vigorously to the interference of barbarians and provincials in the governing classes. From the time of

Diocletian, the best troops were recruited from Germanic tribes both inside and outside the empire's borders.

The hybrid nature of the capital's population is attested to by many ancient authors. It is hard to imagine the extent of the mix: only Constantinople, the most cosmopolitan city in the world at the time, can give us an idea. Cicero describes Rome as a city created by the confluence of nations; four centuries later, the emperor Constantine was astonished at the haste with which all peoples flocked to Rome. Lucan, the poet and friend of Nero, wrote that Rome was populated not by its own citizens, but by the dregs of the world. The oriental element seems to have been very visible. A famous passage from Juvenal states that the poet cannot love this Rome

The Syrian Orontes flowed into the Tiber, bringing with it foreign customs and languages.

The Jewish population was considerable. In 4 BC, 8,000 Jews are said to have accompanied a delegation to the emperor. Tiberius expelled them and deported 4,000 to Sardinia, but when Claudius, a few years later, wanted to do the same, they had become so numerous that the plan could not be implemented. In the eastern provinces, the Jews were very numerous.

In Cyrenaica and Cyprus, they were killed by the hundreds of thousands in pogroms; in Asia Minor and southern Italy, they were numerous; in Africa, Spain and southern France, they were no less numerous.

But

After the fall of Jerusalem and the great rebellion under Hadrian, the Jews separated themselves from the rest of the population, which is why they did not play a large part in the mixing of races.

In ancient times, Jews were not merchants and bankers as they are today. This function was performed by the Syrians. In the last two centuries BC, there were many Italian merchants in the East. They were mainly bankers and merchants of slaves and grain, and their trade depended on the power of Rome. But when the abuses in the provinces were suppressed by the emperors, the Italians disappeared and their place was taken by the provincials. The merchants as such were now the Syrians, who had been numerous in Gaul, where by the sixth century they had formed separate Christian churches, at least in Paris and Orléans. They were numerous in Gaul, where by the sixth century they had formed separate Christian churches, at least in Paris and Orléans. Salvian refers to the crowds of Syrian merchants who invaded all the cities and thought only of lying and deceiving. The merchants of Italy were not Romans by birth. They were freed slaves, who had thus obtained citizenship (12).

The emancipation of slaves was a very important cause of this change in the population; it took place on a large scale. It was a point of honour for a noble or wealthy Roman to free his slaves, at least at the time of drawing up his will.

Augustus regulated emancipation. The number of slaves that could be freed was determined by the number of slaves owned by a man, but under no circumstances could it exceed a hundred. Freedmen had a lower social status, but their descendants became full citizens and their grandsons could even become senators. A discussion that took place in the Senate during the reign of Nero is very enlightening. It is said that freed slaves were numerous, swarming the comices and occupying a large number of positions as minor civil servants.

Most of the knights and many of the senators were descendants of freedmen. If the freedmen had been expelled, there would no longer have been enough free citizens.

Freedmen made up a very large proportion of the population in the early centuries of the empire. Where they came from is a burning question. A preliminary question is which slaves were freed. These were, of course, those who took personal care of their master and were in charge of his affairs. Farm slaves were hardly more highly esteemed than cattle, and had little hope of being emancipated. A simple barbarian was not worthy of taking care of a master and managing his affairs; a certain culture, such as that which could be found at capable Orientals, was required.

This is borne out by the evidence of the inscriptions concerning the nationalities of the slaves. They corroborate the old saying that the Syrians were a people of born slaves. The most numerous after the Syrians were the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Asia Minor and the Jews. More than half the workers in Italian pottery had Greek or Oriental names (13) and the names of those who worked in other crafts give the same impression. Next in numerical importance were the Egyptians and Ethiopians, but in the case of these peoples the external differences were so great that they never became as dangerous as the other races mentioned. In Europe, no people was predestined for slavery, even though some slaves, but not many, came from countries that had been slaves for centuries. European barbarians. European barbarians tended to join the army. For example, only two Pannonians are mentioned as slaves: men of this race rushed into the army (14). The importation of slaves and the emancipation of slaves were of particular concern to the Orient, and this is what is mentioned here. explains that orientalism was an important feature of the late empire.

The alteration of the people's stock had yet another source, which did not have as immediate an effect as the emancipation of the slaves, but which must have been of considerable importance in the long run: the transplantation into the empire of whole tribes from beyond the northern borders. The general of Augustus, Agrippa, had already moved the Germanic Ubii tribe from the right bank to the left. left of the Rhine. A few years later, 40,000 Sugambrians and Swabians settled in Gaul and 50,000 Dacians were brought to Thrace from the regions north of the Danube. During the reign of Nero, great hordes of chieftains, women and children - perhaps as many as 100,000 - were brought from the same regions. Once Marcus Aurelius had defeated the Marcomans and Quads, he established these peoples in Thrace. There were many of them throughout the empire - in Dacia, Pannonia, Mysia, Roman Germania and even Italy.

These colonists did not obtain citizenship; they became a kind of serfs and, at a later date, contributed considerably to the army.

Professor Seeck maintains that this invasion of Germans caused a major change (15). The western part of the empire was Germanised and the birth rate began to rise," he writes. During the wars of the third century, no mention is ever made of a shortage of recruits, as in previous eras. He refers to Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the Gauls in the fourth century to show that they were Germanised; they had warrior virtues, blue eyes, blond hair and were of tall stature. But our ideas about the Celts run counter to this ancient view. testimony (16). As long as the government wished to recruit the army from the civilised population, there was a shortage of recruits; that recruitment had to be difficult during Marcus Aurelius' great wars is understandable, since the plague was ravaging the empire. As soon as the emperors decided to recruit the army from among the provincials (Pannonians, Illyrians, Africans, etc.), there was no shortage of recruits. In earlier times, the minimum height required for the army was very low.

small, at 1.48m; in 367 AD, on the contrary, it was very large, at 1.63m; and it is thought that this proves a change in recruitment. However, the first figure refers to voluntary recruits, who were never in excess at this time, while the latter corresponds to the recruits that the landowners were obliged to provide from among their serfs. They were no less concerned about to provide men as mediocre as possible than the government was to obtain the best men. There is nothing to indicate that the change of blood was rapid, but the importance of the Germans who They were a major addition to the barbarian population and paved the way for the Germanic occupation at the end of the empire. They made a significant contribution to the barbarian population and paved the way for the Germanic occupation at the end of the empire.

What has been said so far may give the impression that a reverse selection was taking place and, in fact, this is more or less what happened. The peoples who had created ancient culture and the Roman Empire were decimated and the resulting vacuum was filled by provincials. The result was a cultural train wreck proportional to the ousting of the ancient citizens by the lesser citizens. civilised provincials and weakened the cohesion of the empire, which depended on the people who had created it. But we do not have to consider this question here. The process concerns us directly insofar as the old races were ousted by lesser races. This may have been an important fact, but in the light of their subsequent history, it would be risky to assert that they were the only ones to have been able to survive. that the Semites and Germans, the two peoples from whom the main currents that changed the population base originated, were less capable races (17).

The crucial problem is quite different, and it is one that was inherent in the empire to a far greater extent than has been apparent to date. The Roman Empire was a mosaic of peoples, races and languages. This fact has been somewhat overshadowed by the fact that, in the West, the old languages were replaced by the new ones. by Latin and disappeared without a trace (with the exception of Basque). But that's a question accessory. The races that spoke them persisted and participated in the mixing of peoples, even though their languages had changed. It is of the utmost importance to have a concrete idea of the variety, extent and importance of these differences (18).

At the beginning of the Empire, the population of Italy was predominantly Roman. It had been Romanised during the last centuries of the Republic, but the ancient races had not disappeared; they contributed to the population. The Osco-Ombrian tribes were closely related to the Romans and spoke dialects of the same language, but in the past there had been many other peoples of different races in Italy, in the north of the Celts, in the north-east and south-east of the Illyrian tribes, in the south of the Greeks, in addition to the many indigenous tribes, such as the Etruscans, the Sicani, the Siculi, etc., whose race we do not know. The Etruscans played an important role, but they remain an enigma. Their art shows that they had a very distinctive and particular physique. We can read their language, but we can't understand it.

Efforts to link it to another language failed, and it disappeared at the beginning of the empire.

In north-west Italy and south-east Gaul, we find the great people of the Ligurians, who preserved their freedom and their very primitive way of life in certain regions right up to imperial times. The Ligurian language has been lost and the links between this people and other races, if any, are unknown (19). The most likely hypothesis is that the Ligurians were the original inhabitants of these regions and that they were supplanted by the Celts who invaded the Po valley around 400 BC. Some researchers have tried to show that the people and language of these regions, which were once Ligurian, have preserved features that are thought to be the last traces of this extinct race.

Gaul, i.e. France and the Po valley, takes its name from the race that ruled there, the Gauls, also known as the Celts. In ancient times, Celtic was the common language of the inhabitants and was spoken even by noble families. Irenaeus must have preached in Celtic in Lyon around 200 AD, and Celtic was allowed to be used in wills. The language survived until at least the fifth century. The Gauls must have gone to great lengths to learn Latin.

In France too, the Celts were conquering immigrants who had settled particularly in the north of the central mountainous region. The Ligurians lived in the south-east and the Iberians in the south-west. Yet another non-Aryan people who remain an enigma, although it seems that the Iberians were the first inhabitants of these parts of France and Spain. Small Celtic hordes had penetrated Spain, mixed with the Iberians and formed the Celtiberian tribes. In north-western Spain, the Basque language still survives, the only remnant of Europe's pre-Aryan languages. Its grammatical structure and vocabulary are completely different from those of other Indo-European languages. It is tempting to link it to the Iberian language, but the Iberian inscriptions, although uninterpreted, do not seem to corroborate this assumption. This is why some researchers have linked the Basques to the Ligurians, who may also have inhabited certain regions of Spain. Other researchers have tried to link Basque to the Berber language, but the Ligurians are, as far as language is concerned, an unknown quantity and no tangible proof exists of their supposed link with the Berbers.

In the British Isles, the Celts were immigrants. As a result, we can expect to find many remnants of the aborigines. Such, for example, were the fierce Picts of Scotland, whom the Romans never subdued. There is a big difference between the two peoples who still speak Celtic languages - the Irish, who are often light-skinned, and the Welsh, usually small and swarthy. The immediate hypothesis is that the Welsh are Celtic only in language and not in race. This theory has been put forward by academics English who have tried to find further links between them and the Iberians and the indigenous races of North Africa, but without finding absolutely certain proof (20). This theory, of course, runs counter to the common belief that the Celts were a swarthy people of small stature, an idea deduced from the assumption that the modern Frenchman is the true descendant of the ancient Celts. It conflicts with all the evidence of ancient literature and art. If we wish to know the type

of the ancient Celts, we must follow these indications, and they unanimously show that the Celtic type was much more closely related to that of the Teutons - blue eyes, blond hair and fair complexion, tall stature, ferocity. If the facts speak for themselves, it has to be admitted that the Celtic type in France blended in with the Teutonic type. This is the usual fate of a conquering people, even if it is able to impose its language on the conquered. This is the usual fate of a conquering people, even if they are able to impose their language on the conquered.

Celtic tribes had also penetrated Pannonia and the Balkan Peninsula, but were too few in number to play a significant role. The inhabitants of Pannonia seem to have been mainly Illyrians. In Dacia and the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula lived the Getes or Dacians, who belonged to the Aryan race, although they were never of considerable historical importance. We have very little information about them, and it does not allow us to make the slightest assumption about the type of inhabitants who may have lived in these regions before them.

The last province in the western part, Africa, is better known to us. The Punic language survived into the imperial era. Most of St Augustine's listeners understood Punic: it was spoken by peasants. The Church had its difficulties with their language; it was difficult for someone who did not know Punic to be appointed bishop. In the interior of the country lived the Berber tribes, who still retain their language and their particular racial type.

In the East, the situation is simple and clear, except in the case of Asia Minor. In Egypt and the Semitic East, Greek culture and language had never been anything more than a thin veneer, which could not be removed.

soon left. The ethnic composition of Asia Minor was extremely heterogeneous. No other land had been so subjected to invasions (21). The Hittite empire had been crushed in the twelfth century BC by conquering Aryan tribes, the Phrygians, but the race survived. It is assumed that they merged with the Armenians and perhaps partially with the Jews. The Lydians, Carians and Lycians have left inscriptions. Without much success, attempts have been made to establish a link between the language of the last-named and the Aryan languages. The Lydian language seems to be distinct from the others (22). Later, other Aryan tribes invaded the country: the Thracians at the beginning of the first millennium BC, the Celts in the middle of the third century BC. The interior of the country, Galatia, took its name from the Celts. Hellenisation was widespread, but in spite of this, the ancient cultures of the region remained intact.

languages survived more vigorously than is generally assumed, which also proves that the ancient aboriginal races had survived. The Mysians, who seem to have been a mixture of Thracians and Lydians, still spoke their own language at the beginning of the fifth century AD. The same was true of the famous tribes of Isaurian bandits at the end of the sixth century. This was also the case in Laconia, where the Phrygian language survived until at least the fifth century (23). The surface seems to have been Greek, but underneath there were great racial differences, which found expression in the Christian sects of Asia Minor; their stronghold was the indigenous population of the country.

Our information is scattered and research is difficult, but the broad outlines that have been sketched above will suffice to give a concrete idea not only of the multiplicity of races, peoples and languages that were contained within the Roman Empire, but also of the radical differences that separated most of them (24). Modern Europe is likely to give the wrong impression. With the exception of a few insignificant peoples of other races (Finns, Hungarians, Turks and a few others), it seems to present the image of an Aryan population separated into different peoples, but from the same source. This is only true of languages. Related languages cover great racial differences, although new races have developed from the old mix of races. The heated debates about the origin and fragmentation of the language

The dominant idea is (at least unconsciously) that a differentiation, a splitting up of an original unity occurred at some time in the past. The dominant idea is (at least unconsciously) that a differentiation, a splitting up of an original unity occurred at an early period. As far as the first inhabitants of Europe are concerned, we must imagine, instead of a unity, a multiplicity of different races and languages; the latter were replaced by the language of the conquering Aryan tribes and disappeared, the races apparently merging into that of their conquerors. The victorious spread of the Aryan languages, which were related to each other, put an end to the multiplicity of earlier languages - Etruscan, Ligurian, Iberian and so on. This process was already well advanced under the Empire; south-western Europe, which until

At that time, people who spoke non-Aryan languages were assimilated. But the enigmatic Basque language still survives, a reminder of a distant past...

It is in this light that the racial problem of the Roman Empire must be considered. As long as the peoples of western Europe retained their primitive and independent way of life, their situation was fairly stable. Greek settlers were few in number and the peoples on whose coasts they had founded their cities were often openly hostile to them. In Italy, the Latin and Oscan-Ombrian tribes were increasingly driving out the original inhabitants. There were few links between Greece and the East. many. Conquering Celtic tribes caused disturbances, but these tribes settled in some areas. In south-west France and much of Spain, the ancient races remained undisturbed. The invasion must, however, have led to some mixing of races, as evidenced by the name Celtiberians. But culture was underdeveloped relations were rare, the intruders were not capable of absorbing the old races, they were consolidated within slightly narrower borders. The tribes were independent and hostile to each other. This could have prevented the mixing of races on a larger scale, even if the conditions for such mixing had existed.

These were the conditions created by the Roman Empire. The peace of the Roman emperor, imposed by the Roman government, swept away the ancient frontiers. The various tribes were subjected to the same administration and had access to the same culture. The excellent Roman roads favoured

relations, while culture, trade and the needs of the empire strengthened them. The mixing of the empire's different peoples and races began and intensified for all the reasons that make that the inhabitants of a civilised state move around within that state. We have indicated some of these reasons. Men who, at other times, had lived, had children and had died within the borders of their own people mixed, so to speak, in a melting pot as wide as the limits of the empire and the peoples who lived beyond the borders suffered the same fate. This is the fundamental fact w h o s e importance and consequences we must examine.

It could be said that the problem was whether the less civilised peoples would merge with the civilised - the Romans and Greeks, to whom the empire owed its culture and cohesion - or whether the civilised would be absorbed by the less civilised. As we have seen, the circumstances were not favourable. The effects on civilisation were far-reaching: the collapse of civilisation and the decline in the general level of culture during the trials and wars of the dreadful third century destroyed far more than all the cruelties of the emperors. But that is not our task here. The he mixing of races leads not only to a problem of civilisation, but also to a biological problem, to which we must now return. I think it can be understood in the light of recent research into genetics.

The human species is extremely variable; very few other species are more so. Each race is the product of a historical development, although the history of its development belongs to a distant era, about which there is no testimony. The condition for the development of a race is that a group of men, who may number in the thousands or millions, live for a very long time.

for a long time in at least relative isolation, to keep out disruptive outsiders. If we assume that this group originally comprised a motley mix of

The natural conditions under which the group lives will be favourable to some of these dispositions and unfavourable to others. Natural conditions have the same effect as a breeder's conscious attempt to produce a given breed of an animal species, although they act more slowly and more weakly. The smaller the group and the greater the inbreeding, the more pronounced t h e effect. The result of this selection depends much less on the external environment than on the dispositions that existed originally and which, in the

development of the race, took the ascendancy over the others. It is difficult to understand why some races are excellently adapted to the natural conditions of life in their country and yet are incapable of achieving superior intellectual and political development, and why other races are capable of creating a culture and a political organisation. It is an enigma and it is contained in the most obscure of enigmas, the human mind, the variability of intelligence and will, for these too are properties that vary according to race. We cannot understand it.

The primitive conditions are favourable to the reproduction of races. The population is small and separated into small groups. Relationships are rare. Tribes are hostile or at least alien to each other and each occupies a defined territory. A fact of profound importance for the development of society and races is the tribe's claim to own the territory in which it lives; it seems to be rooted in human nature, as well as in certain animal species. Outsiders who enter the tribe's territory are expelled or killed. The tribe preserves its purity from foreign elements until the development of culture produces slavery, which initially concerns women. In primitive conditions, the mixture of races that favours slavery is of little consequence. Neighbouring tribes are often related.

In primitive conditions, therefore, a multiplicity of characteristically different races is to be expected, although the differing abilities of different races to survive in the struggle for life and in combat with other races leads a certain race to spread over a wider area, while migrations, which originate in overpopulation and a the innate desire to roam, introduce a foreign race into a country. If we take these two circumstances into account, we have the situation in Europe and Africa before the Roman conquest. In Africa, we find the Berbers and the Punic immigrants; in Western Europe, the Iberians, the Ligurians, Celtic immigrants and many other races of which we have insufficient knowledge. The ethnic composition of Italy seems to be more varied; here we have more information. Apart from the ancient inhabitants and the Aryan immigrants, there were the enigmatic Etruscans, who cannot be linked to any other people. The Balkan peninsula and the regions south of the Danube were inhabited by Aryans and perhaps by the survivors of an older population. Asia Minor had long been a melting pot of many different races. Syria was inhabited by Semitic tribes, which the Assyrian policy had transplanted to this region and which it had forced to mix. In Egypt, the old, solid race survived (25), but mixing with foreign masters and immigrants here too led to a mixture of races that undoubtedly contributed greatly to the troubles and decline of the country at the end of antiquity.

When, protected by Roman peace and administration, all these races - those mentioned above are only the most important of the known races - mingled with each other, the result was total racial mixing. Racial mixing entails dangers which the Cosmopolitanism does not recognise them, but modern science has proved that they are real. The race is a group of men endowed with definite hereditary dispositions which, through natural selection described above, have become to some extent stable and fixed. There are more and less valuable breeds. The hybridisation of two races which differ from each other to a greater or lesser extent leads to the deterioration of the better of them. The aversion to mixed marriages, i.e. marriages between Europeans and Negroes, is therefore correct from the point of view of genetics.

The danger is even more insidious if, on the one hand, the races are so different from each other that hybridization can only lead to the deterioration of both and, on the other hand, they do not differ from each other.

This aversion is, however, a very weak defence against the mixing of races, and its strength depends on the mentality of the time. This aversion is, however, a very weak defence against the mixing of races and its strength depends on the mentality of the time.

However, cross-breeding, whereby a superior race is replaced by an inferior one, is neither the only nor the greatest danger. A pure race, at least to some degree, is physically and psychologically of a fixed type, which, precisely because of the stability and firmness of its dispositions, is capable of creating something to which its dispositions predispose it. If these dispositions are such as to enable the race to achieve a superior culture or organise a state, as was the case with the Greeks and Romans, the result will be a certain form of culture and state, shaped according to fixed laws and customs. The result of hybridisation will be a heterogeneous mixture of the different hereditary dispositions of the breeds that are crossed. Simple chance brings together the different dispositions of different races in combinations of almost infinite variety. But this is not enough. Dispositions that were previously unexpressed, latent in one or other of the cross-breeds will manifest themselves and make the product of the cross even more disparate and indefinite. The unity and harmony of the race and the individual will be destroyed. personality will lose its balance. The individuals born of this cross will not succeed in to actualise a fixed and solid type. Psychologically, they have no precise direction and vacillate between contradictory and unrelated hereditary dispositions. They may frequently possess great intelligence, but lack moral strength. This situation, due to biological factors, becomes even worse when - as was the case in the Roman Empire - mental life loses its stability and is transformed, all at the same time.

Bastard races have a bad reputation. As soon as you mention Levantines, Eurasians, Mestizos, etc., everyone feels the depth of the opposition they arouse. People usually say that this bad reputation and the moral weakness of bastards are due to the unfavourable conditions in which they were born and brought up, generally illegitimate children and neglected, disowned by both their father's family and their mother's family. But this does not explain not everything. This explanation is superficial; fundamentally, it is the destructive effect of hybridisation on the personality that is at issue. The Roman Empire became increasingly full of mongrels. Nowhere was racial mixing more visible than in the main country, Italy, where people poured in from all corners of the empire, and it was more visible in the upper civilised classes than in the lower.

who did not move as frequently (26). But the army, trade and general relations meant that all four corners of the empire were affected by racial mixing. The speed of the process is not surprising.

Whereas a race develops slowly, racial mixing

is felt from the first generation, but is obviously amplified by the crossing of mongrels. The

The extent to which it leaves its mark on the people depends solely on the scale of the process, and it has been shown that, in the Roman Empire, it went all the way.

Racial mixing on this scale results in the mixing of superior and inferior races into a disparate and indistinct mass with no defined mental or moral characteristics. This alone explains the decline and fall of ancient culture and the Roman Empire. But even if the immediate effects of the bastardisation and mixing of races lead to chaos, but this is not the ultimate consequence. New races can emerge from the chaos and be able to rebuild what was lost. was destroyed. We know the conditions for such a process. Racial mixing must cease and the people must isolate themselves, so that the mixture has time and opportunity to stabilise and purify itself. These are the conditions for the development of a new race from the heterogeneous mixture, the nature of which will depend on circumstances.

The conditions mentioned above were fulfilled at the beginning of Antiquity. The peoples of ancient culture, the Greeks and Romans, invaded what were to become Greece and Italy respectively from outside and settled among the aboriginal peoples of foreign races who lived there. The Greeks and Romans of history are the product of a mixture of races. Our knowledge of the origins of the Romans is very patchy. It doesn't matter that Rome's earliest population was a mixture of Latins and Sabines, because these tribes were already very closely related. But it is certain that the Etruscans ruled Rome for a time, towards the end of the royal period, and that their culture exerted a profound influence on the city. They lived nearby, on the other side of the river of the Tiber, and we can safely assume that a considerable amount of Etruscan blood was mixed with Roman blood.

Greece is better known to us than Italy, and its history allows us to follow the process more closely. Recent discoveries have revealed the wonderfully large culture of the early and middle part of the second millennium BC, known as the Minoan and Mycenaean culture. It is certain that the people who created this culture were not Aryan; they may have been related to certain peoples of Asia Minor, although others maintain that their ancestors lay in northern Egypt. Conquering Aryan tribes settled among the original inhabitants of Greece in the same second millennium and eventually destroyed the ancient culture. The centuries between the disintegration of Mycenaean culture and the beginning of the historical era remain a mystery. We only know that Mycenaean culture was reduced to nothing. The small regions of Greece were isolated from each other. This is indicated by the geometric style of vase painting in the ninth and eighth centuries BC. The style of Mycenaean vase painting is the same wherever Mycenaean vases have been found in Greece or elsewhere. The geometric style, on the other hand, has very different characteristics: it is fairly easy to determine on which island or in which country the Mycenaean vases were found. which province a vase or even a shard was made. Ancient cities were small, regions

They were not very large, and their inhabitants were not very numerous. Each of these towns was entirely independent and sovereign, constituting a state with its own laws. The most bitter enemy was usually the neighbour. People lived and married within this narrow framework. As a result, consanguinity was the rule and was greatly accentuated by the small size of the population. In Athens, at a later date, the law imposed it; no one could become a citizen if both parents were not citizens of the city. This isolation and inbreeding created the race to which ancient culture and the foundations of our own culture are indebted. Italy, which finally conquered the world and organised its empire, followed the same process.

The process was repeated, albeit on a larger scale, after the disintegration of ancient culture, the fall of the Roman Empire and the installation of foreign conquerors in its provinces. Letters and education, in so far as they survived, were limited to a few. The disintegration of material civilisation changed and hampered the lives of even the poorest classes. For the We can compare, for example, the time of Hadrian with that of the Merovingians. Relationships ceased. The old Roman roads, on which the peoples of the empire had penetrated every part of it, were abandoned, demolished and used as quarries, or were covered by vegetation and trees. Society was divided into small, independent and autonomous units - this is the feudal system - and the inhabitants quickly put down roots in the countryside. Here the primitive conditions reappeared, which meant that every man let his wife into his home (27). In this isolation, small groups, new races and new peoples developed during the Middle Ages from the chaotic human mix of the empire. These are the peoples of modern Europe, and the culmination of their racial instincts can be seen in the nation-states of modern Europe, whose borders form to some degree an effective barrier against a racial mixture as destructive in character as that which was the most active cause of the disintegration of ancient culture and the fall of the Roman Empire. History's nemesis has made that the consequences of victory were fatal for the victors, who merged and disappeared into the vast masses of conquered races.

Martin P. Nilsson, The race problem of the Roman Empire, *Hereditas*, vol. 2, pp. 370-390, 1921, translated from the English by J. B.

(*) On the Negro-Semitic and Jewish roots of Christianity, see respectively Dorothy Murdock, The ZEITGEIST Sourcebook, <http://www.stellarhousepublishing.com/zeitgeistsourcebook.pdf> ; Christ in Egypt: The Horus-Jesus Connection, <http://www.balderexlibris.com/index.php?post/Murdock-D-M-Christ-in-Egypt-The-Horus-Jesus-connection> ; Thomas Doane, Bible Myths And Their Parallels In Other Religions, <https://archive.org/details/DoaneTWBibleMythsAndTheirParallelsInOtherReligions1882> ; Kersey Graves, The World's Sixteen Crucified Saviors or Christianity Before Christ, <https://archive.org/details/TheWorldsSixteenCrucifiedSaviorsOrChristianityBeforeChrist1875->

[KerseyGraves](#) ; Timothy Freke, Peter Gandy, The Jesus Mysteries: Was the Original Jesus a Pagan God? ; Kenneth W. Howard, Jewish Christianity in the Early Church: How the Church Lost Its Jewish Roots, <http://www.saintnicks.com/upload/Book/Jewish%20Christianity%20in%20the%20Early%20Church.pdf> ; Jeffrey J. Harrison, The Jewish Roots of Christianity, <http://www.totheends.com/Jewish%20Roots%20of%20Christianity-Lecture%201.pdf> ; Louis Israël Newman, Jewish Influence On Christian Reform Movements, <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.191337>.

The following books by Edwin Johnson, which constitute the first critical works in the historiography of the origins of Christianity, can also be consulted:

Antiqua Mater: A Study of Christian Origins, <https://archive.org/details/antiquamaterast01johnngoog> ; The Rise of Christendom, <https://archive.org/details/riseofchristendo00johnniala> ; The Pauline Epistles: Re-studied and Explained, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110719074724/http://www.radikalkritik.de/PaulEpistles.pdf>.

(**) See also Tenney Frank, Race Mixture in the Roman Empire, <https://archive.org/details/jstor-1835889>; Ernest L. Martin, The Race Change In Ancient Italy, <http://www.giveshare.org/babylon/racechange.html>; Arthur Kemp, March of the Titans: The Complete History of the White Race, Appendices, http://www.amazon.com/dp/1105328740#reader_1105328740 Arthur Kemp, The Fall of Rome: The Triumph of the Slaves, <http://cnqzu.com/library/Solar%20General/fall-of-rome-the-triumph-of-the-slaves.pdf> ; Arthur Kemp, From Slaves to Emperor: The Racial Shift in Roman Society, <http://www.solargeneral.org/wp-content/uploads/library/from-slave-to-emperor-the-racial-shift-in-roman-society.pdf> ; Arthur Kemp, Race and Ancient Rome: New Scientific Study Confirms Racial Shift, <http://marchofthetitans.com/2017/06/27/race-ancient-rome-new-scientific-study-confirms-racial-shift/>.

(1) Otto Seeck, Geschichte des Unterganges der antiken Welt, t. 1, J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart, 1921, chapter "Die Ausrottung der Besten".

(2) Julius Beloch, Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt. Duncker & Humblot, 1886.

(3) Idem, Griechische Geschichte, t.1, 1², K.J. Trübner, Strasbourg, 1912, p. 66.

(4) Martin P. Nilsson, Den romerska kejsartiden, t. 2, Norstedts, Stockholm, 1921, chap. 4.

(5) Johannes Ilberg, Zur gynäkologischen Ethik der Griechen, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XIII, 1910, p. 1 et seq.

(6) Ludwig Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms, 18, S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1912, p. 419 et seq.

(7) See the lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus and the lex Papia Poppaea.

(8) For references, see, for example, W. Kubitschek, *Alimenta*. In Pauly-Wissowa (eds.), *Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, t. 1, pp. 1484-9.

(9) Matthias Gelzer, *Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit*, *Hermes*, vol. 50, 1915, p. 395 et seq.

(10) Alfred von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1908, p. 117 ; H. Dessau, *Die Herkunft der Offiziere und Beamten des römischen Kaiserreiches*, *Hermes*, vol. 45, 1910, p. 1 ff.

(11) While there is every indication that the Illyrians were an "Indo-European" people, this is not the case for the Albanians. (Editor's note)

(12) Vasile Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreich*, diss. 1909, Breslau.

(13) Herman Gummerus, *Romerska krukmaakar stämplar*, *Eranos*, vol. 16, 1916, p. 176.

(14) M. Bang, *Die Herkunft der römischen Sklaven*, *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 25, 1910, p. 225 ff; Nachtrag, *ibid*, vol. 27, 1912, p. 189 ff.

(15) Otto Seeck, *op. cit.* p. 385 et seq.

(16) See p. 380.

(17) As the founding peoples of Rome, like the Germanic peoples, were Nordic, the arrival of the latter was bound to revitalise the Roman Empire, which had already entered a period of crisis. mainly from its Semitisation, in a phase of degeneration and dislocation.

On the Nordic Romans, see, among others, Wilhelm Sieglin, *Die blonden Haare der indogermanischen Völker des Altertums: Eine Sammlung der antiken Zeugnisse als Beitrag zur Indogermanenfrage* ; Karl Earlson, *Nordic Italy*, <https://www.theapricity.com/earlson/history/italy.htm> ; *Pigmentation of the Early Roman Emperors*, <http://www.theapricity.com/earlson/history/emperors.htm> *Europa Soberana, The Face of Classical Europe*, <https://cienciologia.wordpress.com/category/were-the-greeks-blond-and-blue-eyed/> ; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MaMFo7K3Fc> ; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fvizgGrgjBY>.

The last name on the list is Commodus, which is understandable, since most of the emperors who followed him, starting with Pertinax, emperor for three months in 193, were of Semitic stock. However, Trajan and Hadrian were of Spanish extraction. The father of Titus Antoninus was a native of Nemausus (now Nîmes) in Gaul. "It is true that these emperors were born in the Roman colonies, and were raised to the rank of citizens by their birth. But it is highly probable that they would have been embarrassed to prove their descent from their ancestors, the true Romans". (J.B.L. Crevier, *The History of the Roman Emperors*, vol. 8, 1814) It is interesting that Petrarch completes the chronicle of the Roman Empire with Titus, that is to say, with emperors who were blood descendants of patricians, in his first work "Africa", only to then

extend the circle of Roman rulers not only to subsequent emperors, from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius, but even to Theodosius in his later works. (Editor's note)

(18) See the classic work by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe*² (1889). For a more recent review see Herman Hirt, *Die Indogermanen: ihre Verbreitung, ihre Urheimat und ihre Kultur*, vol. 1, K.J. Trübner, Strasbourg, p. 34 ff.

(19) Some authors, such as d'Arbois de Jubainville, believe that the Ligurians were an Aryan people, but the evidence is extremely fragile.

(20) See, for example, John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain*. Arrowsmith, Bristol, 1885.

(21) See my text *Den stora folkvandringen I det andra artusen* f. Kr. in *Ymer*, 1912, p. 455 ff. On the languages of Asia Minor, see Paul Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896, p. 289 t ff.

(22) Enno Littmann, *Sardis*, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, vol. 6: *Lydian Inscriptions*, E.J. Brill, 1916.

(23) Karl Holl, *Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in nachchristlicher Zeit*, *Hermes*, vol 43, 1908, p. 240 t ff.

(24) The anthropological school of Professors Sergi, Ripley and others has tried to show that there were three races in ancient Europe: the dolichocephalic blond Nordic race, the Alpine race, and the Alpine race.

brachiocephalic race with dark hair and grey eyes, the dolichocephalic Mediterranean race with dark hair, and that, despite all the invasions and cross-breeding, these races are still maintained in their respective regions. I cannot examine this theory here, as it would also involve an examination of the meaning of the term 'race'. (For my views on this question, see my text quoted above in *Ymer* 1912, pp. 465 ff). I should just like to point out that the theory mentioned above may not be incompatible with the view put forward here. The signs

by which these three races recognise each other are purely physical. Here, it is primarily a question of psychic differences. It may be that the physical properties have persisted as a whole, but that the psychic ones have changed in the formation of the new races that have developed from the mixture of races in Europe (from the point of view of doctrine, this fundamental hypothesis, which is to be related to the concept of 'race of the body', 'race of the soul' and 'race of the spirit' elaborated by Julius Evola almost thirty years later, saves a study of the postulates of evolutionary biology and relativism.

[Editor's note])

(25) At the time, the Egyptians were far from having formed a stable ancient race. See Arthur Kemp, *The Children of Ra: Artistic, Historical, and Genetic Evidence for Ancient White Egypt*; *March of the Titans: The Complete History of the White Race*, chapter 8: *Nordic Desert Empire - Ancient Egypt*, <http://marchofthetitans.com/2013/03/05/nordic-desert-empire-ancient-egypt/>; *Ancient White Egypt: "March of the Titans" Proven Right*, <http://marchofthetitans.com/2013/08/11/ancient-white-egypt->

[march-of-the-titans-proven-right/](http://marchofthetitans.com/2017/06/09/dna-ancient-white-egypt/); DNA and Ancient White Egypt,
<http://marchofthetitans.com/2017/06/09/dna-ancient-white-egypt/>. (N.d.T.)

(26) Cp. the dates given above (p. 384 ff.) for the provincial origin of the emperors and senators.

(27) Allusion made to the patrician marriage ritual, the *confaeratio*, at the end of which the groom, after having taken the bride from her mother's arms, took her in his own to lead her across the threshold of his home.
house.

As far as women are concerned, the white woman and the female "man" are inwardly much closer to non-whites than to the inwardly Aryan white man. This explains the sub-human attractions of the latter, as well as their parricidal and genocidal instinct (in the etymological sense of the term), whereas a white man who is inwardly Aryan would never betray his race.

Under the pretext of dissuading his friend Posthumus, an old libertine bachelor, from marriage, Juvenal paints him a picture of the customs of the Roman women of his time; and a variety of types, either amusing and ridiculous, or odious and sometimes frightening, pass before his eyes. These types Some of them represent minor weaknesses or shortcomings typical of contemporary Roman women, while others represent abominable vices and crimes, inherent in the nature of women in general, whatever the nation or race to which they belong. Despite the natural tendencies of satire to excess, there is nothing in his work that is not confirmed by Tacitus, Suetonius and Martial, three other describers of Roman corruption.

One of the main vices of Roman women was a penchant for a variety of ceremonies and practices imported from abroad, particularly from the Near and Middle East. Juvenal wittily pokes fun at the credulity of women eager to learn the secrets of the future through divinatory practices, and the impudence of the charlatans who took advantage of their credulity. The most impudent of these, according to Juvenal, were the priests of Cybele and Isis. The ministries of these goddesses posing as intermediaries between man and the "divinity", as directors of conscience capable of imposing pilgrimages and absolving guilty pleasures, fascinated and dominated the weak mind. and the exalted imagination of women. Then there were the Chaldean astrologers, the old Jewish women who revealed the will of the Olympian gods to young women from good families, and the Armenian soothsayers who predicted lovers and great inheritances. Most of the regulars at these charlatans, *fortune-tellers* and palm readers were women, who seemed to live off their superstitions. The wives of the patricians consulted such individuals, who had come from the credulous and mysterious "Orient"; the wives of the plebeians went to see second-class augurs, who gave consultations in the circus or in the open air.

Another major vice of patrician wives, closely linked to their taste for the exotic, is wittily pointed out in the following lines: "Present the potion yourself without worrying about what it is; for if your wife agreed to a child making her enlarged flanks twitch painfully, who knows if you wouldn't find yourself the father of an Ethiopian, who should no less be written in your will" (Juvenal, Satires, VI). (Juvenal, Satires, VI)

Of course, what is dysgenic here is not recourse to abortion. On the contrary, abortion was absolutely necessary in these cases. Not all matrons had recourse to it, as shown by the following epigram (VI, 39) by Martial: "Seven times Marulla has made you a father, but you do not have, Cinna, a single child of free race: for none of them is yours, either from a friend or a neighbour; all of them conceived either on mattresses or on mats, betray by their physiognomy the infidelities of their mother. The one who, with frizzy hair, comes forward like an African Moor, admits that he is the offspring of the cook Santra. The second, with his camel nose and thick lips, is the very portrait of the wrestler Pannicus. (Editor's note)

Tradition and revolution

The result of eight years of parliamentary debate, albeit very restrictive, the so-called "Waldeck-Rousseau" law authorising trade unions in France was promulgated under the Third Republic on 21 March 1884. Founded in

In Lyon in October 1886, the Fédération nationale des syndicats et groupements corporatifs ouvriers (FNS), the first French workers' confederation, immediately fell under the control of the leaders of the Parti ouvrier français (POF) (1882), led by the orthodox Marxist Jules Guesde. Although not hostile to strikes, the Guesdists considered that workers' demands should above all take a political form. In 1892, opponents of Guesdism founded the Fédération des Bourses du Travail (FBT) in Saint-Etienne, imbued with a powerful libertarian spirit. Its founders were the Blanquists of Edouard Vaillant and the leaders of the Parti ouvrier socialiste révolutionnaire (POSR) (1890) of the socialist syndicalist, former communard and convict Jean Allemane, the main promoters, along with the anarchists, of the general strike. Its first general secretary was the anarchist Georges Yvetot; its main

Fernand Pelloutier, a revolutionary socialist and libertarian syndicalist and dissident of the POF. In 1895, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) was founded in Limoges, the result of a split within the FNS between Guesdist "political syndicalists" and "pure syndicalists". In 1901, it was led by two revolutionary syndicalists, Victor Griffuelhes - a well-known former Blanquiste

as a strike leader - and Emile Pouget, libertarian propagandist and editor of *Père Peinard*. In

In 1902, at its congress in Montpellier, the CGT decided to merge with the Fédération des Bourses du Travail to form a single organisation, made up of two sections, that of the trade federations and that of the Bourses du Travail, designed by Pelloutier to be a total instrument of workers' struggle, from the organisation of workers to their education and revolution. In 1906, there were 2,500 trade unions grouped into some sixty federations, with a total of 300,000 members. This merger took place against a backdrop of intense hostility to the Guesdist movement and to political socialism in general, to the extent that the word "socialism" itself was not part of the CGT's vocabulary.

In 1904, Pouget published a series of articles in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* on the history of the general strike idea from the time of the First International to the debates between the leaders of the Fédération des Bourses du Travail and the POF, who, along with the reformist socialists and social democrats, condemned the general strike as a "dangerous fantasy", a "utopia", a "harmful and murderous weapon for the working class". It turns out that this idea can be traced back to Chartism, the working-class movement for political reform that developed from 1838 to 1857 in the United Kingdom. The first general strike, also known as the Plug Plot Riots, began in 1842 among miners in Staffordshire and quickly spread throughout the UK. Great Britain, affecting factories in Yorkshire and Lancashire and coal mines from Dundee in Scotland to South Wales and Cornwall.

In France, the first propagandist of the general strike was an anarchist worker by the name of Joseph Tortelier, a member of the carpenters' union. He set out the principles in November 1888 at the International Workers' Congress in London. He was unsuccessful. However, that same year, at its congress, the FNS, although a Guesdist organisation, proclaimed that "only the general strike, i.e. the complete cessation of all work, can be the solution to the problem".

She also urged the unions "not to be subservient to any political party whatsoever". She did an about-face two years later. Nevertheless, the idea of a general strike continued to gain ground, notably under the impetus of

Pelloutier, Pouget and Aristide Briand. For them, it was not based on any political, philosophical or sociological theory, but on the daily practice of the working class. The people, Pouget argued, knew better what suited them than the intellectuals or politicians who claimed to speak for them. Griffuelhes also advocated direct action. Direct action", he wrote, "means action by the workers themselves, that is to say action directly exercised by those concerned. It is the worker himself who makes the effort, and worker action is nothing but a continuous manifestation of effort. There is, therefore, a daily practice which grows every day until, having reached a higher degree of power, it is transformed into a conflagration which we call a general strike and which will be the social revolution [...] The strike In its final expression, the general strike is not, for working-class circles, a simple stoppage of labour; it is the seizure of the social wealth developed by the corporations, in this case the unions". In this way, he answered in advance the question posed by Georges Sorel in *Matériaux d'une théorie du prolétariat* (1914): "Why shouldn't the revolutionary force of the proletariat be based on the autonomy of workers' revolts? The idea of workers' autonomy had already been put forward during the Commune of 1871, both under the influence of Proudhonian anarchism and of Hebertian Blanquism, which had gradually detached itself from both bourgeois Jacobinism and Babouvist egalitarianism. For both, the "commune" was the lever of the revolution as the "natural" social organisation of producers, opposed to all forms of State as well as to all "artificial" groupings - in other words, to the "spurious" apparatus of political parties and therefore to universal suffrage and the "representative" system. The communes had to proclaim their autonomy from the State and form themselves into a free federation by virtue of a voluntary pact. As early as the 1860s, anarchists and Proudhonians had labelled Marx and Engels "statists" because they argued that the

Capitalism had created, for the concentration of production and exchange, an apparatus so gigantic that the working class could never seize it if it did not first succeed in seizing the state. The former wanted to destroy the State; the latter, to conquer it (neither of them, of course, wanted to destroy the State).

However, no one indicated how they intended to deal with the heaps. The heaps? Yes, the "servants of the state"). The latter rarely called themselves "socialists", a term they used to refer to themselves.

were used to designate the leaders of the left-wing parties, whom they denied any right to speak in the name of the working class. They simply called themselves trade unionists, pure and simple.

The concept of "revolutionary syndicalism" appeared in French socialist journals between mid-1903 and early 1904, and spread to workers' circles close to the CGT and above all to certain socialist intellectual circles. Its main theoreticians were Hubert

Lagardelle (future Minister of Labour under Vichy), the socialist activist and writer Charles Guieysse and Édouard Berth, for whom the Dresden Congress (September 1903) had given a new lease of life to "revolutionary socialism", as opposed to "parliamentary socialism". For once, we will leave the task of introducing this disciple of Sorel to someone other than ourselves (i): to the author of his biography, entitled *Édouard Berth ou le socialisme héroïque* (Paris, Pardès, 2013) and from which we have taken above the first paragraphs of the introduction of more than one hundred pages that he wrote to the reprint of Berth's *Méfais des intellectuels* (Kontre Kulture, 2013), the first chapter of which is reproduced below.

As Jaques le Goff has shown, the "intellectual", the "intellectualis", was born in the "Middle Ages" (ii) as part of the formation of the University. With the decline of the latter around the fifteenth century came the emergence of the humanist, the scholar, who, until the creation of the Collège de France by François 1st embodied the "figure of the thinker".

a solitary figure detached from any institution, of which Erasmus will remain the symbol" (iii). There were three main reasons for this decline: "University masters tended to lose what made them special, particularly in relation to the landed aristocracy. Many of them increasingly belonged to the world of wealthy landowners and used their social weight to favour the hereditary transmission of their position. Their lifestyle thus moved away from the austere ideal of study towards that of chivalry. The other causes were the emergence of a new category of cultural agents, the patrons of the arts, who granted their protection and material benefits to their learned protégés. These favours came at a price, as they meant that the great ones had to be celebrated and, above all, they were at the root of a specific symbolic economy: the glory of the benefactors was a measure of the value recognised in the work. protected. Another major transformation: printing. Admittedly, this new technique has not brought instant upheaval: copies of manuscripts continued to be made, and printed books remained rare and expensive for a long time. However, the figure of the printer-publisher was one of the most important figures in the history of the book.

which authors have had to reckon with, faced with the fact that making books is a commodity that has a cost, that brings profits and, sometimes, notoriety" (iv). The centre of gravity

"In this way, the "intellectual" moved from the University to the courts of princes and great men. Some worked as tutors or in the printing industry, others as teachers or lawyers; finally, many lived off the generosity of the great. The fact remains that "a new constellation cultural [...] was established, based on a set of institutions (the monarchical state, academies in Paris and the provinces), places of sociability (courts, salons) and relations of exchange (patronage)" (v). The scholar of the first half of the seventeenth century was "a literary scholar who, unlike the humanists, devoted himself less to increasing knowledge than to matters of 'taste', where the deployment of his talents

is in tune with the approval of the powerful. It benefited from the growing role of state patronage (pensions, jobs in the service of the prince) and the academies" (vi). Faced with the doctrinaire Latinists, the figure of the writer emerged, "based on a model of cultural excellence, that of the honest man, the fine mind, characterised by qualities capable of sustaining the worldly pleasures of conversation on subjects accessible to well-born people (gallantry, adventures)" (vii). The sign of the success of this new figure is "individualisation by a name through the right to literary property" (viii).

From the 17th century onwards, two powers ruled the world: money and the pen. In the society of their time, Montaigne and L'Hôpital were of little consequence compared to Marshal de Montluc and Constable de Montmorency. In the 17th century, Molière and Corneille had infinitely more authority over their contemporaries than Luxembourg or Turenne. To make a career in letters, you had to show your credentials to a handful of women, who had been gathered around the Marquise de Rambouillet in her private mansion on rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre since the turn of the century. While the learned societies that had sprung up in the sixteenth century were composed exclusively of men, the "bureau d'esprit", or "office of wit", was the first of its kind.

- From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the salons held by the Marquise were mixed. For the first time, literary men were admitted in this capacity to "women of quality"; for the second time, they were admitted to "women of quality".

for the first time, princes and lords, statesmen and men of letters, politicians

men of the world and men of the church, moralists and orators, poets, philosophers and novelists

(including Ogier de Gombauld, Malherbe, Racan, Corneille, Rotrou, Voiture, Chapelain, Ménage, La Rochefoucauld, Saint-Évremond, Scarron, Benserade, Montreuil, Sarrasin and Pellisson),

Conrart), lived side by side under the direction and supervision of so-called "women of quality". The groundwork had been laid in the previous century, with the development of "a plan for society that would entrust

to women the role of civilising morals [...]: according to the proponents of this opinion, it is women who will bring moderation of form, urbanity of tone, progress in enlightenment and morals, and the spread of new ideas in the sciences and the arts" (ix).

Women emerged victorious from the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. Called by their contemporaries "femmes d'esprit", "femmes savantes", "femmes doctes", "femmes sages", "libertines" or even "précieuses" (contrary to popular belief, it was not Madame de Rambouillet and her female members of society that Molière mocked in his 1659 play), Rather, it was the women who, in the capital and even in the provinces, had quickly taken to running a "bureau d'esprit" in their imitation), who established themselves as the arbiters of taste - of that "taste" that Nietzsche so prized in the French - and of elegance. The Marquise de Rambouillet founded "a veritable institution" in France. By confuting, by her fireside, the gentleman with the writer, and by softening, with her delicate hand, anything that might have been an angle or a clash between the pride of the former and the self-esteem of the latter, the Marquise de Rambouillet created "a veritable institution in France. the other, the marquise [...] gave nobility as a clientele to talent and prepared for the reign of opinion. It has been said that those who assemble move; all the more so those who assemble educate. People don't argue with impunity; they start by clashing, and end up by agreeing - that's the history of electricity.

on the contrary; one arrives, one day or another, at this average or rather this community of conviction which one calls the public mind" (x). "Literature was not the only subject of conversation: people talked about everything, war, religion, politics; affairs of state were just as much a part of the conversation as lighter news, as long as they were treated with wit and ease. [...With the Marquise de Rambouillet," added Victor Cousin, "reigned supreme distinction, nobility, familiarity, the art of saying the greatest things simply" (xi), of renaming, for example, the mirror "the counsellor of graces", the armchairs, "the conveniences of conversation", the nightcap, "the innocent accomplice of lies", "water", "the celestial mood", "thieves", "inconvenient braves". What simplicity indeed!

Literature was nonetheless the central topic of conversation at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Political and social questions "strangely bother women. Their attention is drawn to quite different objects. Present life (only part of present life), the most external, social life, with its relationships, occupies them, absorbs them entirely; and our writers, to make themselves

(xii) Hence the tendency they had, and which Berth criticises in the intellectual, to limit the scope of their observation to the world. Hence the tendency they had, and which Berth castigates in the intellectual, to limit the scope of their observation to the world

the uniformity of the salons (and of the court), to distance themselves from the observation of life in all its diversity, to

to paint, in accordance with Madame de Rambouillet's universalist moods, universal, abstract man instead of individual man.

It will suffice to show, for a reason that will become clear to the reader as he reads Berth's text, that intellectualism was not born in the Enlightenment - any more than it was in the eighteenth century that the aristocracy "degenerated to the point of becoming intellectual and artistic": Three or four generations after Montluc said these definitive words: "I have always been more concerned with doing well than saying well", there was little left of this essentially virile spirit in the aristocracy. It is also difficult to share the author's enthusiasm, sometimes overflowing, for what he calls oxymoronicallly 'Christian-classical culture'. Apart from these two points, none of his arguments misses the mark.

We know the apologue with which Proudhon begins his beautiful book of War and Peace: the apologue of Hercules, the Greek hero, scorned by a schoolmaster and breaking everything on the platform where this pedant refused him a prize. The uproar," wrote Proudhon, "reached as far as the palace where Hercules' mother, the dyke Alcmené, was staying. She had been a splendid beauty; when she reached middle age, she was taken for the goddess of strength. She comes, says a word to her son, whose rage, in the presence of his mother, subsides, only to burst into tears. She then asked the half-dead master what the meaning of this outburst was. He apologised as best he could, protested his respect for the princess, but could not conceal from her that her son, this powerful, superb, magnanimous Hercules, was after all nothing but a dried fruit. Alcmené, containing to The teacher's face seemed so funny that he could hardly stop laughing, and said to him: "Silly man, why don't you set up a gymnastics prize in your school too? Do you think the town only needs musicians and lawyers? Come on, my son, shoot this pedant; your studies are finished. And it was you," she added, looking at the mottos that adorned the bouquets thrown to the hero, "who won the first prize. first prize..., in the judgement of the maidens of Thebes". It was," adds Proudhon, "in the wake of this adventure that Hercules instituted the Olympic games, later imitated in the Nemeans, the Pythics, the

Isthmian games, which were celebrated throughout Greece for many centuries. At these games, historians and poets came to show off their talent, as well as athletes showing off their skills.

vigour. Herodotus read his history there; Pindar made himself famous with his odes. Two men, ex aequo, created the Greek ideal: Hercules and Homer. The first, scorned for his strength, proved that strength can sometimes have more spirit than spirit itself, and that if it has its reason, it therefore also has its power.

his right. The other devoted his genius to celebrating heroes and strong men, and for more than twenty-five centuries posterity has applauded his songs.

In this schoolmaster, this pedant who refused to put a price on strength and called Hercules a dried fruit, we can recognise the ancestor, the prototype of our Intellectuals, those Dreyfusians who are good for nothing, as Action Française likes to call them, and rightly so, and who can be distinguished by their double incapacity and double

incomprehension: military incapacity and worker incapacity, incomprehension of war and incomprehension of work. At the Cercle Proudhon, that is to say, at the confluence of the two movements, nationalist and syndicalist, we have every reason to attack this caste, the Intellectuals, who, in possession of the State, are trying to impose on the modern City this nauseating ideal, the negation of ancient heroic, religious, warlike and national values, as well as of modern values.

The bourgeoisie, strictly speaking, does not have a social idea. On 1 January 1903, in an article in the Mouvement Socialiste entitled "Socialisme ou Etatisme?", I wrote: "The bourgeoisie, strictly speaking, has no social idea; the bourgeois social regime is pure and simple anarchy; there is no longer a city; the social character of acts is no longer apparent; no higher and ideal principle can draw individuals out of the narrow circle of their egoistic vision. This is because the social Idea can hardly take on more than It can take two forms: it can be military or working class; it cannot be bourgeois. The ancient City was a heroic City, with all its institutions revolving around War, the source and principle of all virtue; it dissolved the day the heroic and warlike ideal gave way. Today, the modern City must be rebuilt around the Institutions of Work as the cement; it is the demands of Work that must revive in the hearts of men that heroism of which antiquity has given us the examples.

first admirable examples". And I added: "But this is a profound revolution, and one that is still only virtual; and it is understandable that between the warrior ideal in its decline and the workers' ideal still in gestation, society is so helpless; it is easy to understand the still prodigious strength of the nationalism. Will it not have its *raison d'être*, and like its legitimacy, as long as the proletariat has not brought down its social idea in living institutions and that the army, visible and bright symbol, will embody the City? And I would like to add a few more lines, which will shed light on the point of view I was taking at the time: "However, in this long interval between the dissolution of antiquity and the new era, the social idea could not remain in the state of a mere memory or mere

It was the State, in Caesarian, monarchic or democratic form, that married her in turn; it alone was able to give back to this dust of individuals that the City had become an at least external and apparent unity. This explains its prestige, its apparent unity. This explains its prestige, its mystical power; this is what gives rise, permanently and always so, to its mystical power.

We are still living with the illusions of the statists and the mysticism of government, of which the democratic supernatural is only the latest form.

As you can see, I seemed to admit at the time that there was absolute opposition between what I called the warrior ideal in its decline and the workers' ideal still in gestation, and that the latter could only be the radical negation of the former. And when, in 1907, I wrote my *Marchands, Intellectuels et Politiciens*, faithful to this point of view, I called for the death of the State as the natural outcome of the modern workers' movement, this mystical being, this secular Providence, of which the trade unions The workers had to gradually exhaust the content and finally let it fall flat on itself, like an empty husk. This is what enabled M. Guy-Grand, when he ventured to study successively Nationalist Philosophy and Syndicalist Philosophy, to say that there could be no collusion between people who affirmed the necessity of the State and people who conspired for its total ruin; that their alliance was a real scandal, intolerable both to reason and to public morality. He added that this opposition, of a political nature, was coupled with antagonism on the philosophical level, the nationalists, as is natural for statists, being intellectualists, and the syndicalists, as is natural for anti-statists, being intuitionists, mystics, Bergsonians, putting action above Intelligence and intuition above Reason.

So here we are at the very heart of our subject: it is the equation intellectualism = statism, which is posed by Mr Guy-Grand, i.e. by a representative of those we consider to be forming a true modern caste, namely those Intellectuals whose political vocation and love of the State are well known. But M. Guy-Grand has not taken heed of two things in making the oppositions which he believes to be irresistibly obvious. It is: 1° that the State whose restoration Maurras and Action française pursue no more resembles the modern democratic State than the Dog, constellation, does resembles the dog, a barking animal; 2° that "Intellectualism," of which Maurras is an eminent representative, is no less alien to democratic intellectualism, of which he, Guy-Grand, is an equally qualified representative.

What are the characteristics of the modern democratic state? It is an abstract, centralised, pacifist State; it is a State which, abdicating the functions proper to the State, functions which are all related to its warlike nature (army, diplomacy, justice), arrogates to itself foreign and parasitic functions, economic and administrative functions, which it moreover discharges very badly and which it should leave to the autonomy of civil society; in a word, it is a State that has gone from being a warrior to being a pacifist, from being political to being economic, through an abnormal subversion of its true nature. It is precisely against the hypertrophy of this State, of this enormous Parasite, which, as Marx said, "paralyses the free movement of society and devours its substance", that syndicalism has engaged in the struggle; it is this "Parasite", which, as Marx said, "paralyses the free movement of society and devours its substance", that syndicalism has engaged in the struggle. It's that state, whose death it conspires to bring about with all its energy; it's that river unleashed and overflowing into society, like the Nile over Egypt, with the considerable difference that the Nile fertilises Egypt and the State dries up social life, which trade unionism would like to bring back into its bed.

But what would the Monarchy be, the restoration of which Maurras conspired to bring about? It would be an anti-parliamentary, decentralised, hereditary and traditional Monarchy, that is to say it would be a State which, instead of being abstract, would be, incarnated in a family, what is most concrete, most

realistic; it would be the State made Man, and no longer this monstrous abstraction

the modern democratic state. In other words, instead of being the overflowing river of which we spoke earlier, it would be, reduced to its natural limits and returned to its bed, a limpid spring, a reservoir whose water, by its very purity and high concentration, sustains and exalts to their highest level all the currents of social life; this State would be an exhauster and not an exhauster.

In a word, the Monarchy dreamt of and conspired by Maurras and Action Française would be the State reduced to its political and warlike nature, abdicating its civil and economic usurpations and confining itself to its role as soldier, diplomat and high vigilante, war, diplomacy and justice constituting the three sides of the same phenomenon.

But isn't this how Proudhon came to conceive of the State? Let us listen to him: "In a regularly organised society, everything must be in continuous growth, science, industry, work, wealth, public health; liberty and morality must go hand in hand. Here, movement and life never stop for a moment. The principal organ of this movement, the State, is always in action, because it has the power to act.

There are always new needs to be met, new questions to be answered. While his role as prime mover and high director is unceasing, his work, on the other hand, is unrepeatable. He is the most high expression of progress. But what happens when, as we see almost everywhere, as we have almost always seen, it lingers in the temptation to monopolise? It is no longer the genius of the community that fertilises it, directs it and enriches it, without imposing any hindrance on it: it is a vast anonymous company, with six hundred thousand employees and six hundred thousand soldiers, organised to do everything, and which, instead of coming to the aid of the nation, instead of serving the needs of the people, has to be seen to be doing everything.

citizens and communes, dispossessing and pressurising them. Soon, corruption, embezzlement and slackness became part of this system; the government was busy supporting itself, increasing its prerogatives and

The social body suffers, and the nation, contrary to its historical law, is beginning to fall apart" (1).

What we have here, as described by Proudhon, is the opposition of the concrete State, absolute sovereign in a limited domain, the prime mover and high director, and of the modern democratic State, compared very It is precisely a limited company, which, from being the founder, becomes a manoeuvre, and, ceasing to be the genius of the community, becomes its tyrant and parasite. And against this State, what objection could we trade unionists raise? I ask Mr Guy-Grand! In truth, none; we would have only one attitude to observe, and that is that of expectation and defensiveness, reminding ourselves that, in order to limit the always exorbitant tendencies of Power, whoever it may be, it is sufficient to oppose it with the real strength of serious organisations; because social equilibrium can only result from the loyal antagonism of the State.

acceptance of a strong State and a strong civil society, both embodying the two coeternal principles

Authority and Freedom. What did we really want? We wanted politics to be absorbed by economics? and we have it, since what the State usurped from civil society has been absorbed by it.

The fact remains, it is true, that the State thus reduced to its political and warlike nature survives and does not totally disappear, as syndicalism seemed to want it to do, since, it is said, it is as opposed to the warlike State as it is to the economic State. But here, precisely, it is necessary, in my opinion, for the syndicalists to rectify their initial assertions; because, whatever is said and whatever is done, the problem of the State remains in all its force, being the same problem as that of the existence of autonomous homelands and national civilisations. Now, we must say it clearly: do we want an amorphous Humanity, a sort of

Do we want the European Union to become an acephalous monster, an undivided and indistinct humanitarian whole, or do we want to maintain our current homelands and national civilisations? This is the question that must be answered. And to this question, I, as a French trade unionist, I have no hesitation in replying that I am attached to my French homeland by all ties of the

blood, heart and mind, through everything that makes up my physical, moral and intellectual life, I passionately desire the maintenance, and not only the maintenance, but the greatness of this French homeland; and that having this desire, I am resolutely attached to the means of achieving it, namely this warrior State, against which I am quite prepared to obstinately fight any encroachment on my civil liberty, but to which I entrust the task of victoriously defending my national independence.

The opposition that M. Guy-Grand wanted to establish between the nationalists and the syndicalists, in relation to the State, is therefore entirely artificial and factitious: I would finally add this, namely that the State, of which Maurras' Monarchy would be the restoration, would present this character, correlative moreover of all those that we

I mean a State which, brought back to its essential function and its true nature, which is to be War made Man, would no longer be the prey of the "intellectuals".

Intellectuals and their instrument of rule, as is the modern democratic state. And, of course, I can understand the hatred for this warlike State of our secular clerics, who, from the heights of their Intelligence, profess a profound contempt for the military, who they regard as brutes, bribes, people who are at the bottom of the ladder... animal: a warrior State and

royal, which would reduce the professionals of Intelligence to the secondary rank they should occupy in a well-organised society, in order to elevate "Messieurs les galonnés" and grant them the place they deserve, i.e. the first, certainly, here is a State which is perfectly scandalous in the eyes of our Intellectuals, a State which they would regard as a particular affront made to their "intellectuals".

It is a great, what am I saying, an attack on the reign of the pure spirit. These gentlemen do not believe, as Proudhon does, that the warrior is the ideal of virile dignity.

their essential feminism and their powerlessness, hate a priori what they feel incapable of doing. to have or to acquire the strength, the loyalty, the uprightness, the sense of honour of the soldier, they the deceitful and the tortuous, who always prefer the oblique ways and the roundabout means to reach power, and who, stockbrokers at the fair of Ideas, are like their companions, the stockbrokers of the Stock Exchange, completely devoid of the sense of Honour and eternally devoted to Guile, this weapon

of the weak. This cowardice on the part of our intellectuals has not been sufficiently remarked, for it is essential to the very nature of Intelligence, that courtier-born, which, feeling weak and helpless, needs, in order to be strong, to lean, like the woman on the arm of the man, on a virile power, to say the least, on the power of the man.

the Sword. Homer sings of the heroes and subordinates himself to Hercules.

We would have Byzantium or some kind of democratic regime, with a supposed hegemony of the pure Spirit, but in reality with the reign of materialism, cunning and sterility.

Compare, for example, the writers of the seventeenth century with those of the eighteenth: what a difference in tone, accent and bearing! Under the guise of servility, they have the noblest and proudest attitude.

They do not pretend to reign, but, standing their ground and recognising that there is a Power greater than themselves, they give themselves entirely to their task as writers, disdainful of all publicity and filled with the most scrupulous professional conscience. Look at these, on the other hand, the Voltaires and the Diderots and the whole Holbachian clique: they are ushering in the reign of the Intellectuals, as the valets de plume that they are, courtiers of these princes whom they flatter while despising them, and obliged, because they want to usurp Power, to trick the Powers: These apostles of liberty, tolerance and humanity have the soul of lackeys; an essential cowardice characterises them, and their courtisan nature shines through in all their actions. And immediately, as if to justify the famous dilemma that Proudhon applied to women, but which must be extended to "femmelins": courtesan or housewife - how literature falls to pieces!

Voltaire wrote *La Pucelle*, Diderot the *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville*; the whole of the eighteenth century, that century of the French Revolution, was written by the same author.

"It was the beginning of literary mercantilism; literary people made a fortune from their writings, they claimed to achieve independence through money, and, subject to opinion, which had to be flattered in order to reign, they wrote rubbish.

Voltaire's royalty was to lead to Zola's "pornocratic empire"! Bancocracy and pornocracy have always gone hand in hand. We should reread here the article Proudhon wrote in 1848 on "what the Revolution owes to Literature", and which ends with this vehement and terrible apostrophe (2):

"Show me anywhere consciences more venal, minds more indifferent, souls more rotten than in the literate caste! How many of them do you know whose virtue has remained beyond reach?

! Who, for the last thirty years, has been pouring into us the looseness of morals, the contempt for work, the disgust for duty, the contempt for the family, if not the literary gentry? Who has been the most impudent in dipping into the coffers of secret funds? Who has most seduced women, softened youth, and incited the nation to all kinds of debauchery? Who has made a spectacle of the most shameless apostasies? Who has most cowardly deserted princes after begging for their favours? Who rallies most readily to the counter-Revolution today? Literati, always literati! What

Do they care about the sanctity of religion, the gravity of history, the severity of morality? They pass, like lost daughters, from legitimacy to usurpation, from monarchy to republic, from politics to socialism, from atheism to religion. Anything goes, as long as it brings them fame and money. What a thirst for distinction! What a fury for pleasure! But above all, what hypocrisy! Name them,

Parisians, appoint them as your representatives. Sycophants of the people, sycophants of the bourgeoisie, sycophants of kings, flatterers of all powers, always ready to salute the amphitryon where one dines, w h a t they ask of you in the name of the fatherland, of work, of the family, of property, is gold, luxury, voluptuousness, honours, and your wives" (3).

We have often heard the complaints of the so-called representatives of Intelligence about the humiliating rank in which they were once held by the aristocracy (4); these gentlemen feel deeply wounded in their immeasurable vanity - I refrain from saying pride - at the thought that, in the past, they entered the servants' quarters of the great on an equal footing with lackeys, jesters and fools: their task was t o amuse and entertain; they were hardly taken seriously; they were even deeply despised.

Today, what a change! And how well Democracy treats them! how it honours them! and what a role it assigns to them, that of missionaries of Progress and channels of Conscience!

Universal. These gentlemen may think they are kings, or at least kinglets, in concert with our politicians, the small change of the royal gold coin. But, whether they like it or not, I think that the feelings of the old aristocracy towards our parasites of letters were perfectly justified and well-founded: a warlike and heroic aristocracy could well relax by listening to our entertainers; it had not yet degenerated to the point of becoming intellectual and artistic. When it did in the eighteenth century, it would be decadence and corruption, and we would have a regime of general parasitism, aristocratic parasitism (absenteeism and the courtesan lifestyle of the great), literary parasitism (our intellectuals hoisted to the flagstaff by an aristocracy oblivious to all its duties and traditions, and thinking only of entertaining itself with the theoretical and other antics of our professional entertainers). The Second Empire presented us with the same spectacle, albeit to an even more vile degree.

And when we think that Sainte-Beuve became the courtier and literary stooge of such a regime, we are not inclined to find the role of intellectuals very glowing. If we look at our democracy today, we see that it is rotten with

The same vices: socialist bohemia has replaced Bonapartist bohemia; Briand is in power; and we hear the same eulogies of Intelligence, Art and the Humanities; we are going to have, it seems, with the Poincaré presidency, a Reathenian republic; all our great artists, the Prévosts, the Brieux and the Hervieu family were overjoyed; the smile of Mme Poincaré, that Italian from Florence, home of the Arts, would light up the Elysian receptions. The truth is that this plutocratic regime finds its natural and appropriate complement in Art, a pornocratic agent, as Proudhon put it. It is astonishing how much the Jews love Art, how they sniff out everything artistic with that sensuality peculiar to their race: Jews of music, Jews of theatre, Jews of Gothic and Renaissance restoration, Jews of the arts. of Galeries Lafayette almanacs, they are all very artistic, very refined and very dilettantes: and it is easy to understand why a Gohier, in whom all the rugged and masculine frankness of a Proudhon lives on, should seem to them a boor and a "bastard"!

There are no regimes more corrupt than those in which intellectuals occupy too large a place. It is well known that in the days of Roman decadence the arts and letters had a very important place in society.

The Byzantine regime is well known; I mentioned the French eighteenth century, the Second Empire and our super-intellectual democracy. But there is a history that bears witness to a way. The most striking example of the harmful nature of the domination of intellectuals and the reign of ideology is that of the Church. The Church is par excellence an "ideological government", a "government of intellectuals": that is why its history never ceases to present a picture of corruption. It is an invincible corruption against which the Church is obliged to fight ceaselessly, without ever being able to overcome it completely. What gives life to the Church is mysticism; what renews it is mysticism.

are, as Sorel says, the storms of faith that periodically infuse its mystical body with new blood; but without the great religious orders, where this infusion of new blood takes place, if the Church were to remain solely the government of intellectuals that it is, it would rapidly march to its historical ruin.

It is this character of government by intellectuals that makes any clerical or theocratic regime particularly odious and unbearable, because intellectual despotism quickly becomes intolerable. Better the soldier than the priest," said Renan, "for the soldier has no metaphysical pretensions" (5). Auguste Comte, who copied Catholicism at its worst, had dreamt of a kind of intellectual theocracy, of which he would have been the Pope: it would have been a dreadful regime. In fact, our secular democracy is just such a regime: it is a clericalism in reverse, a red clericalism, and 'little father' Combes, a former defrocked priest, has all the clerical tendencies. Any clerical or pseudo-clerical regime (6) is a regime of intellectuals, anti-legal and anti-warrior, where Intelligence, usurping command and taking precedence over the Law, necessarily establishes the reign of the most arbitrary and complete absolutism.

Besides, do we want to know what a modern intellectual is? Let us read the Ordination, by M. Julien Benda, a Jew of metaphysics and an eminent and most distinguished representative of the intellectual and perfumed ghetto: we will have the quintessence and the end of the end of modern intellectualism. Mr Benda wrote against

M. Bergson a kind of little pamphlet, in which he, the roquet, tried to bite the immortal author of Creative evolution. Bergsonism or a philosophy of mobility, that's what it's called.

Certainly, what serves as metaphysics for M. Julien Benda has nothing to do with a philosophy of mobility, and it could be called a philosophy of transcendental immobility; and if M. Bergson is a 'Parisian Buddhist', what would we call M. Benda, who, ankylosed in the contemplation of his immutable concepts, hates, as much as the poet, the 'Parisian Buddhist'? And if Bergson is a "Parisian Buddhist", what shall we call Benda, who, ankylosed in the contemplation of his immutable concepts, hates, like the poet, the "movement that moves the lines"? Oh, don't go bothering Mr Benda when he's sitting in his study, in front of his desk, meditating on the concept of movement. Please don't noise, walk on tiptoe, hold your breath, don't let any unusual creaks reveal your unwelcome approach: Mr Benda is "at the idea of movement; soon he will have finished to establish the two profoundly distinct ideas - dynamism and continuity - that are confused under this name. Then he will elucidate his thoughts on the appearance of life; whether or not he believes it to be a discontinuity; that discontinuity does not mean a miracle; his thoughts on the appearance of the concept...". Ah! don't confuse him

not, I beg you, for a sublime, grandiose work is being accomplished at this moment, and "who will tell men of the furious desire to ascend from one's being to the Idea of one's being, of the thirst for consciousness, for

what morality a man has risen to. Unfortunately, our metaphysician - the flesh is weak - got married; he found the right woman to suit him and his nature as a philosopher of immobility, since, discreet, silent and so reasonable, she never bothers him in his work; but in the end he is married, and, being married, he happens - these things happen in the sensible world - to have a child, and, to this child, he happens to be ill. Catastrophe!

Here we are, swept up in "the torrent of mobile chimeras", in the hassles of life and becoming, and the pure spirit of Mr Julien Benda evaporates. This "furious, silent and motionless embrace

"In the end, our fallen metaphysician's arms, too weak and now powerless, can only embrace the shadow and faded memory of those ideas that were once so important to him.

radiant and so strongly embraced. O fall! O decadence! O disastrous pity! O deplorable charity! O fatality of stupid Love! Here he sank into Flesh; he loved his child like the beings who love their children.

creeping along, like grazing creatures. And now it's over. He'll be nothing but a thing that loves!

Well, do we know him now, the intellectual? Do you see him, this gutless monster, this

anachorete of the pure Idea, this Abstraction made Man? We have here the representative of this intellectual aristocracy, which is the harshest, the fiercest and the most cynical of aristocracies, because

that it has transcendental contempt for the people. You understand: people, women, children, all that is flesh, sensibility, becoming, movement; all that grazes and crawls, does not think, does not ascend from its being to the Idea of its being; all that, consequently, does not exist in the heaven of immutable concepts. Mr. Benda does not hide this disdain from us; he speaks, with an indescribable crease of the lip, of those "who have contempt for the clear idea and whose pathetic philosophy will only grow in the democratic sky". Christians, teachers of Pascalian ecstasy, philosophers of intuition, Bergsonians, democrats - all of these, for our intellectual aristocrat, not having the cult of the clear and distinct Idea, do not exist, are part of the swarming and always moving crowd - this perpetual scandal for our fakir lost in the contemplation of his intellectual navel!

And see, at the same time, the confusion of terms that our metaphysical Jew is trying to establish.

Indeed, we are about to witness the curious spectacle of a subtle attempt to conceal the movement. We will have the Jew more patriotic than the French of France and Navarre, and we will have the Jew more anti-democratic than anyone in the A.F. and in the Syndicalie. Mr. Benda would have us believe that by defending intellectualism he is defending aristocratic conceptions and opposing the modern democratic tide. But true aristocracy, as I have already said, is in no way constituted by purely intellectual qualities; it is warlike and heroic, it is traditional, it is historical; it is based on carnal realities, on blood,

physical heredity, race: there is nothing more anti-intellectual (7) than an aristocracy worthy of the name; and what historically destroys aristocracies is precisely when the nobleman, leaving the land for the City and the Court, and passing from the regime of war to that of the spectacle, becomes an intellectual, a beau-esprit, as in the eighteenth century; he then turns into a "democrat" who, losing his sense of realities

The aristocracy, however, is in no way the same as the traditional aristocracy, which is at the mercy of all the ideological nonsense and clouds of decadent societies. Moreover, the true aristocracy has no transcendental contempt for the people, which we always find in the intellectual: on the contrary, between the people and the aristocracy, there is true mutual confraternity and intelligence. It is when the nobleman becomes an intellectual and a parasite that the gulf of hatred and misunderstanding between him and the people grows, leading to the "aristocrats with lanterns" (8) of the Revolution.

Democracy, on the other hand, is profoundly intellectualist: anti-traditional, anti-physical, as Rabelais would say, anti-realist, a dishevelled idealist, it wants to know only "pure minds", detached from all historical and natural ties, hovering above Time and Space, lost in the contemplation of clear and distinct Ideas. And is it any wonder that there is nothing popular about this democracy? Indeed, what is less accessible to the people than this transcendental idealism? The people, like the aristocracy, is a historical reality, a carnal reality; it is not the pure Idea that constitutes it, but blood, but traditions, but race, all physical things and not the pure Idea.

intellectual democracy. Modern intellectualist democracy, as embodied by the Sorbonne with its Cartesian and encyclopaedic rationalism, is, as Proudhon clearly saw, an "aristocracy". disguised", and, I repeat, the hardest, the most harmful, the most ruinous of aristocracies; for it is the Pedantocracy and the Mandarinate of people unfit for War as well as for Work, and whose reign can only lead to the ruin of the Fatherland as well as of Production.

All that I have just said shows how much the second opposition, which Mr Guy-Grand would like to establish between nationalists and trade unionists is as false and non-existent as the first. M. Guy-Grand was mistaken in seeing in the royalists of the A. F. 'statists'; he is no less mistaken in seeing in them 'intellectualists'. It was easy, it was pleasant, it could appear clever to show how the philosophy of a Sorel, the most anti-intellectualist of philosophers, is opposed to the philosophy of a Maurras, who can appear, on the contrary, as the most intellectual of doctrinaires. Maurras likes to exalt Reason and defend Intelligence; he has a profound contempt for Romanticism in general and the philosophers of intuition in particular; his opinion of Bergson is well known (9). There is therefore an opposition here, at least an apparent one, which it is convenient to exploit in an attempt to create a so-called abyss between nationalist philosophy and syndicalist philosophy. This is what Mr Guy-Grand did. But I note, first of all, that Maurras's intellectualism does not prevent him from fighting what is called at r Action française les Nuées, that is to say Ideology, and that this intellectualism, in reality, is called and defined an "organising empiricism". Maurras's rationalism is a classical rationalism, that is to say a realism, and is completely opposed to democratic rationalism, which is idealism, and we know how vigorously Maurras, like Proudhon and like Sorel (10), fights the Ideal, what moderns call the Ideal, and which is nothing but a surreptitious and evil substitution of anarchic sentiment for the Idea. I would also observe that Sorel's fundamental anti-rationalism, like Bergson's for that matter, in no way leads to contempt for or disregard of classical reason,

which, on the contrary, democratic and Cartesian reason completely subverts. It is quite clear that both Sorel and Bergson have an immeasurable contempt for what is called Intelligence, Logic, Dialectics; but what is this Intelligence of which Sorel and Bergson have such disdain? I confess I feel a certain impatience when I hear so many people declare that Bergson places intelligence below instinct, compromises science or lays a sacrilegious and reactionary hand on it. In fact, it is impossible for me to discover in what philosophy Bergsonian intuition is an exaltation of the Instinct and a negation of Science. For Bergsonian intuition is instinct, if you like, but disinterested instinct, which has passed through Intelligence, which has been sublimated by it and drawn out of its too-narrow prison to embrace broader horizons. And the conception is in no way an attack on Science: on the contrary, it is an exaltation of it. It is a reaction against modern relativism and agnosticism. For Bergson, science is the absolute, and his philosophy raises physics and metaphysics, which Positivism and Kantianism had made equally relativistic, to the same level.

But what Bergson and Sorel are protesting against is precisely that use of intelligence which essentially constitutes modern Ideology and which consists in substituting, in moral and social questions, for classical reason, for organising empiricism, for sensitive and religious experience, a The goddess of Reason, a supposedly creative Reason, a mathematical and logical Reason, abstract and conceptual, stiff and pedantic, which is a subversion of common sense and an attack on reason itself, as Molière put it when he said that reasoning banished reason (11). The whole theory of Bergson's Intelligence, in fact, boils down to saying that there is a kind of reciprocal adaptation between matter and intelligence, thanks to which Intelligence triumphs above all in its application to matter, i.e. in its industrial applications: homo sapiens, homo faber. Applied to It finds itself in the presence of realities that are too loose, too nuanced, too flexible, for it not to be disoriented and end up with false results. Intelligence," says Bergson, "is characterised by a natural lack of understanding of life; one might add by an even greater and more natural lack of understanding of history; for if life is already, in relation to matter, a more changeable reality, what is history, this drama of our moral life, if not a more changeable reality? A reality that is even more fluid and inaccessible to the rigid and inert categories of Intelligence? Here, logic and dialectics, simple deduction, are quickly at the end of their tether; here, we have to call upon But isn't it obvious that it is very closely related to classical reason, that it could be defined as a very sharp, very subtle and very nuanced sense of reality? Look at our great classical writers: Rabelais, Montaigne, Molière. Against whom, above all, is their inexhaustible verve? But against the pedants, the principled people, the doctors who want to take nature at its word; the pedagogues who want to regulate life and the world, the imperturbable logicians who deduce infinite false consequences from a principle, without wanting to recognise that logic and life are two very different things; the people of all stripes, who, sunk in their ideas, lost in their abstraction, forget to see the world changing around them and seem to be daydreaming, - by

in a word, the intellectuals, all those who could be called the bureaucrats of 'thought', and who are trying to replace the flexible, living reality with the rigid formalism of administrative regulations.

Here we return to our old knowledge of the centralised bureaucratic State, incapable of adapting to the movements of social life and leading only to stifle it and paralyse its development; and we see and explain the affinity between intellectualism and statism (12). It is this essential maladjustment of intelligence to living and social reality that M. Bergson expresses in his theory of Intelligence: "All our analyses," he writes, "lead us to this conclusion. But there is no need to go into such lengthy details about the mechanism of intellectual work: it would suffice to consider the results. We would see that intelligence, so skilful at manipulating the inert, displays its clumsiness as soon as it touches on the living. Whether dealing with the life of the body or that of the mind, it proceeds with the rigour, stiffness and brutality of an instrument that was not intended for such use. The history of hygiene and pedagogy speaks volumes in this respect. When you think of the vital, pressing and constant interest., the special facilities that are given here to everyone to experiment constantly on themselves and on others, the palpable damage by which the defectiveness of medical and pedagogical practice manifests itself and is paid for, we remain confounded by the crudeness and above all the persistence of errors. The origin of these errors can easily be found in our obstinacy in treating the living as inert and in thinking of all reality, however fluid, in terms of solid, definitively stopped. We are only comfortable in the discontinuous, in the immobile, in the dead" (13).

As we can see: M. Bergson mocks intelligence, that is to say conceptual formalism, just as our great classics mocked pedants of all kinds, fussy eaters, doctors and pedagogues, whose eternal tendency is to want to force life and nature into the immutable frameworks of fixed regulations. And it is by no means a question of taking us back to instinct, but of pushing us beyond intelligence. Proudhon put the problem admirably in the following lines:

One fact," he writes, "that psychological analysis has never clarified, that it could not clarify, for want of a satisfactory theory of freedom, is the formation in our minds of the idea or feeling of the beautiful and the sublime. To account for this, it is obvious that intelligence properly so called, pure reason or understanding, whatever name we use to designate the faculty we have of to grasp the relationships between things, to group them together, to generalise them, to extract concepts from them.

It is obvious, I say, that this faculty is not enough: we need another, of a superior nature and of a special constitution. What indeed is intelligence? A sort of photographic camera (14), which gives us the mental representation of phenomena and their relationships, everything that reality contains, but nothing more. Now, the sublime and the beautiful go beyond reality: there is the same difference between them and ideas as between a portrait made by an artist's hand and the image given by the The mathematician, the mechanic, the physicist, the naturalist, the industrialist are demonstrators of nature, copyists; the poet and the artist do more than that: their job is, in fact, to demonstrate nature.

nature, to express the ideal, something that is not in the real world, and which is therefore not in the real world.

It cannot be found in our understanding, any more than it can be found in the mirror that reflects images back to us. To produce this notion of the beautiful and the sublime, to experience the feeling of it, we need a new faculty which has at its disposal our conceptions, our feelings and our sensations: for all of these enter into the composition of the Ideal. This faculty, in my opinion, is freedom" (15).

In this passage, Proudhon clearly expresses the two essential aspects of M. Bergson's theory of Intelligence. Bergson's theory of Intelligence: on the one hand, the perfect adaptation of Intelligence to Matter, Intelligence being at home in the solid, hence the essentially industrial and manufacturing character of its nature; and, on the other hand, the inadequacy of this same Intelligence, as soon as we leave the purely physical domain and enter that of life and history, that is to say the moral and social domain, and the need to call upon another faculty which Proudhon calls freedom, which Bergson calls intuition, and Sorel calls the faculty of the mind.

mythical - three names that basically designate the same reality, namely the capacity to create the beautiful and the sublime that is unique to man and to which the animal instinct can no more aspire than the understanding of all our intellectuals and all our sociologists, whose creative imagination displays

such complete impotence. And, to come back to the Sorel-Maurras opposition, I can no longer see what is real and fundamental about this opposition - as, for the sake of his cause, M. Guy-Grand would have us believe. All that can be said is that Maurras is committed to

Maurras, to use Nietzsche's terminology, is more Apollonian and Sorel more Dionysian (16). But we know from Nietzsche, who symbolised in Apollo and Dionysus the two great divisions of the world of Art, that these two artistic divinities can form an alliance and did in fact form an alliance to give birth to Greek tragedy. And we also know that

Dionysus, without Apollo, falls into extravagance and madness; Apollo, on the other hand, without Dionysus, falls into formalism and what Nietzsche calls Egyptianism. It would be easy, of course, if we wanted to take the parallel between Maurras and Sorel to its logical conclusion, to show that Maurras's Apollinism appears, at times, to be the same as that of Sorel, incline towards a certain Alexandrianism and give too much importance to dialectics, and that, on the other hand, Sorel's Dionysism can also sometimes seem to lack rules and principles (17); but what would be the point of this parallel? Isn't the main point that Apollo and Dionysus have a common enemy, namely Socrates - Socrates the non-mystic and non-artist, Socrates the inspiration for Euripides, the destroyer of the "Dionysians"?

of Tragedy, and ancestor of Voltaire, Socrates at last the initiator of theoretical culture and the prototype of our intellectuals?

In my *Marchands, Intellectuels et Politiciens* (Merchants, Intellectuals and Politicians) I have reproduced the immortal pages in which Nietzsche, with an extraordinary sharpness of intuition and a prodigious strength of intellectual vision, delivers a terrible and, in my opinion, definitive indictment of this theoretical culture in which our modern world is immersed. Is this theoretical culture classical culture, or is it the opposite? This is what needs to be clarified, because Mr Guy-Grand is precisely trying to strengthen his opposition

Maurras-Sorel by showing Sorel to be an opponent of classical culture, of which Maurras, on the contrary, is not only an eminent representative, but an ardent defender. Mr Guy-Grand could in fact

We can refer to the pages of Sorel's *Ruin of the Ancient World* where he shows the disastrous effects of classical culture, as it was received by the Romans of the Decadence and as it was taken over by the Jesuits of the Renaissance, and after them by the modern State University: a culture of rhetors, a culture of dilettantes, a formalist and empty culture, where students, accustomed to talking about subjects devoid of any real meaning and without any positive knowledge, can only become *beaux-esprits*, capable of talking in a salon about *orani re* and *scibili*, but incapable of any productive work or creation truly spiritual. This classical culture has produced innumerable intellectuals, whose literary parasitism could only become State parasitism, since their

Their only resource was to be civil servants. But this classical culture is only a caricature of the true classical culture, which, far from being a formalist and purely rhetorical culture, is a culture of realism in the fullest sense of the term. This is what Lasserre seems to me to have decisively demonstrated in his fine book *La Doctrine officielle de l'Université*. What characterises classical culture, what we also call the humanities, is first and foremost the preponderance of Letters over the Sciences; and if literary culture can lead to too much training of the mind And what is the spirit of *finesse*, if not that very sharp, very subtle and very nuanced sense of reality, in which we discern the essence of classical reason? They even go so far as to want to teach a kind of scientific literature, which is insanity itself.

But they forget that at the very basis of science there is poetry, by which I mean that creative faculty, that power of imagination, which makes the great scientist: all the great scientists have had, in general, a

He had a very strong literary training, and when you read a Claude Bernard, you are as amazed by his spirit of *finesse* as by his power of scientific creation itself. To replace the old classical culture with this kind of erudite, down-to-earth positivism that we call scientific training is to dry up the very source of this science that we fill our mouths with.

They also forget that a purely scientific education will never produce the refinement of psychological sense that the old Christian-classical culture produced. Indeed, it has not been sufficiently remarked how much the new secular, pacifist and democratic mentality of our *sorbonnards* and our *primaries*, their pupils, implied psychological silliness, disarming ingenuity and unfathomable candour. This was, moreover, the inevitable result of the new sociological-scientific-fascist culture. What idea of man can a collection of files give to the poor labourers?

of modern science? They are honest workers, conscientious, diligent, whatever you like; but their horizons are very limited and, above all, their experience of moral and psychological life is very poor. In the past, when classical culture trained minds, its main aim was to give an exact, nuanced, fine, rich and profound idea of man; the study of the great Greek and French moralists, poets and tragics normally led to this; And if we consider that this classical culture was supplemented by Catholic training, in other words the constant examination of conscience required by the practice of confession and the sacraments, we will understand the *finesse*, depth and richness of the moral and psychological experience of the ancient *literati*: it was impossible for these

men would give in to certain "clouds" whose admission implies too great a poverty of psychological sense. Now that this classical and Catholic training has been replaced by a scientific, sociological and secular training, one is struck by the general vulgarity of minds, by their stupidity, by the ease with which they accept reasoning of the crudest logical quality and ideas of the crudest psychological quality: everything has thickened, weighed down, dumbed down in the Republic of Letters. In 1885, Nietzsche again paid tribute to French culture, writing: "Even today, France is the refuge of the most intellectual and refined culture in Europe, and remains the great school of taste; but you have to know how to discover it, this 'France of taste'. Those who are part of it take care to keep themselves hidden. They are few in number, and in this small number there are perhaps still some who are not very solid on their feet, either fatalists or They may be melancholic or ill, or they may be irritated and artificial, who put their self-esteem in hiding. What they have in common is that they cover their ears so as not to hear the unbridled stupidity and noisy shouting of the democratised bourgeoisie. For what is in the foreground is a France that has become stultified and crude - the same France that, just recently, at the funeral of Victor Hugo, gave itself over to a veritable orgy of bad taste and self-satisfaction. Yet another trait is common to the men and women of the "France of taste": a resolute determination to defend themselves from the intellectual Germanisation...". (18). This is what Nietzsche said about France in 1885; in 1913, he would no doubt find that what is increasingly in the foreground is this "dumbed-down and with the unbridled stupidity and noisy shouting of the democratised bourgeoisie". There's just one more thing to add to Nietzsche's picture: it's the awakening of the "France of taste". The "France of taste" no longer wanted to remain hidden. The "France of taste" no longer wished to remain hidden; it had taken the offensive again, as witnessed by the Bernstein affair; and "the will to be Defending against intellectual Germanisation" was asserted in the campaign against the Sorbonne led by Pierre Lasserre with his usual mastery.

But classical education was not only the great school of taste and judgement: it inevitably left us with an insatiable appetite for heroic greatness, political greatness and legal greatness, which was the real and authentic ferment of that Progress of which our secularists are so full. The eyes that have glimpsed and contemplated the ancient light; the soul that has been lifted by the broad, strong and free breath of the City. The eyes that have glimpsed and contemplated the ancient light; the soul that has been lifted by the broad, strong, free breath of the City The mind that has been taught art, philosophy and law by Athens and Rome - these eyes, this soul, this mind can no longer get used to mediocrity and are tirelessly searching for the best. historical greatness. But this is precisely why Democracy, which only loves the mediocre, has devoted to classical studies that base hatred which is the hatred of envy and impotent mediocrity. In the same way, the hatred with which Democracy pursues the Church of Rome: do not look for the reasons for this elsewhere than in this same low envy which makes all moral greatness unbearable to it. The soul touched by Christianity retains as insatiable an appetite for moral greatness as the mind trained in ancient letters of historic grandeur; and the Church of Rome remains, in this modern world all the great spiritual power, the great lesson in sacrifice, renunciation, self-denial and moral heroism, the great school of mystical and supernatural life, the great lesson in the power of the spirit.

all that goes beyond the limited horizon of this miserable earthly life, the Procrustean bed to the narrowness of which modern statist Democracy would vainly like to shrink us.

But what is the profound reason for this cult of Science that the contemporary bourgeoisie, through the Sorbonne, would like to implant so strongly in people's minds? It is easy to see, and Louzon, in a recent article in *La Vie Ouvrière* (19), *Ouvriérisme dans les Mathématiques*

It is one of the great strengths of the bourgeoisie," he wrote, "to have succeeded in giving science a mysterious character, by removing from it any apparent connection with everyday practice: instead of being presented, as it really is, as nothing more than the compilation in a general form, and consequently a mnemonic, of the observations to which daily work gives rise and of the means that experience teaches for resolving difficulties

science appeared as something completely separate from life, a secret jealously guarded in the sanctuary of the schools, and of which only the new priests, the bourgeois

intellectuals. The result was excellent for the domination of the bourgeoisie. The

he superstitious respect for "scholars" has penetrated all classes of society, including and especially the working class. Respect for intellectuals is the only prejudice still held by the proletariat.

Georges Sorel was right to say that the only service that the sincerely socialist bourgeois could render the proletariat was to demolish the cult of the Intellectual in the brains of the workers. This could not have been better said, and we know that Proudhon and Marx, in order to react precisely against this The divorce between theory and practice, on which modern bourgeois statist education is based, advocated the fusion of school and workshop, of instruction and apprenticeship. We should reread here the marvellous chapters that Proudhon devotes to popular education in *Vidée générale de la Révolution et la Capacité politique*, where he shows that in the present regime the grandes écoles have no place.

The free and compulsory primary school was instituted only to give the people the rudimentary, ideologically based education that would turn the worker or peasant into a kind of "petit-bourgeois" capable only of voting for the intellectual lords of our unitary, centralised, bourgeois democracy. And Proudhon concludes with this significant phrase: "No more industry than literature, misery upon misery" (20).

"No more industry than literature! Misery upon misery", said Proudhon, and one senses in these few words all the indignation of a man whose sense of the truly modern needs of a professional and technical education has in no way obliterated the sense of the great moral, social and national interests which he translates by this word "literature" and which he, a great classicist, nourished as he was by the Bible, Bossuet and ancient letters, could only attribute the preservation of to classical culture, to the humanities. I would also point out, in connection with this article by Robert Louzon, that M. Bouasse, the Toulouse professor whose revolutionary opinions on the true education he quotes Pierre Lasserre, in his book against the Sorbonne, invokes his precious testimony as a man of science. We can therefore

affirm that in this reaction against what might be called bourgeois and statist abstraction

leading to the domination of the intellectuals, there is a perfect convergence of views and efforts between what I have called classical realism and workers' realism (21).

I said that the Intellectual was characterised by a double incomprehension: the incomprehension of the War and the incomprehension of Work. The idea of a classical culture is formed on the basis of war: the Greek ideal is, as Proudhon says, symbolised by Hercules and Homer, the

The hero sung by the poet; and it was to the service of this ideal that the great tragedian Aeschylus put his muse, which the reasoner Euripides, that dialectician who replaced tragic effects with philosophical tirades, brought down to a bourgeois level. Rome, the great teacher of Law, whose image haunted the soul of the peasant Proudhon; Rome, which had such a lofty idea of the State that Renan was able to say that the State is a Roman thing, like Law and Philosophy.

War? It is therefore profoundly natural, logical and inevitable that our intellectuals, who understand nothing about war, understand nothing about the State either, and advocate a pseudo-modern culture in which a "state of war" is the sole rule.

A kind of scientific positivism replaces the heroic and warlike ideal of classical culture. Our intellectuals are working to found an entirely bourgeois civilisation, in which everything, as Nietzsche says, will be abstract: the State, law, morality, education - the State which, from being a warrior, will become a pacifist, transformed into a mere administration; law which, from being private, will become public; morality which, from being religious, will become the State, This will be the absolute opposite of our Western civilisation, which has its roots in Christianity and Classicism, and which has inherited from Rome, from both a civil and a religious point of view, an idea of historical greatness and an idea of religious greatness. This would be the absolute opposite of our Western civilisation, which has a classical Christian background and inherited from Rome, from both the civil and religious points of view, an idea of historical greatness and an idea of moral greatness that are highly incompatible with the bourgeois mediocrity of this secular, rationalist, pacifist and humanitarian civilisation. War," wrote Proudhon, "apart from

Even the dogma of the Fall is the basis of religion. It exists between peoples just as it exists in all of nature and in the heart of man. It is the orgasm of universal life, which agitates and fecundates chaos, is the prelude to all creation and, like Christ the Redeemer, triumphs over death through death itself. Take away from religious thought, take away from the human heart this idea of combat, not of death.

not only are you not stopping the destructive scourge, but you are destroying the entire system of religions, you abolish, without explanation, without criticism, without compensation, the order of ideas in which

The human race has lived for more than forty centuries without which you cannot say how it would have lived. You deny, I say, civilisation in its two main aspects, religion and politics; you destroy the very possibility of history. War contains so many things, it is so much more.

It responds to so many things, it intermingles with so many things, and all you will see is an outburst of bestial ferocity, fuelled by superstition and barbarism. It's inadmissible!"

And yet this is what our intellectuals admit, and what they preach from the top of every pulpit And, I repeat, since they understand nothing of war, they understand nothing of the State, of which they make everything, a theologian, an educator, an industrialist, a merchant, a banker, a labourer, everything except what it really is and is by nature, i.e. a warrior. And we have seen, since the Dreyfus revolution, what our intellectuals have tended to do.

to turn the army, that visible and dazzling symbol of the State, into a civilian gendarmerie, a branch of the secular school, a people's university, where the teaching of peace became - oh mockery! - basic education: transforming the soldier into a domestic and the officer into a teacher, Intellectualising the army was the aim of all the efforts of our Dreyfusian war ministers, the stockbroker Berteaux and the cephalopod André! These intellectuals, I said, do not understand Labour any better than they do War. And just as they wanted to intellectualise the soldier and the officer, they wanted to intellectualise the worker. These great idealists have no less disdain for manual labour than they do for what they call "the brigand's trade"; these pure spirits regard as unworthy of man and as a degradation, a downfall, anything that is not "intellectual", i.e. the alignment of concepts, the playing of cards, the fabrication of great sociological laws. In their eyes, professional ideas are mind-numbing, an unfortunate limitation on the pure freedom of the mind. At

Consequently, every man must rise from this stagnant region of manual labour to the regions Intellectualism, in the noble sphere of general Ideas. Consequently, the worker, in order to emancipate himself, must become an intellectual and, by becoming a civil servant, become part of the sacrosanct brotherhood of Intellectuals, who, after two or three hours given over to the unfortunate necessities of material life, indulge with delight in the highest and most transcendent speculations. The aim of syndicalism is to expel the State from the economy: this is not how our intellectuals understand it, who on the contrary want the State to embrace and invade the whole economy. Syndicalism conceives of everything in terms of a progressive workshop, where everything must be adapted to the rhythm of work.

Our intellectuals want to introduce the "Republic" into the workshop, in other words, the chatter, the electoral mores, the bureaucratic laziness, the brigands and the waste of pure democracy. The Naturally, our intellectuals do not understand strikes any more than they do war. Social pacifists, as they are international pacifists, they dream of compulsory arbitration.

to fight, not to reason, to negotiate, to compromise? Strikes are a waste of time, energy and money: why waste all that when you can achieve the same results through the dialectic of pure Reason! Finally, trade unionism is based on a concept of trade union honour, developed by precisely by the class struggle: the worker, in his union, like the soldier in his battalion, is raised to the notion of Honour, to the notion of Right, to the notion of the Sublime, i.e. sacrifice. Our intellectuals understand nothing of Honour, Right or the Sublime; all these notions have a mystical and irrational air, which disturbs their mania for reducing everything to clear and distinct ideas. In

In short, the influence of the intellectuals on the modern workers' movement has been disastrous: they have inoculated it with a double virus, the statist virus and the anarchist virus.

true syndicalism which, as I have tried to show in my pamphlet *New Aspects of Socialism*, is in reaction against both political socialism and anarchism, which is either an exasperated bourgeoisie or a purely negative revolt against all disciplines

necessary for the education of humanity. Alfredo Oriani, the Italian writer of the fine book *La rivolta ideale*, wrote: "Everything is bourgeois in the working class, the language, the ideas, the manners, the dreams of wealth, the expedients to acquire it, the petty incredulity, the energy in work, the rhetoric in politics, the egoism in the family, the vulgarity in sentiment and in deeds".

(22). The working class, in fact, under the predominant influence of democracy and intellectuals,

has not yet succeeded in creating an ideology of its own; it lives on the gossip passed on to it by the Voltairean and liberal bourgeoisie: so far it has been content to follow in its footsteps. In religion, it is, like M. Homais, incredulous, but, as Oriani says, of a small and petty incredulity; With regard to the family, she has adopted the ideas of the decadent bourgeoisie on free union, God-love and divorce; with regard to the fatherland, she also thinks, like the bourgeois, that it is where he touches the earth.

better wages: wages replace dividends. So there's nothing properly working-class about it.

There is nothing original in the current conceptions of the proletarian world: the working world is always ready, following the intellectuals, to side with the liberal and free-thinking bourgeoisie in defence of the Republic. A few years ago, when trade unionism took off, there was hope that a workers' ideology would emerge from the trade union movement; Yvetot sent Jaurès and Hervé back to back; but nothing has yet been able to come to life; and in the Bataille syndicaliste, we find all too much gossip that smacks of their liberal, anti-clerical and pacifist bourgeoisie.

I would like our trade unionists, instead of living off the reliefs passed to them by intellectuals, to reread the following pages from Proudhon, which have lost none of their meaning and their eternal relevance. They would then understand that an ideology cannot be content with simply negating war, of

the State, property, religion and the family, the eternal frameworks of all civilisation. What is work," asks Proudhon, "what is privilege? Work, the analogue of activity

creative, unaware of itself, indeterminate, unfruitful, as long as the idea, the law does not penetrate it, labour is the crucible where value is elaborated, the great matrix of civilisation, a passive principle or

female of society. - Privilege, emanating from free will, is the electric spark that decides individualisation, the freedom that achieves, the authority that commands, the brain that deliberates, the ego that governs. The relationship between work and privilege is therefore one between female and male, wife and husband. Among all peoples, adultery by women has always seemed more reprehensible than adultery by men; it has therefore been subject to more rigorous penalties. Those who, focusing on the atrocity of the forms, forget the principle and see only the barbarity exercised against the sex, are novel politicians worthy of appearing in the stories of the author of *Lélia*. Any indiscipline on the part of the workers is

comparable to adultery committed by the wife. Is it not obvious, then, that if the same favourable treatment were given by the courts to the complaint of the worker as to that of the master, the hierarchical relationship, outside of which

the whole economy of society would be ruined? Judge this by the facts. Compare the appearance of a workers' strike with that of a coalition of entrepreneurs. There, mistrust of the law, agitation, turbulence: outside, cries and shudders; inside, terror, a spirit of submission and a desire for peace. Here, on the other hand, there is calculated resolution, a sense of strength, certainty of success and coolness of execution. Where then, in your opinion, is the power

? Where, the organic principle? Where is life? Undoubtedly, society owes everyone assistance and protection: I am not here pleading the cause of the oppressors of humanity; may heaven's vengeance crush them! But it is

The education of the proletarian must be accomplished. The proletarian is Hercules arriving at immortality through work and virtue: but what would Hercules do without the persecutions of Eurystheus?" (23).

Proudhon goes on to say: "Man must work! That is why, in the counsels of Providence, theft was instituted, organised and sanctified! If the owner had tired of taking, the proletarian would soon have tired of producing, and savagery, hideous misery, would have been just around the corner. The A Polynesian, in whom property is aborted, and who enjoys a complete community of goods and loves, why should he work? The land and beauty belong to all, the children to none; what are you talking to him about morality, dignity, personality, philosophy, progress? And without going so far, the Corsican, who under his chestnut trees for six months, why do you want him to work? What does he care about your conscription, your railways, your tribune, your press? What does he need other than to sleep when he has eaten his chestnuts? A prefect of Corsica used to say that to civilise the island you had to cut down the chestnut trees. A surer way is to appropriate them" (24).

In the lines I have just quoted, Proudhon set out in all their force the essential problem of all civilisation: man must work, and so far man has worked only by compulsion. Hercules needed to be persecuted by Eurystheus. Now, socialism dreams of a society without coercion, a society in which law, property, the family and the State would have disappeared, to be replaced by "total freedom". community of property and love". This would be the Polynesian regime - and you can go to the bottom of all the systems, socialist, communist, anarchist, you will find, in the final analysis, nothing other than the dream of a return to that state of nature which characterises the life of the Polynesian; which is to say, basically, that socialism, with its innumerable variants, is nothing but a pure and simple negation of civilisation, an aspect of modern decadence, contemporary dissolution pushed to its last consequences and going to the limit. And if you want to know why, in fact, Proudhon has had so few followers, just ask him.

success with socialists, anarchists and all modern utopians, is that they all felt that in him they found the most formidable adversary of their decadent reveries: Proudhon, the man of Right, Proudhon, the man of Family, Proudhon, the great moralist and panegyrist of the War, could not have the ear of people for whom law, family, morality and war are bourgeois "prejudices" from which humanity, to be happy and free, must free itself as soon as possible. "Far be it from me, communists, your stench disgusts me", cried Proudhon, examining the theories of modern socialism on the family: the communists of 1848, however, were but little saints compared to the anarchists of today. Today's syndicalist and anarchist newspapers carry neo-Malthusian propaganda and sell "objects of preservation"; and in a revolutionary newspaper you could read a praise of the prostitute proposed as a model to the young worker by one of our doctorates in socialism. Young working man, become an apache; young working woman, become a public girl. the studio is a barracks; the home, a prison: set yourself free! According to M. Eugène Fournière, is not the courtesan the natural companion of the "thinker"? Let her join the socialist apostle and the anarchist intellectual, and let her live the freest love with them!

We should reread the admirable pages that Proudhon devoted to the family in his *Contradictions économiques*, which are among the most profound ever written (25). "It is especially in the family," writes Proudhon, "that the profound meaning of property is discovered. The family and

Property and ownership go hand in hand, leaning on each other, both having meaning and value only through the relationship that unites them. The role of the woman begins with property. The household, this ideal thing that we try in vain to make ridiculous, the household is the kingdom of the woman, the monument of the family. If you take away the household, if you take away this cornerstone of the home, the centre of attraction for spouses, there will still be couples, there will no longer be families. Watch the working classes in the big cities fall little by little, through the instability of the home, the inanity of the household and the lack of property, into the

Now, what is the household, in relation to society as a whole, and everything to do with consumption and saving, inferior to that of the man, whose function is to be the guardian of society? is the command of the workshop, i.e. the government of production and exchange

... The household, then, is the most desirable economic asset for any woman; property, a workshop, self-employment, along with a wife, is what every man wants most.

Love and marriage, work and household, property and domesticity, let the reader, in favour of the meaning, deign here to substitute for the letter: all these terms are equivalent... On all this the human race is unanimous, minus, however, socialism, which alone, in the vagueness of its ideas, protests against the unanimity of the human race.

human race. Socialism wants to abolish the household, because it is too expensive; the family, because it harms the fatherland; property, because it harms the State. Socialism wants to change the role of the woman; from queen, as society has established her, it wants to make of her a priestess of Gotytto...

Socialism, on marriage as on association, has no ideas; and all its criticism is summed up in a very simple admission: "I have no ideas about marriage.

explicitly ignorant, a kind of argument without authority or scope" (26).

We have been told many times that socialism has gone from utopia to science.

In particular, it is the claim of Marxism to have brought about this transition to socialism. But when we examine things in depth, we soon realise that Marxism still harboured a strong dose of utopianism and that this communist ideal, the inanity and insanity of which Proudhon had so vigorously denounced, The working class had undoubtedly become, with Marx, the subject of socialism; it succeeded in this role to the rich financiers of whom Fourier had expected the

But it remained charged with the historic mission of realising communism, under the guidance of revolutionary thinkers to whom the mystery of the future society was revealed, as Arturo Labriola has forcefully demonstrated in his book on Marx (27). You have to go as far as Reflections on Violence to find a socialist theory devoid of all utopianism; but the meaning of this book has not been grasped, and today we see syndicalists falling back into communist or anarchist utopianism: this book, which constituted the finest theoretical effort, since Proudhon, to separate proletarian ideology from bourgeois ideology, did not have, among the working class, the success it should have had: curiously enough, it was better received by the bourgeoisie than by the proletariat, thus having the same fate as Proudhon's work itself. But to what conclusions

do we end up with? It seems to me that they are self-evident. If, as Proudhon says, Hercules needs the persecutions of Eurystheus; if, as he says elsewhere, Authority and Liberty are the two

If, in other words, Tradition and Revolution constitute the two forces whose antagonism must produce social equilibrium, the need arises, in the midst of the modern democratic dissolution which is equally decomposing and ruining

tradition and authority as freedom and Revolution, to reconstitute what I shall call the party of Tradition and the party of Revolution. The twofold nationalist and syndicalist offensive must aim at restoring to the State, to the detriment of the reign of the Intellectuals, its warlike value; expelled from the economy by syndicalism, it must return, thanks to nationalist propaganda, to its traditional role of soldier, diplomat and high vigilante.

Nationalists and trade unionists, we all agreed to fight against democracy, because we recognised, each from our own point of view, that this democracy was as powerless to safeguard the higher interests of the State as it was to train real producers - capable only of training intellectuals, pseudo-representatives of Intelligence, flat servants

of the odious anonymous and collective Tyranny which dares to call itself Republic and which is, in reality, nothing but a counterfeit of Caesarism. And, having noted this twofold military and labour incapacity of the State

modern democracy, we have resolved to work, on the one hand for the restoration of a State worthy of the name, i.e. restored to its warlike constitution, and on the other for the formation of a civil society.

strongly organised and capable of stopping the encroachment of the State on the economy: the warlike restoration of the State and the expulsion of the State from the economy, such is the dual objective of our programme. And to those anarchists of government and insurrectionists of secularism, who make themselves the

bodyguards of this secular, democratic and so-called social state, we say: You are sinister jokers, and you have never known what it is to be a revolutionary or a socialist. If you

if you knew, you would not defend that monstrous modern despotism which is Jacobin centralisation; and you would say with Proudhon that the only essential thing, when it is a question of

to choose a teacher, "the teacher must be suitable for the fathers of the family, and they must be able to decide whether or not to entrust their children to him", because "university centralisation in a democratic society is an attack on paternal authority and a confiscation of the teacher's rights" (28). If you

If you knew, if you were true revolutionaries, you would find, with Proudhon, that free and compulsory state education, this charlatan means of popularity, which hardly fails to have an effect on the multitude, is basically nothing but "insignificant jugglery and a sad nonsense (29)". If you knew this, if you were true socialists, you would have realised that there is a mysterious link between this classical culture, which your secular State wants to destroy, and I socialism; that socialist sentiment, sentiment

artificial, by which I mean developed by culture, the ultimate flower of our Western civilisation, and which is nothing more than the feeling of historical greatness attached to the mission of the modern working class, is

is internally nourished by classical culture and the Christian tradition, in the sense that the appetite for historical grandeur that contact with the ancient city gives rise to and the appetite for the moral sublime that contact with the ancient city gives rise to, are not only a source of inspiration but also a source of inspiration.

Christian education, passing into socialist aspirations, form its secret and true lifeblood.

And so there is not contradiction, but collaboration, between Tradition and Revolution, the latter proposing not to destroy for the sake of destroying, not to dissolve for the sake of dissolving, but to add something to human capital by preserving what has been acquired historically and what can be regarded as the eternal frameworks of culture. But you want to ignore this because you are destroyers pure and simple, romantics, bohemians, you dream the insane dream of building an

entirely new humanity, endowed with entirely new qualities; and, in the meantime, you

destroy the very foundation on which a new building can be erected. And your so-called revolutionarism is reduced to arousing in the souls of the workers the most unhealthy feelings, the taste for destruction, the appetite for pleasure and well-being, the aspiration to that romantic freedom which is so much more than the desire to be free.

You say you prefer the Catholic bourgeoisie to the free-thinking or so-called free-thinking bourgeoisie. You say that you prefer the free-thinking bourgeoisie, or so-called free-thinking bourgeoisie, to the Catholic bourgeoisie.

understand; this Freemason and Voltairean bourgeoisie appeals to you more, because it is M. Homais and M. Havin are the natural allies of M. Sébastien Faure and M. Hervé. Well, that's up to you! Gela

I judge you, and I address to you, if you can still understand them, these energetic words of Proudhon: "What keeps me worried and that I would weep tears of blood, is some jugglery of Reformation, renewed from Luther and Calvin, some jugglery of State religion or national Church copied from Henry VIII; worse than that, some new cult of the Supreme Being, or of Reason; masquerades, like those of Ménilmontant, a theophilanthropy, a Mapa, or any other madness spiritualist or mormon. In the decay of souls, I believe that, in terms of superstition, anything is possible. Noire's so-called Voltairianism does not reassure me. I have no confidence in strong minds that only know how to joke and enjoy.

Unless it is armoured with virtue, philosophy inspires nothing but disdain in me. That is why, while maintaining the position vis-à-vis the Church that I believe the Revolution has given to the modern world, I denounce to public contempt, along with the manoeuvres of unitary democracy, the rocking strokes of a pantheism without morals and a coterie without principles" (30). The anarchists of government and the insurrectionists of secularism want to be attached to the Judeo-Masonic and Jacobin bourgeoisie: to their

aise; here they are, judged, and well judged, by a true revolutionary, the great and noble Proudhon; - let them celebrate, if they wish, the memory of Babeuf, who was only a Jacobin bourgeois; we, on the other hand, celebrate the memory of Babeuf, who was only a Jacobin bourgeois; we, on the other hand, celebrate the memory of Babeuf, who was only a Jacobin bourgeois.

Let us link him to this father of modern socialism, this peasant, this worker, this free Franc-Comtois, this "heroic boor" from the Marches de Bourgogne, as the anti-democrat Maurras called him, anti-government, anti-Jacobin, in whom, in our eyes, the true French revolutionary tradition is embodied, and one of whose fundamental maxims was this: The idea comes from action and must return to action, on pain of disqualification for the agent - which is the condemnation of

intellectualism and the Intellectuals, and the anticipated affirmation that the working class must draw its own ideology from itself, from its autonomous class movement, without following in the footsteps of either Professor Jaurès or Professor Hervé.

Edouard Berth, "Tradition et révolution", in *Les méfaits des intellectuels*, Marcel Rivière, 1926, pp. 17-87.

(i) See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_7L1tJ2Q6sg&t=28s. See also <https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article99613>.

(ii) See <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2021/05/22/une-genealogie-de-la-police-2>.

(iii) *La parole empêchée*. Etudes réunies par Danièle James-Raoul, Sabine Forero Mendoza, Peter Kuon and Élisabeth Magne, Tubingue, Narr, 2017, p. 380.

(iv) Louis Pinto, *Sociologie des intellectuels*, Paris, La Découverte, 2021.

(v) Ibid.

(vi) Ibid.

(vii) Ibid.

(viii) Ibid.

(ix) Danielle Haase-Dubosc, *Intellectuelles, femmes d'esprit et femmes savantes au XVIIIe siècle*, Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés, n° 13, 2001, pp. 43-67.

(x) Eugène Pelletan, *La Famille : la mère*, 2nd edn, Paris, A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven et Cie, 1865, p. 213.

(xi) Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé, nouvelles études sur les femmes illustres et la société du XVIIIe siècle*, 5th edn, Paris, Didier et Cie, 1882, p. 62.

(xii) Ferdinand Brunetière, "L'influence des femmes dans la littérature française", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, LVI année, 3e période, t. 78, 1886, p. 218. We return at length to this influence, which is as little known as it is profound - and which was not limited to literature, but, through it, i n f l u e n c e d morals - in the afterword to *Anatomie du pouvoir féminin*.

(1) *Mélanges*, p. 42.

(2) We should quote here what Louis Veuillot also wrote about 'people of letters'; we will see that the opinion of the great Catholic polemicist is very similar to that of the great polemicist revolutionary. I read in his *Libres penseurs*: "We are no longer in those centuries of ignorance when the French man of letters, after having produced a few trinkets, such as *Polyeucte*, *Athalie*, the *Fables*, the *Art poétique*, considered himself too happy with a poorly paid pension which more or less enabled him to do his little business justice, lived quietly under the law of the State, humbly under the law of God, and died poor, without thinking that society had done him the slightest wrong, but finding in the

On the contrary, he felt that God was doing him a great favour by admitting him, albeit as an author, to the happiness of ending up as a good Christian. Today, the man of letters feels his social value; he dogmatizes and prophesies. He

did not write properly, but he drew up constitutions and created cults. Above all, he demanded his share of remunerated functions and was even indignant in favour of his predecessors, who were nothing in the State. La Fontaine should have been a provincial governor..." (pp. 58-59). "You find good writers in all the anterooms, in those of Louis XIV, in those of Fouquet, in those of the King of France, in those of the King of France.

those of La Pompadour; they demand food, income and applause. And today,

they hurry along in the footsteps of the people, who also have their anterooms, and who are not the least perverse, the least insolent and the least generous of masters. They ask him what they have always and everywhere asked. They think it is all very well for the people to praise them, serve them, make them rich, and lend them a helping hand to overthrow the ministries. But is there any question of a general round-up? They are out of it". (p. 83.)

Flaubert, a representative of *artisterie* and art for art's sake, thought that neither Veuillot nor Proudhon were writers. I doubt that posterity will ratify such a judgement. *Vir bonus dicendi peritus*: that is the classic definition of a good writer, and both Veuillot and Proudhon were magnificent incarnations of it. But our little people of letters, in their impotence, do not like eloquence, expression of strong and serious convictions: they will accuse Veuillot and Proudhon of moralism; and You see, for our young libertines, moralising is the last thing a man of spirit and letters can afford. Renan believed that true classical literature was always honest and moral; this is not the opinion, it seems, of our young neo-classicists, who place *Les Liaisons dangereuses* above all else and discover in Parny a great poet. But Proudhon, who considered Rabelais more chaste than Lamartine, and who found Danton, despite his vices, superior to Robespierre, with all his virtue, Proudhon is a virtuist, I tell you: he would not appeal to our literati.

(3) The veiled complaints of La Bruyère are often cited in this connection. But perhaps La Bruyère (at the end of the seventeenth century) no longer represents the true classical tradition: we can already sense in him an echo of the eighteenth century.

(4) History of Israel, t. II, p. 501.

(5) One of the reasons - among many others - why Action française is odious to so many contemporary Catholics, who claim to be so democratic, is undoubtedly that the regime of The monarchical system it would establish would not be clerical. All our Christian democrats dream, more or less, of a theocratic Republic: nothing less juridical than their conceptions. What is regrettable, however, is that Charles Maurras, by pandering to Comtism, gives the impression that he can he too dreams of a certain intellectual theocracy, - not to mention the fact that by claiming to be a follower of A. Comte he rightly alarms truly religious consciences.

(6) Those with the upper hand in intelligence are just as 'coarse' as those with the upper hand in wealth; they are just as lacking in 'race'; and if they are so keen on the superiority of the mind, it is because they do not want to be held back in their social ascent by the obstacle of birth: egalitarians and democrats.

against the nobility, and lending the people their resentments, they denied them the benefit of equality, once they had risen to power, in the name of the dogma of the inequality of talents. It was against them that Rousseau
He had seen that nothing separates more than culture: the intellectual always blushes at his humble birth, as soon as he has reached the top.

(7) Democracy," said Proudhon, "is envy". The *déclassés* and losers who make up the bulk of the democratic herd breathe into the people their boorish, impotent hatred for the nobility and any social superiority that does not come from the pure Spirit, in other words from their super-legal decrees.

(8) When Maurras speaks of Bergson, it is with a kind of raging irritation. I don't think he's growing by it; I admit that he doesn't like Bergsonian philosophy, that's his right; but

For him to take this tone when speaking of a man of Bergson's importance and value is unacceptable and, I repeat, does him little credit.

(9) This is what Sorel called, in his articles in *Ere nouvelle*, *l'Ancienne et la nouvelle métaphysique*, the invasion of emotions into the realm of representations.

(10) We know that Gournot, that great and little-known philosopher, made a profound distinction between logic and reason, and we also know the Hegelian distinction between understanding and reason, concept and notion.

(11) It should not be concluded from this, moreover, that law can be "flexible, living, winged", as a certain professor maintained when he contrasted Greek law with Roman law. as a certain professor maintained when he contrasted Greek law with Roman law.

as science, has rigour and precision as its essential characteristics. It's always the same problem: transcending the concept in no way means relapsing into pure instinct or sentimentalism. Our intellectuals cannot conceive of a middle ground between dogmatism and scepticism, formalism and pragmatism, statism and anarchism; if they are not dogmatists, they are sceptics; and from a rigid conceptualism, they fall into a deliquescent pragmatism, like statism i n t o anarchy.

(12) Creative evolution, p. 179.

(13) I emphasise this because it is remarkable how this expression evokes the Bergsonian theory of Intelligence: we know that M. Bergson likes to compare Intelligence to the cinematograph.

(14) Justice, vol. III, pp. 218-219. It may seem that there is a certain contradiction here between what we said above about classical reason, defining a very nuanced sense of reality, and this "idealism", the child of Liberty, according to Proudhon. But the contradiction is only apparent; and it is the old quarrel of the

The question of realism and idealism in art is actually raised here. On this point I would refer you to the fine remarks by M. Bergson in that little masterpiece of psychological analysis called *Laughter*, and I will content myself with pointing out that the comic genius and the tragic genius, far from opposing each other, complement each other: the great comic Aristophanes, a great poet moreover, gives the palm to the tragic genius.

Molière was the contemporary of Corneille, who himself wrote *The Liar*, like Racine of *The Plaiders*. In our down-to-earth positivism and lack of grandeur, we moderns have lost both our sense of the comic and the tragic. Read again Proudhon's fine page on irony in *Confessions of a Revolutionary*.

(15) Maurras, for example, prefers Racine to Corneille and Sophocles to Aeschylus, unlike Sorel, who has more Aeschylean and Cornelian tendencies. In art, there are the Racineans and the Cornélians; it is

the opposition between the beautiful and the sublime. Maurras, of course, places the beautiful above the sublime. "Fleeing the fashionable sublime", he once wrote. (Preface to *Le Chemin de Paradis*).

(16) Moreover, it would be a complete misunderstanding of Sorel to believe that he confused the sublime with the colossal, the extravagant with the immoderate. The great virtue, in his eyes, is, on the contrary, moderation.

(see his Trial of Socrates): it is when man relies too much on his intelligence that he becomes immoderate and imprudent, forgetting the historical or divine forces that always limit human activity; and acts of violence, the historical significance of which Sorel points out, must not have the character of madness.

They must be few, on the contrary, to be significant. (See what he says about martyrs in Renan's *Système historique*).

(17) *Beyond Good and Evil*, pp. 280-281.

(18) *La Vie Ouvrière*, issue of 5 December 1912.

(19) *On the Political Capacity of the Working Classes*, p. 284.

(20) See my article "Le Procès de la Démocratie", *Revue critique des Idées et des Livres*, 10 April 1911.

(21) *War and Peace*, vol. I, p. 45.

(22) Alfredo Oriani, *La Rivolta ideale*, p. 329.

(23) *Contradictions économiques*, tome II, pp. 408-409.

(24) *Op. cit.* p. 406.

(25) They are the peremptory refutation of feminism, the feminine intellectualism that so effectively puts the accent on the feminine.

For if the Intellectual despises the Manual, what can be said of the disdain shown for the housewife by the Intellectual, the Cerebral, so aptly described as a 'documented parakeet' by Maurice Donnay in *Return from Jerusalem*? If we want to get to the bottom of

And the fact that Proudhon was not a feminist is further proof that, within socialism, he embodied the reaction of common sense and classical reason.

(26) *Contradictions*, vol. II, p. 198.

(27) Karl Marx, *l'économiste, le socialiste*, by Arturo Labriola, published by Marcel Rivière, Paris, 1910.

(28) *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe*, pp. 289-290.

(29) *Political capacity of the working classes*, p. 278.

(30) *On the federal principle*, p. 207.

The mother goddess and her homosexuals

Homosexuality is the norm, while heterosexuality is an anomaly. This thesis is now well known. We know in what kind of environments it germinated and what kinds of environments have been disseminating it over the last few decades. More or less recent discoveries in zoology and anthropology confirm it as fully from an evolutionary point of view as they refute it. categorically from a superior point of view. On the one hand, studies of sexual behaviour in the animal world have shown not only that homosexuality is an important aspect of animal sexuality, but that many species engage in homosexual practices far more often than heterosexual ones, not to mention the fact that homosexuality seems to contribute to the successful reproduction of certain species. On the other hand, an examination of sexual practices among savages and more generally in ancient non-white civilisations has shown that

homosexuality has always been widespread (i). According to the evolutionist postulate, it follows that, as man is descended from the ape, human sexuality has its origins in the sexuality of the primates, that, since homosexuality is common among primates, it must also be common among humans and that, since everything that is natural is by the same token positive and, by extension, normative, it is not only natural, but normal, for humans to be homosexual. Similarly, according to an old humanist postulate that has endured, the savage, having had no contact with society, is on the contrary remained close to the state of nature, and as a result would have retained specific qualities considered as "natural".

As homosexuality is one of these qualities, it is established as the sexual norm for all men. Basically, the first postulate derives from the second, and the doctrine of evolution is the logical outcome of the theory of the 'good savage'. Once the scientific mind has been

sentimentality in schizophrenic thinking, for which any individual in a state of schizophrenia is a victim. nature is the human ideal, it is mechanically fatal that it should come to attribute to man a rank even lower than that occupied by savages in the animal kingdom. In psychological terms, the scientists who defend the theory of man's simian origin have never succeeded in doing anything other than to prove that they think of themselves as the offspring of primates. The reality is that, as Julius Evola pointed out in the wake of Joseph de Maistre, the ape descended from man by involution and that, Similarly, savage peoples, far from being primitive in the sense of original, are the degenerate, twilight, senescent remnants of races that disappeared in remote times. Their inclination towards homosexuality is just one of the symptoms of their degeneration. The endemic homosexuality that has been seen in white countries for several decades can only be interpreted from a psychological point of view as a collective regression, a primitivisation and, from a racist point of view, as one of the many dysgenic effects of miscegenation. This is where the historical considerations developed in *The Origins and Role of Same-Sex Relations in Human Societies*, a hymn to male homosexuality, are of great interest.

from a racist perspective. Iconographic evidence of homosexual behaviour can be found as far back as the Palaeolithic among the Amerindians, all of whom appear to have descended from a population of the

Upper Palaeolithic originating from the site of Mal'ta in central Siberia (ii), which is thought to have mingled very early on in its arrival on the continent later known as America with tribes from Greenland (iii).

from the western Pacific, which are the result of crossbreeding between Negroid, Caucasoid and mongoloids (iii). The statuettes of women found at the Mal'ta archaeological site suggest that the corresponding culture, the first known in this region, may have been a matriarchal society (iv) (iv bis). Similarly, a number of Polynesian and Melanesian clans have the characteristics of matriarchal societies (v), to such an extent that the right of the mother is (vi) and that male homosexuality is central to the rituals performed in honour of the local mother goddesses (vii). It is particularly interesting and significant to note that, in historical times, ritual male homosexuality was one of the characteristics of the civilisation that is actually considered to be the very first urban civilisation: Sumer, where, there Ritual male homosexuality was still intimately linked to the cult of the mother goddess, as it would be in the Judeo-Canaanite civilisation (viii). The author does not seem to have realised the significance of this, nor its persistence in the present day, albeit in subtle forms and in hushed atmospheres, without any reduction in the number of propitiatory sacrifices to the mother goddess. The homosexual priests of the mother goddess were second-rate priests. Who could be their successors today, if not members of the underworld of the arts and 'culture', journalism, fashion and 'com', to which we must naturally add the prostitutes ? (ix) (ix bis)

At the end of the last Ice Age, hunter-gatherers, some of whom had formed communities, began to supplement their diet of game, nuts and berries with cereals, which they had learnt to cultivate in small plots adjacent to their homes. At around the same time, they began to raise young animals from wild herds of cattle, sheep and goats, making it much easier for them to obtain meat. The development of agriculture and livestock farming had an impact on these tribes. Indeed, academics present the emergence of agriculture as a demarcation line in the development of human culture and refer to it as the The Paleolithic, or Old Stone Age, refers to the period when the first hunter-gatherer societies developed, and the Neolithic, or New Stone Age, to the period when agriculture developed.

Whereas the hunter-gatherers of the Palaeolithic had a nomadic state, the cultivation of cereals tied the first farmers to the land in specific places and made their way of life more stable. Similarly, the myths and rituals of the hunter-gatherers, which involved mystical communication with the spirits of the animals they hunted to eat, gave way to rituals designed to promote fertile livestock and abundant harvests. The way of life of the North American Indians was similar to that of the Paleolithic tribes before Europeans colonised the continent. Before this colonisation, the Indians of the Great Plains had a way of life similar to that of the Palaeolithic clans who hunted large herds of grazing animals on the plains of Eurasia that lay south of the Pleistocene ice fields. The Plains Indians

hunted the herds of bison that roamed the North American plains, depending on their meat for food and their hides for clothing and shelter. Attached more to the buffalo herds than to the land, the Indian tribes of the Great Plains moved with the herds. The Pueblos, on the other hand, grew maize in the American south-west and lived in communities in mud-brick dwellings close to their crops. While the Indians of the Great Plains dressed themselves in animal skins and stored their grain in straw baskets, the Pueblos wove their clothes and made ceramic pottery to store their grain.

From 9,000 BC onwards, sedentary communities similar to those of the Pueblos began to form in the fertile river valleys of the Middle East. They grew wheat and barley, cereals that at the time grew wild in a belt stretching from Asia to the Americas.

The first farming communities flourished thanks to the mild climate and regular rainfall in the mountainous areas of this region. In the eighth millennium BC, towns made of mud-brick houses, similar to those of the Pueblos, began to be built.

Ceramic pottery first appeared around 8,000 BC at Jericho, the site of a large oasis, and shortly afterwards at Jarmo, in northern Mesopotamia (1). Ceramic pottery was invented around 6500 BC, at Çatal Hüyük, in southern Anatolia (2) and, by the beginning of the following millennium, copper tools were being used in the east of this region (3).

It is obviously impossible to know with any certainty to what extent homosexuality existed in these early clans and tribes. However, given the impact of strong homosexual tendencies in primates on human sexual evolution, and what the existence of homosexuality in virtually every aboriginal tribal society in the world reveals about human sexuality, it is

There seems to be little doubt that homosexuality was widespread among Neolithic tribes, as it had been among Palaeolithic tribes; it also seems certain that it had similar patterns to those observed among today's tribal populations. Over the millennia

In the years that followed, as knowledge of food crops and animal husbandry slowly spread throughout the above-mentioned region, an increasingly refined way of life developed among the peoples who lived there. The division of labour and the specialisation of roles became increasingly complex, and a multitude of professions emerged in agriculture, crafts and trade.

By 4500 BC, a fine ceramic, painted with sophisticated geometric motifs, was being used in a number of countries.

manufactured throughout northern Mesopotamia and exported as far as the Mediterranean coast (4). The rituals of the Palaeolithic shamans evolved into complex rituals presided over by a priesthood that began to exert increasing influence and authority in the communities. Mediators between these communities and the goddess, who was thought to influence the fertility of crops and the fecundity of livestock, the priests gradually came to manage and coordinate the work involved in agricultural production.

At the beginning of the fourth millennium BC, the peoples who settled in the fertile delta between the Tigris, Euphrates and Persian Gulf discovered the irrigation techniques of the crops. Thanks to this advance, they were able to harvest such abundant crops that, for the first time in history, they were able to grow their own crops.

On one occasion, a people produced more food than they needed to survive. The surpluses were traded with distant peoples for raw materials such as wood and stone.

This enabled the cities of the delta to experience the same economic growth as the region's farming villages. A section of society no longer had to fight daily for its survival like the men of the early days, and was able to

devote time to political administration and to intellectual and artistic activities. Writing was invented, astronomy and the mathematical sciences were developed, and a new architecture was created.

and figurative art replaced the essentially decorative art of the Middle Ages.

earlier. The resulting political, economic and cultural achievements formed the basis of the civilisation that later became known as Sumerian. The economic and political infrastructure that developed in these city-states served as a prototype for the Babylonian and Assyrian civilisations that would follow. were to succeed them, and to the great civilisations that were to emerge later in Egypt and around the Mediterranean, in the Indus Valley in India and in China.

During their thousand years of flourishing development, the Mesopotamian city-states remained an island of civilisation in a sea of Neolithic tribal cultures. Over time, the prosperous Sumerians became the target of increasingly frequent predations and invasions by neighbouring mountain tribes and nomadic peoples from the arid steppes to the north and south. From the south, the nomadic Semitic tribes moved north, not only in search of greener pastures, but also because they were attracted by the wealth of the Sumerian city-states. Around 2300 BC, Sargon the Great, a warrior-king descended from the nomadic Semitic tribes who had settled to the north and west of the river valley, conquered the Mesopotamian city-states and united them in a political union that became the Akkadian Empire. Towards the end of the third millennium BC, after a brief restoration of Sumerian power, the Semitic people of the Amorites conquered the region and formed the Babylonian Empire, which was to last, in one form or another, for almost two thousand years. Over the following centuries, Sumerian culture

had a strong influence on life in Babylon, so much so that much of the literature and documents continued to be written in Sumerian. Similarly, the Assyrians, who succeeded the Amorite rulers in Babylon, adopted virtually unchanged the Babylonian political structure and legal tradition, as well as the cult rituals that had been practised by the Sumerians since earliest times. Because of the continuity of artistic, political, legal and religious traditions from Sumerian to Assyrian times, it is possible to consider the successive cultures of Mesopotamia as a whole.

Homosexual practices in Mesopotamia

The archaeological remains of these Mesopotamian cultures reveal a complex, stratified society whose ruling class lived in luxury, supported by an organised and prosperous working class. Graceful pottery, luxury objects, magnificently crafted jewellery and objets d'art bear witness to the refinement of the Babylonian way of life. The art objects, legal texts and

The religious documents and literature that have survived from this period provide an insight into the social and sexual habits of the people. This material amply demonstrates that, at the dawn of the historical period, the homosexual practices of the Babylonians, very probably inherited from the customs of their Neolithic ancestors, were already well established among the inhabitants of the oldest of civilisations.

Among the artefacts found in the archaeological remains are numerous terracotta statuettes of couples having sex, many of which depict two men, one of them practises sodomy on the other. These statuettes, dated to the beginning of the third millennium BC, have been found in Uruk, Assur, Susa and Babylon and provide solid evidence that the practices of sodomy were practised in the ancient world.

homosexuality was widespread among the peoples of this ancient civilisation (5). Another source of information on the sexual behaviour of Mesopotamian peoples can be found in legal texts from the Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian periods. The Code of Hammurabi, dating from around 1700 BC, contains provisions relating to certain aspects of sexuality such as adultery and prostitution, but makes no mention of homosexuality. The absence

of prohibitions against homosexuality in a civilisation where there is every indication that this sexual behaviour was present proves that it was accepted. An Assyrian code of law from the middle of the second millennium BC contains two provisions concerning homosexuality. Paragraph 19 provides for a criminal penalty against a man who starts "a rumour about his neighbour in private, claiming: that people have slept with him on several occasions and who is unable to substantiate his accusation." Another provision of the Code punishes a man for accusing a neighbour's wife, without proof, of having sex with a woman.

behave like a prostitute, taking many lovers (6). Another paragraph states that a man who rapes another man must himself be subjected to forced penetration (7). These laws would have made no sense if homosexuality had not been an integral part of life.

daily life of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia.

Other evidence has come down to us of the importance of homosexuality in the lives of the Mesopotamians. King Hammurabi himself is known to have had lovers. Zimri-Lin, king of Mari in western Mesopotamia, also had a number of lovers, and his wife mentions them in a letter (8). An Assyrian astrological text in verse that deals with the effect of the stars on virility and love indicates that the region of Libra is a good omen for a man who wants to make himself loved by a woman, that of Pisces, for a woman who wants to be loved by a man and that of Scorpio for a man who wants to be loved by a man (9). An almanac of incantations from the period

contains prayers to be said by a man who wants to be loved by a woman, by a woman who wants to be loved by a man, and by a woman who wants to be loved by a man.

woman who wants to be loved by a man, as well as prayers to be said by a man who wants to be loved by another man. Other religious tablets have been found that contain passages on homosexual relations: "if, for example, a man has sexual relations with his companion..." (10). The context in which lesbianism is mentioned in texts of this kind is not always clear.

gender suggests that it was also commonplace (11). The references to homosexual love, alongside and in the same context as the references to heterosexual love, show that the acceptance of relationships between homosexuals and heterosexuals was also commonplace.

people of the same sex must have been rooted in the daily lives of the Mesopotamians and that, for them, the sexual love of a man for a man was considered a legitimate alternative to love between men and women.

A Babylonian religious divination text contains predictions based on sexual acts, some of which are homosexual. According to one of them, "if a man penetrates his equal from behind, that man will be the first among his brothers and colleagues". According to another, "if a man has sexual relations with a sacred prostitute, he will have no more trouble". According to a third, "if a man has sexual relations with a courtier, the worry that was gnawing at him will disappear for the whole of the following year".

Others, however, were critical of homosexual behaviour: "if a man wishes to express his virility in prison and, like a sacred prostitute, he therefore wishes to have sexual relations with men, he is behaving badly"; or: "if a man has sexual relations with men, he is behaving badly".

with a slave, he'll be in trouble" (12); this may be a warning against passive homosexuality among ordinary citizens. Although homosexuality itself was not considered negative, it seems that the context in which it was practised and the social status of the partners were matters of concern for the Babylonians.

Homosexuality and religious practices

The sacred prostitutes mentioned in this text are strangely reminiscent in their specialised role of the transvestite priests encountered by the conquistadors in Mesoamerica over three thousand years later.

From the very beginnings of Sumerian civilisation, a large proportion of the temple and palace staff were individuals who, like the two-spirit of the American Indians, were considered to be neither male nor female - in short, a third sex. The registers of a Sumerian temple from the middle of the third millennium BC mention gala priests (Akkadian: kalû), who were created, according to a Babylonian text, by the god Enki to sing "soothing laments" to the glory of the goddess Inanna. Their homosexual inclinations are clear from this Sumerian proverb: "When the gala washes his behind, he says: 'I must not stimulate what belongs to my wife. mistress (Inanna)'. In fact, the word gala (13a) was written with the signs for "penis" (giš3) and "anus" (dur), an explicit reference to the homosexuality of these male priests.

A similar figure appears in Sumerian mythology and liturgical texts from 2000 BC onwards, that of the kurgarru (13b), which is found in Akkadian texts under the name kurgarru. In Babylonian and Assyrian texts, kurgarru is generally associated with another closely related figure, the assinu (13c). The sexual nature of the assinu appears clearly in the fact that the noun assinu has the same root as the verb assinutu, "to practise sodomy" (14). The gala are also mentioned in texts describing Babylonian and Assyrian ritual, in which they seem to have played an even greater role than in Sumerian ritual. These various homosexual priests played a central role in the cult of the Mesopotamian goddess right up to Roman times.

The Mesopotamian cult of the goddess has its origins in the cults of the Neolithic period, which are themselves very different from those of the Mesopotamian period. even from Paleolithic cults. The earliest known representations of a deity are figurines and sculptures of a female goddess found at scattered sites across the Eurasian landmass, from Western Europe to Siberia, some dating back to 25,000 BC (15). Evidence of veneration of the goddess in early Neolithic agricultural settlements has been found in Anatolia and the Middle East (16). Excavations under the direction of the renowned archaeologist James Mellaart at Çatal Hüyük in Turkey, site from a colony dating back to 7500 BC, have established the continuity of the cult of the mother goddess from the Sumerian period to the Upper Palaeolithic (17). Once they had taken up farming and livestock breeding, the abundance of their harvests and the fertility of their animals took on a primordial importance for the Neolithic peoples and became the subject of religious rituals. In Neolithic farming villages, the goddess, symbolising the generative power of nature, was generally associated with the image of a bull, representing the moon god, whose fertilising power was believed to ensure the fertility of herds and abundant harvests. The imagery of the mother cow impregnated by the bull god reflected the importance of their herds to their livelihood. Numerous statuettes of the goddess accompanied by images of the bull have been found in the remains of villages in the region dating back to 6500 BC (18).

With the invasions of the Middle East by ferocious warriors in the Bronze Age - of Sumer by the The cult of the mother goddess was relegated to second place by the patriarchal male divinities that the invaders brought with them (19), as was the case with the Semites of Akkad under Sargon the Great, Anatolia and Persia by the Indo-Europeans, Babylon by Hammurabi's Amorites and Canaan by the Hebrews.

Nevertheless, the mother goddess, in her various forms, remained, as did the fertility cults and the This was an important part of the cult in the ancient world, from the Mediterranean to India, right up to the beginning of the Christian period. Called Inanna, or Queen of Heaven, by the Sumerians, the goddess was called Ishtar by the Akkadians and Babylonians. In Egypt, where the

The Pharaoh's ceremonial dress was adorned with a bull's tail, symbolising his role as husband to the goddess. The temple of the Phoenician goddess Astarte was served by homosexual priests called kelev, the cult of the Anatolian goddess Cybele was served by homosexual priests called galli. Few people know that the cult of the goddess was also a feature of the religion of the early Israelites and that, in fact, one of the temples in Jerusalem was home to homosexuals, the kadesh, until the seventh century BC.

In some parts of India, the goddess, known as Shakti, is still worshipped by transvestites known as hijras, and her temples were home to sacred male prostitutes of both sexes until the 20th century (20).

An essential element of the Mesopotamian cult of the goddess was the sacred marriage ceremony, which was celebrated on New Year's Day and during which the sexual union of the bull-moon and the goddess was represented by the king and a temple attendant respectively. The mating that took place during this ritual was considered necessary for good harvests and the fertility of the livestock. The type of sympathetic magic employed in this sexual ritual is peculiar to the rituals of primitive tribal cultures and is indicative of the antiquity of Mesopotamian religion. It is thought that a similar ritual was performed annually in the Sumerian city of Uruk between a temple attendant, who played the role of Inanna, and the king, who embodied Dumuzi, the Sumerian moon god. Numerous sensual songs celebrating the love between Inanna and Dumuzi and illustrations of the ritual have been found on cylinder seals from the same period. A cylinder seal from the Sumerian city of Elam from the beginning of the second millennium BC depicts Inanna and Dumuzi as a naked couple on a bed. The sexual charge of the cult of the Mesopotamian goddess is explicitly indicated by a Babylonian hymn from the beginning of the second millennium BC, which describes Ishtar as a sacred prostitute whom 120 men cannot satisfy. Similarly, the Syrian goddess Qudshu, associated with love and fertility, is called "the prostitute" on a monument erected in her honour in Egypt, where her cult was popular in the second millennium BC (21).

Sexual rituals of the same kind were also performed throughout the year by individuals wishing to obtain the protection, or favours, of the divinity. One of the main functions of homosexual temple servants was to have sexual relations with worshippers in the place of the goddess. The sperm deposited in the bodies of these men was an offering to the goddess. The sum of money they paid to the temple in exchange for this service went towards its upkeep. This practice has been called "sacred prostitution", a somewhat misleading term, since the corresponding rituals were an integral part of the cult and did not simply consist of a "ritual" sex trade. Some researchers doubt that the temple attendants actually indulged the sexual desires of the faithful. However, as we have already pointed out - the hieroglyph for "gala" combines the signs for penis and anus and the word "assinu" derives from the verb "to sodomise" - the

The names of some of them and the many textual references both to the homosexual relations they had in a ritual setting and to the divine favours, or good fortune, that awaited the men who had sexual relations with them, leave no doubt as to the nature of their function.

Transsexuals and people of the third sex also played an important role in the palaces. Court officials were called either sa'ziqui ('bearded') or sa'res ('beardless'), a term that has sometimes been translated as 'eunuch' (22a). It is highly likely that these men were not eunuchs per se, but passive homosexuals. An important class of his res were the girsequ; in Sumerian texts from the end of the third millennium BC, where they appear as palace or temple servants, they are often presented as attached to kings, while onirromantic treatises mention them in the same context as assinu, i.e. as sexual objects entirely at the disposal of men. Beardless figures of this kind are depicted on Assyrian bas-reliefs as musicians or royal assistants (22b).

As we saw above, the sexual rituals in which priests of the third sex, or transvestite priests, took part in Mesopotamian civilisation bear remarkable similarities to those practised in Mesoamerican cultures with which came into contact with the conquistadors. Cieza de Leon describes with disgust the practices of the priests he witnessed in Peru: "In every temple or important place of worship, they have a man or two, or more, dressed as women from childhood, talking like women and imitating them in manners, clothes and everything. The men, especially the chiefs, have carnal, impure relations with them on feasts and holy days, as if it were a rite or ceremony (23)." The homosexual rituals of the cult of the Mesopotamian goddess also bear a striking resemblance to a ritual Hopi, during which the berdache, or two-spirit, graced with the title of 'Maize Virgin', is sodomised by the brave Hopi in order to guarantee a good maize harvest (24). Similarly, among the Mandan Sioux, the two-spirit was sodomised by the young braves of the tribe, so that the tribe would have an abundance of buffalo (25).

The remarkable similarities between the mythical beliefs of Mesopotamia and those of the indigenous peoples of the Americas do not end there. The Mesopotamians believed that the gala, assinu and kurgarru were called and literally transformed into women by the goddess. Similarly, certain American tribes believed that berdaches fulfilled their vocation at the behest of a soul, or "goddess". of a goddess (26). Just as the American Indians believed that berdaches were created by the Great Spirit for the well-being of their tribes, so the Sumerians considered sacred prostitution, like royalty, justice and truth, to be an institution of divine right (27). Many plains Indians believed that having sex with a berdache before a battle

brought good luck. Similarly, the Babylonians believed that having sex with an assinu, or kurgarru, brought good luck. Like the berdache, the assinu was considered to have magical powers: according to one text, "if a man touches the head of an assinu, he will defeat his enemy". For to ward off the threat posed by a lunar eclipse, the king would ritually touch the head of an assinu (28). Like the berdache, the assinu was said to have the power to cure illness and foretell the future. Just as the berdache was the guardian of the traditions of ritual dance and song, so the gala, assinu and kurgarru sang hymns to the goddess, performed ritual dances and played the role of musician in the temples. In short, the berdache and transvestite priests of ancient Mesopotamia were considered to be institutions of divine right, were supposed to have been called by a goddess who had transformed their sexuality, were the sexual objects of other goddesses, and were considered to be the object of the goddess's love. men, to whom they brought good luck, were supposed to be endowed with magical powers and, in this They acted as healers and seers, and were the main performers of ritual dances and songs.

Linguistic and cultural evidence suggests that it was in prehistoric times that people of the third sex began to fulfil these specialised roles. In fact, some researchers believe that kurgarru may date back to 5600 BC, long before the development of temple civilisation, which would indicate that the first to occupy this role were probably the transvestite shamans of the Neolithic tribes (29), whose functions may have been fulfilled by other such figures as early as the Palaeolithic period, during which it is thought that major migrations took place from Asia to America.

Male-male love

The specialised roles of people of the third sex represent just one aspect of the diversity of sexuality among the peoples of ancient Mesopotamia. The many references in religious and astrological texts to love between members of the same sex clearly show that homosexual experiences were part of the lives of ordinary men and women, as well as transvestite attendants in temples and palaces. Indeed, sexual love between two virile heroes is a

The central theme of the Epic of Gilgamesh, an extraordinary work of literature that originated in Sumerian legends and was a great success for thousands of years in the ancient Near East.

Historical times began with the invention of writing, around 3200 BC, in the Sumerian city-states. The Epic of Gilgamesh, the oldest known literary work, was written around the middle of the third millennium BC and is based on a Sumerian legend that already existed in the ancient world.

oral tradition (30), deals largely with the love of the hero, Gilgamesh, for one of his companions, Enkidu.

Gilgamesh, the legendary king of the Sumerian city of Uruk, was born of the union of a mortal man with a goddess. Through his mother, a goddess, he was endowed not only with exceptional physical strength, but also with great beauty, a large chest and, the texts say with approval, a large phallus (31). At the beginning of the story, Gilgamesh is already a mature man, "superior to all the others". men in beauty and strength, driven by the unfulfilled desires of his semi-divine nature, against which no one is a match in love or war" (32). Endowed with extraordinary vigour

Gilgamesh never ceases to pursue the sons and daughters of the city of Uruk, which never ceases to worry its inhabitants. They prayed to the goddess to protect their sons and daughters from Gilgamesh's concupiscence. The people implored the goddess with these words: "It is you, Aruru, who

create this man, now create for him a rival, let him be comparable to him in strength of heart and body, let them fight ceaselessly together, so that Uruk will gain peace and tranquillity." In response, the goddess "washed her hands, took a handful of clay and threw it into the plain...".

And so she created the valiant Enkidu. Gilgamesh, fascinated by the tales he had heard of a great wild man with a "body covered in hair" who had been seen on the plain, sent a temple prostitute in search of him. When the courtesan found him, she said: "I will show you Gilgamesh full of life, and you will look at him and examine his face, glowing with virility and vigour. His body shines with charm and seduction, he is more vigorous than you, and he never stops day or night. She added: "The god Shamash (the great god) loves Gilgamesh and protects him. Anu, Enlil and Ea have granted him vast ears, even before you leave the plain Gilgamesh in Uruk will see you in his dreams". (33). As expected, Gilgamesh dreamt of Enkidu before meeting him. He recounted his dream to his mother: "I walked proudly among the heroes, the sky shone with stars, and a star, like a hero from the sky of Anou fell towards

me. I tried to carry her, but she was too heavy. I tried to push her, but I couldn't move her. Around her, the locals gathered and kissed her feet. I loved her and bent over her, as one bends over a woman, I lifted her up and laid her at your feet, and you made her equal to me.

His mother, the goddess, interpreted his dream as follows: "The star in the sky, the one like you, the one that fell on you like a hero from the sky of Anou, the one you wanted to carry that was too heavy for you, the one you wanted to push that you couldn't move, the one you loved that you leaned over as one bends over a woman, the one you laid at my feet, the one I made equal to you, represents a faithful companion full of strength who will come to your aid. He is the strongest in the land and of great vigour; his strength and vigour are like those of Anou. The fact that you have loved him, that you have leaned over him as one leans over a woman, means that he will always be with you, that he will never abandon you."

Gilgamesh then dreamt of a great axe and told his mother about his dream: "I saw an axe. I loved it and bent over it as if it were a woman, then I laid it at your feet and you made it equal to me". In another translation of this passage, by the great scholar Thorkild Jacobsen, the sexual nature of the relationship is even more explicit: "I loved her and bent over her like a woman, then I laid her at your feet and you made her equal to me.

I loved her and lived with her as if she were a woman. (34) Gilgamesh's mother explained to him that it was not an axe. "The axe you saw is a man. That you loved it, that you bent over it as you bend over a woman, and that I made it equal to you, means that a faithful companion full of strength will come to your aid. He is the strongest in the land and of great vigour."

If there was still any doubt about the sexual connotations of these two dreams, several puns in the story underline the sexual nature of the relationship that is foretold to Gilgamesh. In the first dream, *kisru*, the word for the meteorite that fell from the sky and towards which Gilgamesh "leaned as towards a woman", resembles the word *kezru*, prostitute. Similarly, *assinu*, the word for axe, resembles the word "assinu", a homosexual employed in the service of a temple (35). The sexual connotations of the puns made about the very objects Gilgamesh makes love to in his dreams and which The fact that Enkidu represented the companion who had been announced to him would not have escaped the notice of contemporaries. When Enkidu arrived in Uruk, the men of the city fell under his spell: "The men rejoiced, saying, 'He is now a hero and a rival like our hero; yes, for Gilgamesh, like a god, he is now like, and like.'" When Enkidu met Gilgamesh, the latter was about to invite himself into a wedding party and deflower the bride, but Enkidu blocked his path. "One holding the other they struggle. Like wild bulls they roar, they break the doorpost and the wall shakes. Gilgamesh and Enkidu, holding each other, struggle like two wild bulls". Gilgamesh emerged victorious from the fight. Enkidu said to him: "You are unique among men; you are truly the son of your mother, the goddess Ninsun, the wild cow. She gave birth to you and the god Enlil raised your head above men, so he destined you for royalty". (36). After which, "They kissed, sealing their friendship". Delighted with his new companion, Gilgamesh began to behave like a true king, acting solely in the interests of his city and his people.

Since it is inconceivable that the central figure of a legend, or an epic, does not reflect the values and feelings of the audience for whom it was written, it follows that the relationships between the characters and the audience must be based on the same values and feelings.

homosexuality between virile men was known and even admired in the Sumerian city-states where the legend of Gilgamesh was born, and later in the Akkadian and Babylonian civilisations, where it was written down. As mythology generally reflects the values of a people in a metaphorical way, the story of Gilgamesh and Enkidu can be seen as representative of the tendency of the Sumerian, Babylonian and Akkadian peoples to give excessive sexual energy to the idea of the "good life".

(Gilgamesh) a direction (Gilgamesh's friendship with Enkidu) that promotes the well-being of society.

It is clear from the way the relationship is presented that the people hope it will benefit society. In their prayer to the goddess Aruru, the people clearly express what they want: "It was you Aruru who created this man, now create for him a rival, let him be comparable to him in strength of heart and body, let them fight ceaselessly together, so that Uruk will gain peace and tranquillity". It's worth noting that in the languages of the ancient Near East - and even today in Arabic - a commonly used expression for sexual arousal is "lifting of the heart". So, in praying for the birth of someone "who is by force of heart... comparable" to Gilgamesh, the people of Uruk clearly wanted Gilgamesh to have a sexually matched companion, so that they could "gain peace and tranquillity". As Thorkild Jacobsen sums up, "Aruru hears their prayers and creates Enkidu, a being whose sexual vigour is as great as Gilgamesh's, so that, falling in love with each other, they can neutralise each other and the inhabitants of Uruk can regain 'tranquillity'" (37a).

It is also significant that the people did not pray for Gilgamesh to marry, even though, given Gilgamesh's royal status, he probably already had a wife. The epic clearly indicates that, in this culture, contemporaries did not consider reproduction to be the sole purpose of the sexual drive. In a stable, prosperous society with a steadily growing population, it was possible to have a wife. There was no need to restrict sexual activity to reproduction, and it may be that the Sumerians and Babylonians thought it desirable to divert their sexual urges away from heterosexual adventures. nature has endowed man with (37b).

Indeed, the prominence given in the epic to the friendship between the two men underlines the recognition that one of the primary aims of human sexual desire is not the satisfaction of sexual desire, but the satisfaction of sexual desire. sexuality itself, nor necessarily procreation, but companionship. In fact, it is through the loss of what Gilgamesh has loved most - his beloved companion, Enkidu - that the hero is driven to set off in search of immortality and the meaning of life, the central theme of the epic. This theme of character he transitory nature of life and existence is one of the most profound questions facing mankind, and one that recurs repeatedly in the greatest works of art produced by human culture. That the loss of a beloved companion by this virile hero should serve as the basis for the development of the main theme of this epic is eloquent testimony to the positive judgement the Mesopotamians had about love affairs between virile men.

Evidence of homosexual behaviour in ancient Egypt

Around the time of the great Sumerian city-state civilisation, what would become an even greater civilisation was beginning to take shape in Egypt, once again in the midst of a verdant and fertile river valley. But, protected from nomadic invasions by the vast deserts that surrounded it, the indigenous Egyptian culture developed into a unique and sophisticated civilisation, which, on the whole, remained sheltered from outside influences. And here, too, scientists have found evidence that homosexuality was common and accepted, and that homosexual practices were no different from those prevalent in ancient South-West Asia.

As the Egyptians paid particular attention to the funerary rites of the pharaohs and the fact that the Egyptians were not the only dignitaries, and were generally obsessed with the afterlife, means that our knowledge of Egyptian culture and customs comes mainly from the tombs that have survived and from various documents found near the mummified bodies they contain. As a result, there is little evidence of the erotic lives of the ancient Egyptians. The scarcity of documents relating to their sex lives can probably also be explained by their modesty.

Although most Egyptologists and historians maintain that homosexuality was unknown to the ancient Egyptians and that, in fact, they disapproved of it, there is enough evidence to show not only that homosexuality was a well-known phenomenon to the Egyptians, but that it appears to have been a common practice among them.

to have been a fact of everyday life. A hieroglyphic inscription in a tomb from the third millennium BC tells us that King Pepi II Neferkare visited one of his generals, Sisine, a senior bachelor civil servant, every evening to have a good time (38). Numerous erotic drawings show tender embraces between pharaohs and young men. A 12th Dynasty drawing engraved on a pillar in the Temple of Amun at Karnak shows the pharaoh Senusret I tenderly embracing his friend Phtah (39). An engraving on a stele shows Akhnaten caressing his son-in-law, Smenkhare. The two men are naked, something very rare in royal Egyptian iconography. Smenkhare received the affectionate titles that had previously been given to Akhnaten's concubines. An Egyptian tomb from the third millennium BC was found to have been built for two courtiers, one of whom was apparently a court barber. The two men are depicted in suggestive poses in bas-reliefs from the tomb (40).

The ancient Egyptians believed that it was a good omen to have homosexual relations with a god. One coffin bears the words: "I will swallow Re's phallus". Another coffin reads, in reference to the god Geb: "His phallus is between the buttocks of his son and heir". Instructions from the vizier Ptahotep (around 2600 BC) advise against sodomising a young boy against his will, indicating 1) that anal intercourse between men was so common that the need arose to combat abuse and 2) that there was nothing wrong with practising sodomy on a young boy if he was willing.

An episode in Egyptian mythology in which two deities, Horus and Set, have anal intercourse is further proof that the Egyptians were aware of homosexuality (41). As reported in a Middle Kingdom papyrus dating from the third millennium BC and quoted by Vern Bullough, "Then the majesty of Set said to the majesty of Horus: 'How beautiful is your hindquarters! ... Then the majesty of Horus said to his mother Isis; 'Set to know me [carnally].'" Then she said to him, "Beware, do not give him your consent to this when he has spoken to you about it once more. You'll have to tell him. It's much too painful for me because you are much too heavy for me. My strength can't cope with your strength, you'll tell him. When he has presented you with his strength, you will have to place your fingers between your buttocks... Look, he will find it extremely pleasant [...] the semen from his phallus without letting Ra see it" (42) Horus, following the advice of his mother, Isis, collected in the palm of his hand the semen from his phallus. hand the sperm ejaculated by Set and, while Set was looking the other way, threw it into a river. When Horus told Isis what had happened, she asked him to emit sperm himself and give it to her. She took Horus' sperm, spread it on a lettuce and offered it to Seth, who ate it. When Set boasted to the other gods that he had dominated Horus sexually, Horus denied everything. To settle their dispute, the gods summoned the seed of Horus and that of Seth. Seth's seed answered the gods from the bottom of the stream where Horus had thrown it, while Horus' seed came out of Seth's forehead in the form of a golden disc. The gods therefore gave credence to Horus' version of the story. had given of the incident. Then one of the gods, Thoth, removed the golden disc from Seth's head and placed it on his own head. It was from this moment onwards that, in Egyptian mythology, Thoth was considered to be the "god of the gods". as the god of the moon. The accession of Thoth to the status of moon god following the union between Set and Horus is mentioned in other sources where Thoth is called "son of the two lords" (43).

Although we do not have enough information on ancient Egypt to understand the role homosexuality played in Egyptian culture, it is certain that homosexual practices were accepted there. The fact that the documents that refer to it do so in a banal tone shows that it must have been commonplace.

The ancient Israelites

Homosexuality is also attested to in the Hebrew Scriptures, which contain numerous references to homosexuality among both the Jewish people and their neighbours. Many will probably be surprised to find that there are strong indications that homosexual practices were an integral part of early Israelite life too. In fact, the evidence of the Bible shows that the sexual attitudes and habits of the Israelites were not very different from those of other peoples of the ancient Near East. A number of biblical passages speak of the

the regular participation of the first Israelites in homosexual cult practices that have been documented among their neighbours (44).

Moreover, we know that the early Israelites did not prohibit homosexuality at all (45). According to biblical scholar Louis M. Epstein, "sodomy was not forbidden in the Epstein adds: "Sexuality is singularly absent from pre-exilic Hebrew preaching. Epstein adds, "Sexuality is singularly absent from preaching among the pre-exilic Hebrews." (46) It is therefore unlikely that the first Israelites were less tolerant of homosexual practices than the Egyptians, or than the peoples of Mesopotamia, from where Abraham is said to have emigrated and where homosexual practices were more widespread. homosexuality were common (47). The hostility of the Scriptures towards homosexuality only dates from after the return from Babylonian exile, towards the end of the sixth century BC.

The cult of the mother goddess and homosexual rituals among the early Israelites

The first Israelites belonged to a Semitic warrior culture similar to that of the tribes of Semitic warriors who conquered Sumer and founded the Akkadian and Babylonian empires. Originally from the arid desert regions of the south, the Hebrew tribes, led by a caste of priests-warriors, invaded Canaan in the second millennium BC and then waged a series of wars of conquest to overcome the resistance of the indigenous Canaanites (48). The violence with which the Israelite invaders subdued the indigenous peoples of Canaan is amply attested by numerous passages in the Bible, which describe the massacres of the populations that resisted the Israelites. Israelites (49). Like the other warrior invaders of the Bronze Age, the Hebrews brought with them a fierce and jealous god of war and sought for several centuries to impose their religion and patriarchal ideology on the Canaanites, who worshipped a goddess (50). However, from In the same way, the Indo-European tribes who invaded the Middle East and the Aegean imposed their male divinities on the conquered peoples, while assimilating a number of rituals from their cult, the Hebrew tribes absorbed the indigenous Canaanite cults and rituals into their worship, while continuing to worship Yahweh. As a result, the worship practices of the Hebrews in the period following the conquest and colonisation of Canaan were particularly polytheistic; the cult of the Yahweh, the tribal divinity of the Israelites, was mixed with the orgastic rituals associated with the cult of Asherah, the Canaanite mother goddess, and Baal, her son and companion (51a).

Like the Sumerian goddess Inanna and her husband Dumuzi, the two Canaanite deities controlled the fertility of livestock and the arrival of rain, essential for good harvests. The animal representation of Baal was the bull, symbolising the fertilising role he had with the goddess. As we saw above, the association of the bull with the goddess as part of fertility rituals was widespread.

in the region, dating back to 6500 BC. The bull was also a symbol of the ancient god of the Hebrews (51b). Some biblical scholars believe that the original god of the Israelites was Baal and that the cult of Yahweh was largely an extension of the cult of Baal and developed in reaction to the cult of the goddess, which prevailed in the region (51c). The first description of Yahweh as an all-powerful warrior god is almost identical to the description of the goddess of Baal.

description in a Canaanite text of Baal as the god of storms (52). Given the presence of the goddess's cult throughout the ancient Middle East, it is highly likely that the Israelites of the period preceding their arrival in Canaan heard of the fertility rituals to which Baal was subjected.

goddess and her husband in this region.

In the period before the Israelites arrived in Canaan, Yahweh was known to the Israelites primarily as an all-powerful warrior god. Yahweh had defeated Pharaoh, parted the waters of the Red Sea and led the Israelites through the wilderness of Sinai. Yahweh tore down the walls of Jericho, allowing the Israelites to enter Canaan. He had destroyed the armies of the Philistines and the Canaanites. The Israelites therefore saw Yahweh as a powerful and formidable protector, who struck down their enemies and inflicted terrible punishment on those who offended him. However, Yahweh was not seen as a god who intervened in everyday activities such as agriculture and animal husbandry (53). Since the conquering Hebrew tribes adopted a farming and herding lifestyle as soon as they settled in Canaan, it would be natural that they also adopted the fertility and fecundity rituals practised by the Canaanites. Since they did not believe that the abundance of their crops and the fecundity of their livestock depended on Yahweh, it would be natural for them to have adopted the fertility and fecundity rituals practised by the Canaanites.

would seem logical that the newly settled Israelites should have relied on Yahweh to help them to protect themselves in times of national crisis and turned to the goddess and the fertilising power of her divine husband to watch over their crops and flocks. There is no doubt that the early Israelites embraced the fertility rituals associated with the goddess cult after their arrival in Canaan. Numerous references in the Hebrew Scriptures show that the Israelites' participation in the cult of Baal and Asherah, with its homosexual rituals and sacred prostitutes, was extensive and continuous. In fact, the worship of Baal and Asherah persisted among the Israelites for over seven centuries, from the period following the conquest and settlement in Canaan, which most biblical scholars place at around 1400 BCE, to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the deportation of the Israelites to Babylon in the 6th century BC. The participation of the Israelites in the rituals of the cult of Baal and the goddess is mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures as early as the period of the Judges, which immediately followed the Israelite invasion of Canaan (54). The Scriptural passages also contain a number of references to the presence in the places of worship of Asherim, images or symbols of Asherah, along with "sacred pillars", or "Asherah poles", which scholars consider to be phallic symbols, linked to the fertility rites that were an element of the cult of the goddess in the region (55). The Scriptures frequently describe the Baal cult in parallel with rituals in honour of Asherah, which is not surprising given the interdependence of the two deities in protecting crops and the environment.

cattle (56).

The cult of Baal and the goddess became firmly rooted in the lives of the first Israelites after their arrival. The fact that the Israelites were established in Canaan is reflected in their place names (57) and the extent of their participation in the rituals of the cult of Baal and Asherah is indicated by the number of priests who worshipped them. According to 1 Kings 18, during the reign of King Ahab in the ninth century BC, there were 450 priests of Baal and 450 priests of Asherah among the Israelites, a large number which implies that a large part of the population provided for their maintenance (58). According to a recent study, it appears that the Ark of the Covenant, the most important symbol of the Hebrew religion, did not originally contain the Ten Commandments, but a bronze statue of a snake, a symbol associated with the goddess throughout the Hebrew world. the ancient Middle East (59). According to 2 Kings 18, this statue was worshipped in the Temple in Jerusalem alongside an image of Asherah and remained there until the time of King Hezekiah, at the beginning of the 7th century BC. our era (60).

There is also significant archaeological evidence of the cult of the goddess among the ancient Israelites. During excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, near modern-day Hebron, the most important religious artefacts were found. Many of the figurines found in the layers dating from the period before the invasion of Canaan were Asherah ceramic figurines. However, they were also very numerous in the layers dating from later periods, i.e. the centuries following the invasions when the city was rebuilt by the Israelites. According to archaeologist Raphaël Patai, "The archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that these figurines were very popular among the Hebrews". From an examination of both archaeological and scriptural data, Rabbi Patai concluded that, until "the end of the Hebrew monarchy [i.e. the time of the Babylonian invasion], the worship of the ancient Canaanite gods was an integral part of the religion of the Hebrews" (61).

As in neighbouring Mesopotamia, the rituals of the cult of the goddess and her husband involved the practice of sympathetic magic, deemed necessary to promote the fertility of livestock and crops, but they were also orgiastic in nature. Copulation with the sacred prostitutes of the two sexes, substitutes for the goddess, were intended to impregnate the goddess and thus ensure the health and growth of the flocks, or to bring about other favourable events. There are eight references in the Hebrew Scriptures to the Kadesh (62), the temple prostitutes, and to the kadeshem, their female counterparts and, as we have seen above, in Jerusalem the kadesh were housed in a building, which was not razed to the ground until the end of the seventh century BC, during the reign of King Josiah (640-609 BC) (63). A ritual involving masturbation in front of the idol of Baal was practised to sexually excite the god and thus encourage him to bring rain, which would make Mother Earth fertile. There were also rituals to initiate young men into "the sexual and religious exaltation of Baal". orgasm" in the temple and ceremonies during which the priests had oral and genital contact with the faithful. These ceremonies have survived to the present day in some Orthodox circumcision rituals, which include ritual fellatio of the penis (64).

The majority of followers of the cult of Baal and Asherah appear to have been women. As well as contributing to the fertility of the fields and the fecundity of livestock, the goddess was the patron saint of childbirth. As such, she was a source of comfort to pregnant women. faced the trials of childbirth, a process in which they could lose their lives. In Jeremiah 44, when the prophet preaches before a crowd of men and their wives, predicting the destruction that awaits those who worship "the Queen of Heaven", a reference to the goddess, the Scriptures affirm that his message was addressed "particularly to all women" (65). Among the women followers of Baal and Asherah were undoubtedly agricultural workers on rural farms, but there were also some women of high rank. Maacah, the mother of the Judean king Asa, is denounced in 1 Kings 15:13 for erecting an asherim for Asherah.

Contrary to the widespread hypothesis that the Israelites repeatedly abandoned Yahweh for the worship of Asherah and Baal, an impression favoured by statements in the Scriptures, it is clear that the worship of the goddess and her husband and the worship of Yahweh coexisted for many years. many centuries. The coexistence of the cult of the goddess and her husband with rituals in honour of Yahweh is well illustrated by the aforementioned cult of the bronze serpent in the Temple and by the aforementioned housing of prostitutes in one of the buildings adjoining the Temple of Jerusalem.

Although the goddess and her husband were worshipped alongside the rituals of the cult of Yahweh for much of the ancient history of the Israelites, this does not mean that harmony reigned between the two competing cults. The fierce opposition of Yahweh's priests to the worship of Asherah and Baal is evident in Scripture (66). The main force of opposition to the cult of the goddess was the Aaronic priesthood of the southern kingdom of Judah, which controlled the worship of the Temple of Jerusalem, and the Shiloh, or Mushites, priestly clan of the northern kingdom of Israel, who were the great rivals of Aaron's priests. Despite their bitter rivalry, they had long held the same contempt for the rituals of the goddess and her husband and considered the the majority of Israelites to take part in these rituals as a permanent threat to their prestige and authority.

The historical animosity of the priesthood against the goddess-worship of the Canaanites had its origins in the long-standing efforts of the Hebrew priestly power to impose its tribal god, Yahweh, and its patriarchal ideology on the unrepentant goddess-worshippers who were the Canaanites (67). The anger of the priesthood was undoubtedly aroused by the adoption of the rituals of the cult of Baal and Asherah by a large part of the Israelite population, which included the population of the Canaanites. Canaanites. The historian Christopher Witcombe has pointed out that, in the light of the fight for

making Yahweh the sole god of the Israelites, "much of the Old Testament can be read as a Yahwist propaganda tract" against the indigenous cults of Baal and Asherah. As

As Witcombe observes, "the tactic adopted by the Yahwists in their efforts to defeat Baal consisted in demonising the cult and portraying Baal as an evil god, a demon hostile to humanity" (68a). Hence the assimilation of the animal symbols of Baal and Asherah, the bull and the

The devil took the form of a serpent to trick Eve into eating the forbidden fruit (68b).

It should be noted that the passages condemning, or denigrating, the rites of Baal and Asherah in the Hebrew Scriptures are found almost exclusively in the books that were written, compiled, edited and amended by the Aaronite priesthood in the period following the return from Babylonian exile at the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BC. These books are Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua,

Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings, which all consist of texts written or compiled from earlier texts by members of the Aaronite clergy, or the priests of Shiloh. According to the (69), they were compiled and edited in their final form by an Aaronite priest, or a group of Aaronite priests, in the period following the return from exile. Some biblical scholars believe that their editor was Ezra (70), Aaron's priest and religious leader of the Israelites after their return from exile.

return from Babylon. This hypothesis would be in line with rabbinic tradition, which states that Ezra wrote the texts that became the Torah in 440 BC. Shortly after the Torah and the historical books were brought together in a single work, the Books of Chronicles, which contain also containing negative references to Baal and Asherah, were added to the kitvei kodesh by an Aaronite scribe. Most scholars believe that they were written by Jeremiah himself, a Shiloh priest.

There are few references to Baal and Asherah in books that were not written by priests. Five negative mentions of Baal are made in the Book of Hosea, which contains the writings of the minor prophet Hosea, a contemporary of Isaiah and Amos. The great prophet Isaiah, who was not a member of the priesthood, railed against Israel's sins, but only mentioned the Asherah poles three times (71) and made no reference to Baal. It is interesting to note that Amos, who, like his contemporary Isaiah, was not a member of the priesthood, but was a farmer and herder of humble origins, makes no reference to the worship of Baal or Asherah. Amos emphasises the compassion and The writings of the priesthood focus primarily on obedience to Yahweh and the Law as interpreted by the priesthood. Priestly writings focus primarily on obedience to Yahweh and the Law as interpreted by the priesthood, and the negative consequences for those who deviate from the Law.

Given that a large part of the Israelite population had been taking part in the rituals of the cult of Baal and Asherah for many centuries, and that they did so under the authority of the kings of Israel and Judah, who were in charge of the rituals.

were themselves involved, it is difficult to accept the assertion that the ancient Israelites as a nation identified themselves solely with the worship of Yahweh and repeatedly fell back into idolatry because of their moral weakness, just as an unfaithful woman commits adultery, theme recurring in the books of Scripture written by the priesthood. On the contrary, it is clear that the religious practices of the Israelites were openly polytheistic for a long period of their early history, with rituals designed to obtain Yahweh's protection against the Israelites' enemies. alternating with fertility rituals and homosexual rituals in honour of Baal and Asherah.

The well-documented rivalry between the priesthood of Aaron and that of Shiloh also demonstrates that religious piety and devotion to Yahweh were not their only concern and that they consciously sought to eliminate their rivals in order to secure sovereign authority over the Israelites, whether the competitors had been priests of Yahweh or another god. In this context, it seems likely that the priesthood presented the cult of Baal and Asherah in a negative light, the better to highlight the virtue it claimed to embody by turning the Israelites away from paganism and thus sparing them punishment from Yahweh.

It should also be noted that in most of the passages condemning the worship of Baal and Asherah, it is women who are accused of turning the Hebrews away from Yahweh (72). As we saw in 1 Kings 11:4, "in the old age of Solomon his wives inclined his heart to other gods; and his heart was not wholeheartedly toward the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father" (73). The king "erected an altar to Baal in the house of Baal which he built in Samaria" (74a) "and he made an idol of Astarte" (Asherah) (74b). Because of the strong support it gave to the worship of Baal and Asherah and her opposition to the priests of Yahweh, Jezebel was reviled by priestly writers. In fact, her name became synonymous with "wicked or shameless woman". (75), or "an evil and manipulative woman" (76). As women played an important role in the worship of the goddess among the Israelites, they came to be regarded by the priests of Yahweh as weak beings, prone to sin and to lead men astray.

The priesthood's ongoing campaign to purge the Hebrew cult of the rituals of Baal and Asherah may also have been spurred by nationalism. Several historians have argued that the Hebrew leadership's hostility to these cults was less a moral crusade than a nationalistic rejection of native Canaanite religion in favour of a strictly Hebrew national god (77). The historian David F. Greenberg has observed that the energetic measures to eradicate the cult of the goddess under the monarchs of Judea were taken at times when they were asserting Jewish nationalism (78).

It is important to note that, in the many passages containing negative references to Baal and Asherah, the priests do not consider those rituals in which the kadesh participated to be outrages against morality. The priests indicate their disapproval of these rituals by the Hebrew term "to-ebah" ("idolatry") (79). Similarly, when the kadesh, a term incorrectly translated as "sodomites" were finally banished from the temple, and it was, as the Bible says, "a miracle". Epstein writes, "less for moral reasons than because of the idolatry of their cult" (80). Given the total absence of any condemnation of homosexuality in the pre-exilic texts and the massive participation of the Israelites in the rituals of the cult of Asherah and Baal, which included a large number of homosexual practices, the idea, shared by almost all biblical scholars, that the early Israelites always and uniformly condemned homosexuality is therefore totally unfounded.

The sin of Sodom

One of the oldest and best-known stories in the Bible is the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire. For many centuries, Christians believed that God had inflicted a punishment on the people of Sodom and its twin city, Gomorrah, because they had practised homosexuality, which, according to Aquinas, is one of the most serious sins, so serious that the name of the first city has been used to designate this practice since medieval times. However, the association of homosexual practices with the sin of Sodom is just one of the many myths that have developed around sex and homosexuality since the time of early Christianity. If, as biblical scholars have noted, there is absolutely no preaching about sexual morality and no prohibition of homosexuality in the pre-exilic writings of the Old Testament, Homosexuality could not have been the sin that caused the destruction of the two cities. In Genesis, Lot's stay in Sodom and the subsequent destruction of that city would have taken place during the lifetime of Abraham, who, according to biblical chronology, would have lived some 1,500 years before the Babylonian conquest of Israel and the subsequent exile of the Hebrews. The common opinion that the sin that caused the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah was homosexuality is therefore a misconception that contradicts the data in the Bible and the traditional interpretation of history in the Christian and Jewish teachings.

The book of Ezekiel defines the sin of Sodom very differently: "This was the crime of your sister Sodom. She was proud, she lived in abundance and carefree security, she and her And she did not support the hand of the poor and needy". (Ezekiel 16: 49). A similar interpretation is given in Wisdom: "... It was right that they (the sinners) should suffer because of their crimes, for they had indeed shown cruel hatred towards strangers. Others of old did not welcome strangers passing through, but they enslaved strangers who were their benefactors". (Book of Wisdom, 19, 13-14). Similarly, Ecclesiastes 16 says: "

God did not spare the city where Lot dwelt as a stranger, and he hated its inhabitants because of the insolence of their words (81)." Jesus clearly expresses his own understanding of the sin of Sodom in several of the Gospels: "But in every city where you enter and are not welcomed, go into the squares and say, 'Even the dust of your city, which sticks to our feet, we...'"

let us take it away and leave it with you. But know this: the reign of God is drawing near." I declare to you On the last day, Sodom will be treated better than this city (82). Most scholars, both Jewish and Christian, traditionally consider that the sin that caused the destruction of Sodom was arrogance and lack of charity, carelessness, inhospitality or cruelty towards strangers or those in need.

Genesis 18 and 19 tell the story of two angels sent by God to Sodom to investigate the The angels took on human form and arrived in the city. The angels, having taken human form, arrived at the city and Lot put them up in his house for the night. A crowd gathered round Lot's house and asked him to let them out, so that they could "to know". The verb "to know" is used in a number of Old Testament passages in the sense of "to have sexual relations with" (83). Lot refused, saying: "... do not think of committing such a great evil. I have two daughters who are still virgins: I will bring them to you: use them as you please, provided you do not harm these men, for they have entered my house as if it were a place of safety."

The crowd rejected Lot's plea and, when they tried to break down the door of his house, the angels blinded them, then asked Lot and his family to flee, after which the city was destroyed.

The passage makes it clear that the destruction of Sodom had less to do with the sexuality of its inhabitants than with their inhospitable attitude. Lot puts his two virgin daughters at the disposal of the unruly mob to do with as they please, but demands in return that they leave the two men alone, "because they have come into my house as into a place of safety". The brutal treatment that the men of Sodom were about to inflict on the visitors, which many biblical scholars regard as an attempt at rape, was a flagrant violation of the centuries-old Near Eastern tradition, still alive in much of the Arab world, of offering food, shelter and protection to travellers whose survival in these arid lands literally depended on the kindness of its inhabitants. The association of The introduction of homosexuality as such with the destruction of Sodom came much later in Jewish history. In fact, several scholars have argued that the sexual elements of the story were not inserted until relatively recent times (84).

On the other hand, the reaction of the men of Sodom to the arrival of the two angels, who we can assume had taken the form of exceptionally handsome young men, shows that the writers of Genesis were well aware of the homosexual tendencies of the men of Canaan, Sodom and Gomorrah being Canaanite cities. The account in the Book of Judges of a similar episode in the Judean city of Gaba shows that the authors of the Bible were also aware that the Hebrews had homosexual tendencies.

In the story, a traveller and his concubine arrived in Gaba at the end of the day and set up their litter in the town square to spend the night. An old man approached them and urged them to spend the night with him, an invitation which the travellers accepted. Shortly after arriving at the A crowd of men surrounded the house and asked the host, "Bring out the man who came into your house, so that we may know him. (Judges, 19:22) The host refused, saying, "No. I will not, my brethren, do no evil, I pray you; since this man has entered my house, do no evil. Do not commit this infamy. Behold, I have a virgin daughter and this man has a concubine. You will dishonour them and do to them as you please. But do not do such an infamous deed to this man." (Judges, 19:23-24) The men refused the offer and insisted that the traveller be taken out of the house, which clearly shows that they had tendencies homosexuals. Had they been normal heterosexuals, whom scholars are convinced were made up the vast majority of men in biblical times, we might think that they would have accepted the man's offer to hand over his virgin daughter and the traveller's concubine. In any case, once they had rejected the offer, the traveller brought them his concubine and they "gave her up". and they abused her all night until morning, and then they sent her away at dawn." (Judges, 19:25) At dawn, the traveller went out and found his concubine dead. Outraged by the the savage treatment that men had inflicted on his concubine, he warned the twelve tribes of Israel of the crime, who came and destroyed the city (85).

As in the case of the attempted rape of the angels by the men of Sodom, the intention of the Gaba's men to rape the traveller was considered by the Hebrews to be a flagrant violation of the obligation of kindness and hospitality towards strangers. The old man himself said: "Since this man has entered my house, do not commit this infamy", a statement almost identical to that which Lot did to the men of Sodom. While it seems clear that the men of Gaba intended to rape the traveller, it is certain that the most serious of their offences in the eyes of the Hebrews, apart from the rape and murder of the concubine, was their violent disregard for the tradition of kindness and respect for others. hospitality towards strangers and the needy. At no time were the men of Gaba denounced for wanting to have homosexual relations with the traveller. The main problem was not the homosexual act they were about to commit, but the violent and coercive manner in which they intended to commit it. Rather than showing that the Hebrews disapproved of homosexuality, the episode of the traveller at Gaba provides proof that the Hebrews of

were aware of the attraction that can exist between two men and were inclined, when the circumstances were right, to indulge their homosexual tendencies.

Love between heroes: David and Jonathan

Given the absence of any prohibition of homosexual behaviour in the Hebrew Scriptures prior to the time of the exile, it is not surprising to find evidence of homosexuality in the great characters in the Bible. The most striking example of a homosexual relationship among the first Israelites is the relationship described in I and II Samuel between the great Israelite hero David and Jonathan, son of Saul, the first king of Israel. The claim that David and Jonathan had a sexual relationship has

has been violently rejected by traditional Jewish and Christian biblical exegetes. However, a careful reading of the relationship described between these two men in the text, which contains some the number of references to the sexual nature of their friendship, leaves little room for any other interpretation of their relationship.

Saul came to the throne in the 11th century BC, shortly after the Israelites had settled in Canaan. At that time, they were frequently attacked by neighbouring powers, in particular the Philistines, an Indo-European warrior people who had settled in Palestine and occupied part of the Judean mountain region. Saul was a powerful and arrogant warlord whose fiery temper earned him the wrath of Yahweh. After defeating a neighbouring tribe, he thought he could override Yahweh's order to exterminate the people and livestock of the defeated enemy and took his king prisoner and captured the fattest of his sheep and goats. As a result of this act of defiance, he was "rejected" by Yahweh "and consequently troubled by fits of worry and melancholy. To ease his pain, his servants sought out a good harp-player, whose sweet music they thought would lift the king's spirits. As a result, David, "a strong and valiant man, a warrior, of good speech and a handsome countenance" (1 Samuel 16:18), was brought to the king. David, who is described in Scripture as exceptionally handsome, entered the king's service; "Saul was very pleased with him, and he was appointed to bear his weapons" (1 Samuel 16-21). And whenever the spirit of God troubled Saul, David took up the harp and played (86).

Shortly afterwards, the Israelites gave battle to the Philistines. The great hero of the Philistines, Goliath, whose size and ferocity struck terror into the ranks of Saul's army, went out every day from the stronghold and taunted the Israelites, challenging one of them to take him on and try to defeat him. David responded to Goliath's challenge and confronted him. He threw a stone at him with his slingshot and

The stone struck the giant on the forehead and he fell to the ground. David cut off his head with his sword. At the sight of their

defeated champion, the Philistines fled, pursued by the Israelite army and, in the rout that followed, the enemy was driven out of the country (87).

David, still holding Goliath's head in his hands, was brought before a stunned Saul. Saul was accompanied by his son, Jonathan, a warrior hero in his own right, who had previously enabled the Israelite army to win a major victory over the Philistines. After David and Saul had finished speaking, the Scriptures say that Jonathan was struck by the beauty of the young hero and that "Jonathan's soul was attached to David's soul, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul" (1 Samuel 18:1), "...

Jonathan made a covenant with David, because he loved him as his own soul. And he took off his coat, and gave it to David; and he gave him his clothes, and his sword, and his bow, and his sash (1 Samuel 18:3-4)" (88). Saul then moved David into the royal palace, where his son also lived. Later Saul said to himself that he would give his daughter Michal to David in marriage and "said to David, 'Today you will become my son-in-law by two [of my daughters]'" (89). By this Saul meant that David would be his son-in-law by two of his daughters.

his children, i.e. David's relationship with his son Jonathan and David's marriage to his daughter Michal. This implicit recognition by Saul of his son's sexual relationship with David has been overlooked by most biblical exegetes.

David soon proved to be an outstanding soldier, for "David went and succeeded wherever Saul sent him; Saul put him in charge of the men of war, and all the people liked him, even Saul's servants" (90). David's popularity with the people made Saul jealous of him, whom he saw as a threat to his kingship. Saul turned against David and told Jonathan and his servants that he wanted the young hero killed. Jonathan, by virtue of his love for David, warned him of the plot and saw to it that he hid himself. Jonathan told David that he would search his father's heart to find out if he really wanted to kill him, and that he would arrange to meet him in a secret place to tell him what he had discovered.

One evening at table, Saul saw David's place unoccupied and asked where he was. Jonathan, for to protect his friend, told his father that David had had to return home to Bethlehem to take part in a family sacrifice. Saul did not believe his son and became angry with him: "Perverted and rebellious son, do I not know that you have for a friend the son of Isaiah, to your shame and to the shame of your mother? For as long as the son of Isaiah lives on earth, there will be no security for you or for your kingdom. And

now send for him, and let him be brought to me, for he is worthy of death. (1 Samuel 20:31) And he rose from the table in fierce anger, and did not partake of the meal on the second day of the new moon; for he was grieved because of David, for his father had reproached him." (1 Samuel 20-34) (91). Jonathan found David in his hiding place and told him that he had to flee. On the point of having to separate, "(t)he two friends embraced each other and wept together" (92).

So David fled from Saul's house, became an outlaw for a while and then took refuge on the Philistine territory, where he learned that Saul and Jonathan had fallen on the battlefield. David mourned the death of his friend and lamented: "Jonathan, my brother, I love you so much! Your friendship was more wonderful to me than the love of women (93). The words David chose to express his feelings for Jonathan are strikingly similar to the description of Gilgamesh's love for Enkidu. Before meeting Enkidu, Gilgamesh makes love in his dreams to Enkidu's symbols "(c)omme comme on se pencher sur une femme". After the death of his friend, Gilgamesh, "like a widower, mourns Enkidu" and "veils his dead friend as a wife would" (94).

It has of course been argued that two men can have shared a great friendship without being homosexuals. However, given what we know about attitudes to homosexuality in Eastern cultures during this period, it is clear that the relationship between David and Jonathan as described went beyond the bonds of ordinary friendship. Firstly, in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, as we have seen, it was not unusual for virile men to have sexual relations; consequently, it would have been in accordance with the sexual practices in force in the region at the time for Jonathan and David to have had a relationship of a sexual nature.

Secondly, since homosexuality is not prohibited in the pre-exilic writings of the Bible, there were no moral obstacles to a sexual relationship between the two men.

Thirdly, the dramatic intensity of the language used in the text to describe the birth of their relationship ("Jonathan's soul was joined to David's soul, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul") is a clear reference to homosexual love. Fourthly, the singular nature of

The love between the two men is displayed unambiguously by Jonathan, when he ostentatiously gives David his own clothes and armour, to say nothing of the eternal covenant they swear to each other.

Indeed, the Hebrew word used in the text to express this "covenant" is the same word used elsewhere in the Scriptures to designate a marriage agreement (95). Similarly, David's use of the word "brother" in his famous complaint to Jonathan is a gentle word that spouses or lovers use to address each other in Scripture (96). What also suggests the existence of a marital, or "family", relationship between David and Jonathan is the fact that David takes Jonathan's son into his home when Jonathan dies and says that he has for Jonathan's sake" (97). Finally, Saul's sarcastic offer to David to become his son-in-law "by two (of his children)", by marrying Michal, is an explicit recognition of a sexual bond - equivalent to marriage, in Saul's eyes - between David and Jonathan.

Saul's outburst of anger (1 Samuel 20:30) also betrays the true nature of the relationship between Jonathan and David, although this is not clear from modern translations of the Bible. In the King James Bible Saul says, "Do I not know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thy shame and to the shame of thy mother's nakedness?" (98) The Hebrew word which is translated there as "chosen" and in the Jerusalem Bible as "colluded with" can also be rendered as "sided with", "t'es lié d'amitié avec" and "es un camarade de". However, the Septuagint is the oldest version,

renders the word as "metecho", "partner" or "companion". The great Oxford biblical scholar Samuel Rolles Driver has concluded that only the Septuagint gives a consistent translation of the passage, namely: "Do I not know that you are an intimate companion of the son of Isaiah?"

In the same way, the Vulgate of St Jerome translates the term as "diligere", "to love", or "to cherish", and it is this version that Ronald Knox used to translate the passage as follows: "Do you think that I haven't noticed how much you love this son of Jesse, for your loss and for hers, the shameful mother who nursed you (98 [numbering error (N.d.E.)])."

Saul's accusation of homosexuality is reinforced by the last part of the sentence, "to the shame of your mother's nakedness." The words "shame" and "nakedness" in the passage are pejorative allusions to sexuality that appear frequently in the Old Testament. The fact that Saul employs indicates that the intimate camaraderie to which he refers between David and Jonathan is of a sexual nature. "Shame" and "nakedness", in Semitic languages, are pejorative euphemisms that refer to the sexuality of a person, or a group of people, without having to do directly with their sexuality. reference to this person or group (99). What is more, in the same passage, David, the object of Saul's hatred, is not named, but is referred to indirectly as "Jesse's son". The passage therefore leaves no doubt that Saul is referring to a sexual relationship between Jonathan and David.

If it had only been a Platonic friendship, it would have been absurd for Saul to allude to it in the presence of his son. But it would have been natural for Saul, in his anger, to draw attention to the bond between the two men, since this bond would have led his son to give preference to his friend over his father. And the reason why Saul is angry with Jonathan is made clear: Saul accuses his son of helping David to flee because of his homosexual relationship with Jonathan. David. Jonathan's reaction to Saul's admonition - he leaves the table in anger without eating" - underlines the strength of the emotional ties that bind him to the young hero.

The historian John Boswell has noted that the editors of the Mishnah, compiled during the first centuries of Christianity, cite Jonathan and David as examples (Talmud, Aboth, 5:16), while they present the heterosexual passion between Amnon and Tamar, also narrated in 2 Samuel, as transitory. Boswell argues that the comparison between the two couples seems to imply the recognition of a physical relationship between David and Jonathan. Indeed, the word used to describe the love between the members of both couples is the same throughout the Mishnah (100).

Tom Horner argues for a psychological analysis of the relationship between David and Jonathan which concludes that Jonathan, the royal prince, was the aggressor and the ambitious young David the willing seducer. The study found that David "responded unreservedly" to Jonathan's advances and that, although his homosexuality was only temporary, he benefited from it by cementing a close alliance between himself and the royal family (101). Whatever the circumstances in which it was born and the reasons for its birth, the relationship between David and Jonathan is a type of love between heroes that was most likely common among members of the military aristocracy of the ancient Middle East. As Rabbi Raphaël Patai has written, "(t)he love story between Jonathan, son of King Saul, and David, the handsome hero, must have given rise to many such loves in the royal courts of all regions of the Middle East in all periods" (102).

Sexual connotations in the book of Daniel - the Babylonian captivity

Some researchers have suggested that sexual desire was no stranger to the "favour and grace" that the prophet Daniel found before the "chief eunuch" of Nebuchadnezzar's court (103). In the past, the men whose title has often been translated as "king's eunuchs" were generally not castrated, but were more often than not passive homosexuals who indulged in sexual desires of virile men. The recruitment of homosexual royal officials and servants dates back to the earliest periods of Mesopotamian civilisation. The castration of Courtship was first reported among the Assyrians in the fifth century BC by the Greek historian Herodotus (104). Herodotus mentions this custom just over a century after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, so it is possible that it existed in Babylon during his reign. Castration usually involved the removal of the testicles alone, and was often carried out after puberty, so that the individuals concerned, if deprived of their reproductive faculties, could have a satisfying sex life. In fact, in the harems of the Islamic world, where they were often employed as guards, eunuchs were appreciated by the women because, as their ejaculations were not abundant, they could have prolonged erections (105). Despite the popularity they continued to enjoy in harems in later times, eunuchs in the ancient Middle East are generally associated with homosexuality. Whether or not the chief eunuch was emasculated, his sole function, according to tradition, was to satisfy the sexual needs of virile men. So, given the customs of the time, the fact that a young man found 'favour and grace' in front of a man tends to indicate that he is having sexual relations with him.

The phenomenon of the castration of boys and men attached to the service of a king, although little understood by modern Westerners, was a widespread custom towards the end of Antiquity. Since castrated officials could not have offspring, monarchs had no reason to fear the ambitions of powerful officials, as long as they were eunuchs. According to the Greek writer Xenophon, the Persian king Cyrus the Great, who reigned in the 6th century BC, preferred

that his officials be eunuchs, because he believed that only this type of man could be unfailingly loyal to him. Xenophon writes that under Cyrus's successor, Darius, the eunuchs acquired vast political authority and seem to have occupied all the main civil service posts. They were the king's advisers in the palace and his generals on the battlefield. (106).

Given the sexual customs of the time, it is not surprising that young eunuchs were often subjected to the sexual desires of the aristocracy. One of the effects of castration was to slow down the ageing process. Removal of the testicles considerably reduces testosterone levels, and testosterone is responsible for the development of hair growth and baldness. The price paid by Babylon to Darius consisted of a thousand silver talents and 500 castrated boys (107). The harems of the Persian kings Darius III and Artaxerxes included both concubines and eunuchs. One of Alexander the Great's lovers was Bagoas, a handsome young Persian eunuch who had previously been a concubine. Darius' lover (108).

It is interesting to examine the circumstances in which Daniel appeared at Nebuchadnezzar's court. After the Babylonians had conquered Jerusalem, the king ordered his chief eunuch "to choose from among the Israelites a certain number of boys of royal or noble descent. They were to be free of physical defects, handsome ... fit for the king's service". So Daniel and three other handsome Israelite captives were attached to the king's service (109). For thousands of years, conquerors throughout the region had been in the habit of taking handsome young captives into their hands. service, or to sell them into slavery. One of their main functions was to satisfy the needs their masters. The Odyssey mentions Phoenician ship captains buying or kidnapping boys and selling them to wealthy buyers for this purpose (110). The book of Joel refers to the sale of young men as sex slaves (111). The trafficking of beautiful boys for sexual purposes was widespread in the ancient Middle East and in the Greco-Roman world, and continued to be so in the Islamic world in modern times. The fact that the beauty and physical perfection of young men were the two qualities specified by the king in the selection of the Hebrew prisoners intended to be bound to his service strongly suggests that the beginning of the Book of Daniel gives an insight into this ancient sexual custom that was widespread in the region.

It is possible that Daniel and his handsome compatriots became eunuchs to serve at the Babylonian court. Flavius Josephus, in the 1st century AD, maintained that Daniel had been castrated and sodomised by Nebuchadnezzar. This scenario is certainly possible, given the practices of the time. David Greenberg has observed that, although Joseph is not always considered a reliable source, his testimony provides evidence that the castration of courtiers was common in the empires of the East (112). It has also been argued that the remarkable success of Joseph, the son of

Jacob's position at Pharaoh's court was due to the fact that he was a eunuch and provided sexual services, first to Potiphar and then to Pharaoh (113).

Jewish hostility to homosexuality after the Babylonian exile

The exile of the Hebrews to Babylon began in 587 BC, when the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar conquered and destroyed the city of Jerusalem, razed the Temple to the ground, enslaved the Jewish people and brought large numbers of Israelites to Babylon. After the Persian monarch Cyrus the Great had

Overthrowing the Babylonians in 539 BC, he allowed a large contingent of Israelites to return to their homeland and helped them rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. The zeal with which the Israelites continued to observe their religious rites and practices had naturally diminished during the five decades they had spent in Babylon. The Babylonian rulers had granted the

The Babylonians had given the Israelites a number of rights and allowed them to take part in Babylonian society, so that some Israelites even came to occupy important positions in the government. Many Israelites took part in non-Hebrew rituals and marriages between Hebrews and Babylonians were common. When Cyrus defeated the Babylonians and invited the Hebrews to return to their homeland, the process of assimilation that had begun in Babylon did not cease on their return to Canaan.

Once back in Israel, the Israelites found themselves in a land without secure borders and without the religious and tribal institutions that had united them as a people since their conquest of Canaan. Indeed, the only thing that still made them a distinct nationality was the worship of their tribal god, Yahweh, although, as we have seen, this bond had been seriously loosened during their years in Babylon. Many Israelites returned home married to Babylonian women and continued to participate in the Babylonian worship of the goddess. As a result of the weakening of traditional Jewish religious practices, the priesthood must certainly have become more important.

recognise the need to re-establish a Jewish religious order for all Israelites as an indispensable step in the reaffirmation of national identity. A fundamental step in achieving this goal was the convergence of the competing strands of the Hebrew religion into a unified Scripture for a unified Jewish people.

At the beginning of the fifth century BC, the Persian king Artaxerxes appointed Ezra, one of Aaron's priests still in Babylon, as religious leader of the Israelites in Judah and Jerusalem. This momentous decision was to have a major influence on the development of the Jewish religion. Artaxerxes ordered Ezra to "inspect Judah and Jerusalem according to the law of your God, which is in your hands" (Ezra 7:14). The king authorised Ezra to draw from the provincial treasury the funds he deemed necessary for the direction of the cult and the administration of the Jewish religion.

the teaching of the Law to the people, a Law which, Artaxerxes declared, was "the law of the king". Artaxerxes decreed that "(w)hoever fails to observe punctually the law of your God and the law of the king shall be condemned to death, banishment, fine, or imprisonment" (114). Aaron's priesthood, supported by the Persian monarch, thus had free rein to revise the numerous Hebrew religious texts and bring them together in the work that came to be known as the Old Testament (115).

The compilation and editing of religious texts by the Aaronites took place at a crucial time in the history of the Jewish people. The trauma of their Babylonian captivity, during which the identity of the Hebrews as a people had almost dissolved, had a profound effect on the religious concerns and attitudes of the Israelites as they set about rebuilding their society in Israel.

The religious precepts compiled during and after the Babylonian captivity under the leadership of Aaron's priesthood and the resulting social organisation made it possible to reconcile the main elements of the Judaic religion as it has been known ever since and to integrate the Twelve Tribes of Israel into a single Jewish people.

The Israelites were no longer the same people once they returned to their homeland. Long accustomed to an almost insular lifestyle of farming and herding, many of them had been uprooted by the disastrous upheavals caused by the Assyrian invasion of the northern kingdom. The subsequent cataclysm of the Babylonian invasion and Babylonian exile turned the vast majority of Israelites away from farming and animal husbandry. By necessity, they became a nation of artisans and merchants dependent on trade with foreign nations. The Jews were no longer the confident heirs of Abraham, certain of their rights to the Promised Land, but saw themselves as a small part of a much larger world of more powerful nations, subject to wars of invasion and living under the ever-present threat of subjugation.

The constraints and uncertainties of their new situation led them to adopt a pessimistic view of the world and of material things, in which "man was conceived as a mere object. a weak, powerless creature, heir to the innate evil tendencies of his original father, Adam, constantly tempted and irresistibly attracted by evil, personified by Satan" (116). Among the man's weaknesses, the greatest, according to the priesthood, was the lure of sex, a view that began to be expressed frequently in Jewish writings of the post-exilic period. This negative view of sex can be seen, for example, in the Testament of the patriarch Reuben, who states that sex "leads the young man like a blind man to a pit and like a beast to a precipice" (117a). Women, already suspect in the eyes of the priesthood because of their association with the cult of the goddess in the pre-exilic period, were presented by the post-exilic priesthood as runts and, as temptresses, as the cause of men's moral weakness (117b). Hence the very negative views expressed about women in post-exilic writings and the severity of the rules of conduct

which found their place in the codes of law developed in the period following the Assyrian and Babylonian invasions

The devastation of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians, followed by the catastrophe of the Babylonian captivity,

were interpreted by the priesthood as the punishment Yahweh had inflicted on the Israelites for not having observed his Law. This was not surprising, since the priestly prophets had repeatedly predicted that lack of devotion to Yahweh and participation in the worship of Baal and Asherah would lead to disaster and the destruction of their nation. Because of their pessimistic view of man's moral frailty - vulnerable to Satan's ever-present temptations - and of the dangers represented by the lures of sexuality, the priesthood persuaded themselves that only adherence to a strict and ascetic moral code could secure God's protection for Israel (118). The most

obvious to the Law in the eyes of the priesthood was, of course, the continued participation of many Jews in the worship of Baal and Asherah, in which homosexual rituals played an important part.

The vulnerability of the Israelites as a people, the urgent need to control man's sinful nature in order to secure Yahweh's protection for him, the Hebrews' disaffection with their own people, and the fact that Yahweh's protection was not a matter of course.

Traditional religious practices and the persistence of the cult of the goddess among the people were. The priesthood must have been well aware of these factors when it set about compiling and editing the various original documents into a single text. The main task that the Aaronite editors set themselves was to purify Hebrew religious practices, firstly by defining the ritual and behavioural norms that distinguished the Hebrews from other peoples by virtue of their status as Yahweh's chosen people, and then by banning once and for all the rituals of goddess worship and the religious practices of neighbouring peoples that many Israelites still indulged in.

The code of religious and behavioural norms they wrote is to be found mainly in the book of Leviticus, named after the priestly tribe of the Aaronites, the Levites, and which is the only book of the Torah entirely composed after the exile. A number of historians have concluded that the rules

The strict regulations on dress, food and behaviour contained in the Book of Leviticus represented an attempt to restore a Hebrew religion and national identity by distinguishing the religion and practices of the Hebrews from those of their neighbours (119). Among its restrictions are two provisions prohibiting male homosexuality. The first

is translated as follows in the modern versions of the Bible: "Thou shalt not lie with a man as with a woman; it is an abomination. It is an abomination. (Leviticus, 18:22,). Leviticus 20:13 reiterates this prohibition and specifies the punishment for those who transgress it: "They shall be put to death; their blood shall be on them.

Many consider the condemnation of male homosexuality in Leviticus to be pure and simple, like the commandments of Moses. However, the origin and context of the provisions and the choice of words used clearly show that their original intention had more to do with the

The first objective was to purge the Jewish cult of its foreign elements, mainly the rituals of Baal and Asherah. Indeed, Leviticus 18 begins and ends with exhortations against the practices of the Egyptians and Canaanites, implying that the forbidden practices listed in the chapter, which include the injunction against male homosexuality, are those of these neighbouring peoples.

The religious practices of their neighbours which the Israelites disapproved of and which concerned the priests of Yahweh obviously included the worship of the goddess, which at that time consisted of

including sacrificing pigs and practising homosexual rituals. As a result, the writers of Leviticus issued prohibitions against the consumption of pork and against homosexuality, a common practice among the Israelites' neighbours and, in general, an essential element of the cult of the goddess (120).

Although Christians and Jews today read Leviticus 18:22 as a clear-cut injunction such as "Thou shalt not kill", the Hebrew text has a very different meaning. The word rendered as 'abomination' in modern Christian and Jewish translations is 'to-ebah', 'unclean', '...'. ritually impure" or "idolatrous". This expression has its origins in the Egyptian word translated as

"holy" or "sacred", which the priests of Yahweh appropriated and then gave a negative meaning to in their condemnation of rites and practices that were holy or sacred to them.

non-Hebrews and whom the priests of Yahweh considered to be idolaters (121). The meaning of the word is clear in the expression "to-ebah ha goyim", "the impurity of the Gentiles". The term is used one hundred and sixteen times

in the Old Testament, almost always in reference to idolatry. For example, when the people of Judah are denounced as idolaters in I Kings 14, to-ebah is used in verse 24 in reference to the homosexual rites of the kadesh, the sacred prostitutes associated with goddess worship alluded to in verse 23. On the other hand, in its condemnation of classical prostitution, a

a strictly sexual offence, Leviticus 19:29 uses a different term, "zimah" (122).

A second shortcoming of modern translations of the Bible is their inability to render exactly the meaning of the Hebrew words used to designate one or other of the disapproved sexual acts. The modern translation of the word for sexual act in the verse "Thou shalt not lie with a man as one lies with a woman" is imprecise and misleading. The forbidden act is indicated by the words "miskebe issa", a highly unusual and indeed unique construction in the Hebrew Scriptures. However, a similar expression - "miskab zakar" (literally, "to lie with a man") - appears in a number of passages to designate the introduction of the penis into the vagina.

(Genesis, 20:15-16; Exodus, 22:15; Numbers, 31:17, 18, 35; Judges, 21:12). Because the word issa

means "woman", a number of researchers have concluded that the expression "miskebe issa" could be translated as "to sleep with a woman" (123), or "to take on the role of the woman or the receptacle in sexual intercourse". If the intention of the authors of the Scriptures had been to forbid a man from sodomising another man, they could have used the common expression "to lie with a man" instead of a very unusual expression which occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Scriptures (124). The stigmatisation of passive homosexuality by the Aaronite authors of Leviticus can be explained by their animosity towards the sacred prostitutes, the kadesh, who performed this sexual act as part of the rituals of the cult of the goddess (125). The impression that the provision is directed against sacred prostitutes is reinforced by the fact that the term used to designate the man with whom the act is performed is 'zakar', instead of 'ish', the term most commonly used to refer to a man. While the term 'zakar' can refer to a man, it is mainly used to refer to men performing sacred functions, such as priests, or men consecrated to Yahweh in some way. It is used in Deuteronomy, 20:13 to refer to the Canaanites who bring down the Israelite priests or religious officials in idolatry and is even used twice (Deuteronomy 4:16 and Ezekiel 16:17) to refer to male pagan idols. The word "ish", which refers to men in ordinary, non-religious contexts, appears more than two thousand times in Scripture, while "zakar" is used only once. occurs only eighty-six times. When we consider 1) the cultic or sacred connotations of the term "zakar", the man with whom the act is performed, 2) the fact that what is forbidden for a man's role in sexual relations, 3) the historical animosity of the priesthood towards goddess worship and its homosexual servants, and 4) the religious connotations of the word "to-ebah" and its use in other passages of Scripture to condemn idolatry, it is difficult not to conclude that in this verse the writers of the text were aiming at the kadesh (126).

The warnings against the idolatrous practices of the Canaanites and Egyptians in the preamble and conclusion of Leviticus, 18 and the use of religious vocabulary to pronounce the prohibition against a man taking the passive role in sexual intercourse clearly indicate that conformity to the religious and ethnic norms and not the regulation of sexual behaviour was the main purpose of the provision (127). Jewish biblical scholar Louis Epstein has shown that the expulsion of the kadesh temple, whose activities are also described as "to-ebah", "was due less to considerations of sexual morality than to the idolatry in which they indulged" (128). The Jewish moral treatises of the period following the exile repeatedly establish a link between relationships homosexuality and the practice of idolatry (129).

The derivation of the word "to-ebah" from the Egyptian word for "sacred" or "holy", which underlines the religious connotation of the expression, in fact calls into question the translation of "to-ebah" by the word "abomination". The 2006 edition of the Random House Unabridged Dictionary defines "abomination" as follows

as "1. an abominable thing. something deeply hated or abhorred; 2. intense aversion or disgust; 3. vile, shameful, or detestable state, habit, etc.: spitting in public is an abomination". The

The word has nothing to do with idolatry or the practices of a foreign cult. Rather, it refers to a practice that provokes an intense reaction in a person, a reaction of horror, aversion or disgust. It is therefore clear that it is inappropriate to use the word "abomination", which refers to a visceral reaction of aversion or disgust, to render the Hebrew religious term "to-ebah", used in many passages of the Hebrew Scriptures to designate the worship of foreign gods or idolatry.

The prohibition of homosexuality in Leviticus is just one element of a code that also forbade men to cut their hair and beards, to wear clothes made of two kinds of cloth, to eat shellfish, etc. These restrictions were specific to Hebrew culture at the time, and they are still in force today. These restrictions were specific to the Hebrew culture of the time, and were clearly intended to distinguish Jewish rituals and ethnic practices from those of other peoples in the region. It is doubtful that the provisions prohibiting homosexuality were applied to the letter. Although the Code prescribed the death penalty for those who violated the ban on homosexuality, it is telling that there is absolutely no evidence that any man was ever executed for homosexuality (130).

After the conquests of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC and the spread of Greek culture throughout the Near East, the Israelites were once again influenced by the customs of the Greeks. religious and social customs, including those of the Greeks, among whom homosexuality was widespread. Just as many Israelites had adopted Babylonian customs during the exile, so at In the Hellenistic period, many Jews began to ignore the sexual and ritual prohibitions of the Torah and offered sacrifices to the Greek gods. According to 1 Maccabees 15, a gymnasium was even built in Jerusalem "according to the customs of the nations" - i.e. according to the customs of the Greeks and therefore frequented by naked athletes - customs that were reprobated by the pious Jews. The Jews "made and so, separating themselves from the holy covenant, they joined the nations and sold themselves to sin" (ibid., 16) and "defiled themselves with all kinds of impurity and profanation" (131), implying a general disregard for the sexual injunctions of Leviticus. This, of course, provoked a severe reaction from the priesthood and, indeed, Jewish writers of the period were particularly vociferous in denouncing the sexual idolatry of the Greek conquerors. As the homosexual customs of the Greeks became the target of the priesthood's condemnations in place of the passive homosexuality of the prostitutes in the service of the The Levitical injunction forbidding men to play a passive role in homosexual relations began to apply to all homosexual acts.

James W. Neill, *The Origins and Role of Same-Sex Relations in Human Societies*, McFarland & Company, Inc, Publishers, Jefferson, NC - London, 2009, chap. IV: "Same-Sex Behavior at the Dawn of Civilization" translated and trimmed (*) from the American by B. K.

(*) The work is so poorly written, so full of repetitions and confused developments, that it had to be reworked to make the text more intelligible - and, even though we know that publishing houses' criteria have become lax, we wonder how it could have been published as it is.

(i) It would seem that homosexuality in animals is caused, at least in part, by "a numerical imbalance between males and females", which leads "individuals of the majority sex to become aroused with each other in the absence of sufficient partners of the other sex" (Pascal Picq and Philippe Brenot, *Le Sexe, l'Homme et l'Évolution*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2009, p. 201).

(ii) See "Ancient American's genome mapped, bbc.com," February 13, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-26172174>.

(iii) Nicholas Wade, "Ancient Man in Greenland Has Genome Decoded", 10 February 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/11/science/11genome.html>.

(iv) It is not true that "prehistoric figurines from Siberia are not Venuses...". (<http://www.hominides.com/html/actualites/statuette-siberie-pas-vraiment-venus-prehistoriques-1012.php>) because, as shown by a much more complete sample of photos of the statuettes unearthed on the Mal'ta and Buret sites (to download the PDF file in question, go to following search: "Venus Russia and Siberia = MVRS - paleoscope"), some of them have the same anatomical characteristics as those of the Palaeolithic "Venuses". These include steatopygia and exaggerated development of the abdomen, hips, breasts and vulva.

(iv bis) Admittedly, "... it would be simplistic to assume that the pre-eminent position held by goddesses in a given society reflects the status of women in that society" (Hennie J. Marsman, *Women in Ugarit and Israel*, Brill, Leiden, 2003, p. 44). But it is even more simplistic to assume that a woman's status in a given society accurately reflects the power she actually wields in that society, power which, as Chinweizu has brilliantly highlighted, is not of the same nature as male power and which, for this reason, goes unnoticed by men. On the other hand, whatever the status of women in a society whose members worship a mother goddess may be male, but political power is exercised on the basis of the chthonic forces and feminine values that underpin the cult of the mother goddess.

(v) Ida Magli and Ginevra Conti Odorisio, *Matriarchat et/ou pouvoir des femmes*, Des femmes, 1983; *Glimpses of Micronesia*, vol. 24: "Glimpses of Guam", Incorporated, 1984.

(vi) Jan Herman Ronhaar, *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*, J. B. Wolters, 1931, p. 54.

(vii) The myth of one of them, known as Mimia-Abere, is worth recounting: "She seduced many men. She seduced Badabada in a boat, made his nose stick fall into the water. She plunged him into the water and tried to kill him with her paddle when he resurfaced. Still alive, he set off in pursuit, but she grew a weed (mania) so dense around her that no one could see her."

find. She is usually depicted in the company of her adopted daughters, with whom she catches crabs. She is the mother of the north-west wind (the monsoon). She killed all those who lived on her island, except for her adopted daughters. She took off her grass skirt, threw it away and a banana tree grew where the skirt had fallen. Her daughters were then transformed into ants. The headless body of one of the girls became a drum. One day, Abere had sex in a boat, the pitch of which made the sea rough. Later, the man washed his penis in the sea, which has remained muddy ever since near Kiwai. Abere and her daughters shared a lover called Mesede, who killed the crocodile that had killed Abere's son. Abere and her daughters braided Mesede's hair using mud, and then they all had sex in secret in the men's place of worship" (see Gilbert H. Herdt (ed.), *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*, University of California Press, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1993).

(viii) James W. Neil, p. 81-114.

(ix) A growing number of researchers," argues James W. Neill (p. 117), "now believe that, among the first Indo-European tribes, the training of a young person in hunting and warfare, which did part of an initiation process, took place in the context of a homosexual relationship between the young man and a warrior, and that this tradition dated back to the Neolithic period", the references he provides in this respect (see p. 444, note 9) do not, however, concern the first Indo-European peoples, but certain of their branches, such as the Celts, the Germans, the Scandinavians and, of course, the Greeks and the Romans.

Let's take a look.

As regards the Germanic peoples, the author does not hesitate to state that "homosexuality in the form of institutionalised pederasty... is considered to have been the rule in (their) warrior societies" (p. 121). Indeed, "Historians also have evidence of homosexual practices among the Heruli... a Germanic tribe. This evidence comes from the Byzantine author Procopius, the great historian of Justinian's reign, who was born at the end of the fifth century in Caesarea, Palestine. As secretary to the Byzantine general Belisarius, he followed him on his campaigns and witnessed the events he recounted in his *Histories*. In his account of the war against the Goths in Italy, he shows that there was a distinction between masters and young people, whom he calls *doūloi*, literally "slaves". In his account, he explains that young people had to show their courage to be considered as "slaves" men. Specialists have shown that the use of the term "slave" is not insignificant, and is characteristic of the development of male societies. As we have seen, the Herules practised a form of initiation, and anthropologists consider the hypothesis that the pederasty would be an integral part of the rites. By extension, after having proved that the Heruli refer, at many stages of their lives, to the old foundations of Indo-European traditions, specialists believe that it is credible to think that the same was true, at the time, for the other peoples of the world.

Germanic peoples from Sweden such as the Ruges, the Gepids, the Vandals and the Burgundians". And the "evidence" just keeps piling up, because "the most interesting thing about studying ancient homosexual practices in Germanic societies is how they were treated, depending on whether the person was passive or active. Passive homosexuals were very much frowned upon in these societies: eromenes were despised, their

social status is considered inferior until they become adults. If he has the misfortune to Once they have entered the adult world, they remain passive and their fate is sealed. Tacitus provides proof of this in a first-century text describing the customs of the Germans: "Traitors and defectors are hanged from trees; cowards, cowards, people of infamous morals [corpore infamis] are sunk in the mud of a marsh with a rag thrown over their bodies. What the anthropologists explain is that "people of infamous morals" are certainly homosexuals, but more precisely people who are "infamous because of their homosexuality".

their bodies', those whose bodies were soiled, in other words passive homosexuals". (Thomas Rozec, *Le IIIe Reich et les homosexuels*, 2011, p. 15-16). On the basis of this "evidence", Bernard Sergent speaks of "widespread homosexuality in former Germanic society..." We will leave the final word to David F. Greenberg (op. cit., p. 246) who, in a note on the same page as the one on which he writes asserts "that it was in these warrior societies (Männerbünde) that pederasty was practised. It is reasonable to infer that it had antecedents in the ritualised pederasty of archaic Greece. "He concludes: "The sources do not mention homosexuality in the Männerbünde, only sexual licence, hunting, fighting and rapine...". (*)

Then there is the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus (31, 9) on the subject of "the unworthy race of the Taifals", among whom, "it is said (the testimony is indirect), custom compels adolescents to prostitute the flower of their youth to the pleasures of made men, and that no one among them can redeem himself from this immoral servitude until he has taken, unaided, a wild boar while hunting, or brought down, with his own hands, a bear of great size". However, "(t)he constantly repeated assertion that the Taifali were a Germanic people is completely unfounded" (Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973, p. 26). It should be noted that the Taifali, after accompanying the Huns to Thrace and later fighting and serving the Roman armies and then the Merovingian armies, settled in Aquitaine (L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique, colloque international du C.N.R.S. held at the Fondation Singer-Polignac [Paris, 14-16 May 1990], proceedings compiled and prepared by Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi, published with the support of the Fondation Singer-Polignac, Madrid, Casa de Velazquez, Collection de la Casa de Velazquez.

Velazquez, 1992, p. 110) and in Poitou (Charles Athanase Walckenaer, *Géographie ancienne historique et comparée des Gaules cisalpine et transalpine*, vol. 2, Paris, 1839, p. 454), from the end of the fourth century they did so in the vicinity of the Sarmatians, to whom they were related and whose

ancient observers were struck by the eminent status of women in their society (Yaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates: amazones et lanciers cuirassés entre Oural et Danube*, VIIe siècle av. J.-C. -VIe siècle apr. J.-C., Ed. Errance, DL, 2002).

Scythians, some of whose Mongoloid features are evidence of interbreeding (Ellis Hovell Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 47).

According to Anne Ross ("Celtic and Northern Art" [pp. 77-106]. In Philip Rawson (ed.), *Primitive Erotic Art*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1973), one of the cave paintings dating from 1000 BC that were unearthed at Tanum, in northern Böhusslän on the west coast of Sweden, depicting two men having anal intercourse. That's all it took for our handful of "historians" to get their hands on it. find 'proof' of the institutionalisation of male homosexuality in Scandinavia at the time. Others, more cautiously, point out that "it is possible that these rock engravings had a content

(Timothy L. Taylor, *The Prehistory of Sex: Four Million Years of Human Sexual Culture*, Bantam, reprinted 1997, p. 173). In fact, nothing establishes that the petroglyphs in question are the work of Nordic peoples, and the question of which culture they belong to does not seem to concern specialists. What's more, the figures that some identify as men are so androgynous that they could just as easily represent two women (see Riina Hämäläinen, "

Bodies on the Rocks: A Gender Archaeological Approach to the Bronze Age Rock Art of Bohuslän, Sweden", available at:

https://www.academia.edu/28175696/BODIES_ON_THE_ROCKS_A_Gender_Archaeological_Approach_to_the_Bronze_Age_Rock_Art_of_Bohuslän_Sweden, accessed on 16 December 2016)

For the sake of completeness, it is worth quoting the following extract from the Book of the Laws of Nations, a dialogue written in Syriac by a disciple of Bardesanes of Edessa (154 - 222 AD) called Philip, which was long attributed to this heretical Christian philosopher and whose first copy dates from the 7th century (http://www.uranos.fr/PDF/ETUDES_01B_ND.pdf): "In the north, on the other hand, among the Germans and their neighbours, well-built young boys are married by men who even make feasts of

On this occasion, this act does not bring them shame or opprobrium because of their law. - It is impossible, however, that the horoscope of all those who fall into this disgrace in Gaul should include Mercury with Venus in the house of Saturn, in the confines of Mars and in the signs of the zodiac located (then) in the west, for it is written that men born in these conditions will prostitute themselves like women". (F. Nau, *Bardesanes: Le Livre des Lois des Pays*, Leroux, 1899). This extract calls for two comments, the first of a linguistic nature, the second of a socio-cultural nature.

Firstly, Philippe's characterisation of the attitude of the Orientals of the time towards homosexuality ("Throughout the East, those who defile themselves and are known [as such] are killed by their fathers and brothers, the laws of the Orient often do not grant them tombs.

" is so contrary to reality ("Homosexuality was widespread at the time of the Bible and has remained so in the Middle East up to the present day... it was not at all disapproved of by the (Raphael Patai, *Sex and the Family in the Bible and the Middle East*, Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y., 1959, quoted in Wayne R. Dynes (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*, vol. 2, Routledge Revivals, 2016, p. 916) that it is doubtful whether an observer so unfamiliar with Eastern mores would have been more familiar with the customs of 'Westerners'.

This extract, among others, was translated into Greek by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Preparation Gospel* (VI, 10) (Alexander Roberts and Sir James Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. 22, T/ & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1871, p. 105) and the first sentence is rendered as: "In the north at On the contrary, in the land of the Gauls and among their neighbours..."; it is also in these terms in the English translation (Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Cox, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8, Christian Literature Publishing Co., Buffalo, NY, 1886) and in the revision by Kevin Knight, published at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0862.htm>. Nau curiously states in the corresponding note: "Messrs Merx and Hilgenfeld (authors of the two German translations of Philippe's work; respectively, Bardesanes von Edessa; nebst einer Untersuchung über das Verhältniss der Clementinischen Recognitionem zu dem Buche der Gesetze der Laender, Halle, 1863 and Bardesanes der

letzte Gnostiker, Leipzig, 1864 [N.D.E.]) wondered whether it might not be possible to do away with the Germans.

in this passage. - We believe that they appear there in the same way as the Gauls". "We believe"? Clearly, there are problems with the translation of the corresponding Syriac word.

Turning specifically to the Gauls, two accounts from the 1st century BC confirm that the existence of homosexuality among them. The first is by Diodorus of Sicily (Universal History, V, 21) Although women are perfectly beautiful, they rarely live with them, but they are extremely devoted to criminal love of the other sex and lie on the ground on animal skins. Often they are not ashamed to have two young boys at their side. But the strangest thing is that, with no regard for the laws of modesty, they prostitute themselves with incredible ease. Far from finding viciousness in this infamous trade, they believe themselves to be dishonoured if the favours they offer are refused". The second, second hand, is from Strabo, (III, 4,6): "if a widespread rumour is to be believed, all the Gauls are in a quarrelsome mood; they I can assure you that they attach no shame to boys prostituting the flower of their youth.

As far as the "Celts" are concerned, things are different. In the fourth century BC, Aristotle (Politics, II, VI, 7) explained that "along with a few other nations, the Celts", he said, "openly honoured virile love. It is a very true idea that of the mythologist who first imagined the union of Mars and Venus; for all warriors are naturally inclined to love one sex or the other. But let us quote the paragraph from Politics in its entirety: "The relaxation of laws

Lacedaemonian attitudes towards women are contrary to both the spirit of the constitution and the good order of the State. The man and the woman, both elements of the family, also form, one might say, the two parts of the State: here the men, there the women; so that, wherever the constitution has badly regulated the position of women, it must be said that half the State is without laws. This can be seen in Sparta: the legislator, in demanding temperance and firmness from all the members of his republic, has

gloriously successful with men; but it has failed completely with women, whose life is spent in all the excesses of luxury. The necessary consequence is that, under such a regime, money must be given great honour, especially when men are inclined to allow themselves to be dominated by women, which is the usual disposition of energetic and warlike races. I would, however, exclude the Celts and a few other nations who, it is said, openly honour virile love. It is a very true idea, that of the mythologist who first imagined the union of Mars and Venus; for all warriors are naturally inclined to love one sex or the other. As

As F. Nau rightly points out (op. cit., p. 49), Aristotle attributes pederasty "to the Celts, by virtue of a rigorous syllogism: Warriors, he says, are inclined to trade with women and men, and the Celts are warriors, therefore...". There is certainly some truth in this remark.

At the end of the 2nd century AD, Athenaeus of Naucratis (Deipnosophists, XIII, 79) presents homosexuality as a general practice among the "Celts" and a fact of public notoriety: "It is known that, among the barbarians, the Celts, who possess magnificent women, have a preference for boys, so that many of them sleep with two cute boys at the same time on their beds made of animal skins". At least that's how the translator presents it. "The first translator of the work into French was already less general about it: "Among the barbarians, the Celts, although they had very beautiful women, were nonetheless more attracted to the love of boys; & et

in such a way that some of them often slept on stuffed skins, which they used for their served as beds, with two young innocents" (Les quinze livres des Déipnosophistes, 1680, p. 896). The English translation (in Peter Berresford Ellis, Celtic Women: Women in Celtic Society and Literature, William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co. 1996, p. 125) also says "some" (is Naucratis reliable?). Certainly, at least one of the other anecdotes he tells about the sex lives of great people is open to question: "King Alexander," he writes, "was also a great lover of handsome boys. In his book on the sacrifice at Ilion, Dicéarchos even admits that he was so infatuated with the eunuch Bagoas that, in the middle of a theatrical performance, he leaned over and kissed him. The spectators immediately clapped their hands in approval, which prompted the king to kiss Bagoas again". (XIII, 80) In fact, the following account by Plutarch (On the Fortune of Alexander, I, 12) runs counter to Naucratis' portrait of the king of Macedonia: "... one day when Philoxenus, head of the coastal troops, had written to him that there was a young boy in Ionia who was charming and handsome like no other, and had asked him if he should be sent for him, Alexander... replied sternly: "O most corrupt of men, what abominable deed do you think I am guilty of, you who want to seduce me by offering me such voluptuous pleasures?)

Who were the 'Celts' alluded to by the Greek scholar and grammarian? Quite simply, who Who were the 'Celts'? This question has been asked ever since Celtic studies took off in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and it remains unanswered. It is inextricable. For our purposes, it will suffice to recall a few essential points (so as not to complicate matters further, we have left aside the terminological aspect of the question, which has given rise to an abundant literature on the respective uses of the words "Κελτοί", "Γαλάται" and "Celtae"). Firstly, with the exception of the 1st century BC, when Latin authors restricted it, the use of the term *keltoi* has continued to expand. The first instance of the term is found in the Greek author Hecataeus of Milet (549 - 475 BC), for whom it refers exclusively to peoples settled in south-eastern Gaul, more specifically on the outskirts of the Greek colony of Massalia (Marseille). In the fifth century, Herodotus (Histories, II, 33) attributed their origins to the region where the Danube has its source ("The Ister in fact begins in the land of the Celts, near the town of Pyrenees, and crosses Europe in the middle") and the coast of southern Spain ("The Celts are beyond the columns of Hercules, and touch the Cynesians, who are the last peoples of Europe on the west side. The Ister flows into the Pont-Euxin where the Istrians are, a colony of Miletus"), a contradiction that can be resolved without having to postulate that the Greek author confused the name "Pyrenees" with "Pyrenees", since, as Camille Jullian points out ("Les Celtes chez Hérodote". *Revue des Études Anciennes*, vol. 7, n° 4, 1905, p. 375-392), the Cynesians are also thought to have populated the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Gaul (C. J. V. Darttrey, *Recherches sur l'origine des peuples du nord et de l'occident de l'Europe*, H. Cousin, Paris, 1839, p. 4). From the fourth century BC onwards, the Greeks, perhaps under the influence of Ephorus of Cumae (400-330 BC), began to develop their own language and culture. ère) (Jean-Louis Brunaux, *Les Celtes : Histoire d'un mythe*, Belin, 2014, p. 284), for whom the *Keltoi* were, along with the Persians, the Scythians and the Libyans (T.G.E. Powell, *The Celts*, Thames and Hudson, 1958, p. 17), one of the four great barbarian peoples of the world known to the Greeks, took the habit of referring to the *Keltoi* as the "Celts" (Jean-Louis Brunaux, *Les Celtes : Histoire d'un mythe*, Belin, 2014, p. 284). under the generic name of *Keltoi* all the peoples of western and central Europe (Sarunas Milisauskas, *European Prehistory: A Survey*, Springer, 2012, p. 363). The geographer Eratosthenes (276

- 194 BC) (ibid.), Keltoi refers to all peoples west of the Alps. The astronomer and geographer Hipparchus of Nicaea (c. 190 - c. 120 BC) seems to have conceived of Keltiké as extending as far as the Arctic Circle (Sharon Turner, *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. 1 and 2, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1823, p. 43), whereas, according to Plutarch, the country of the Keltoi extended as far as the Sea of Azov (ibid., p. 38; see, for an in-depth and synthetic examination of all the ancient sources relating to the question of the location of the Celts, Simon Pelloutier and Chiniac de La Bastide, *Histoire des Celtes*, nouv. éd., t. 2, Paris, 1771).

This tendency to Celticise everything that was neither Roman nor Greek came to a halt in the 1st century BC. "The whole of Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which is inhabited by the Belgians, the other by the Aquitanians, the third by those who, in their language, are called Celts, and in the third by the Romans.

nôtre, Gaulois" ("Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur"), writes César (*La Guerre des Gaules*, I, 1) "which tells us that in Gaulish Celta does not refer to all the continental Celts, but to the branch of the Celtic race established between the Garonne, the Seine and the Marne at the time when the conquest of Transalpine Gaul, 58 BC" (Hubert d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Introduction à l'étude de la littérature celtique*, 1882, Librairie Thorin, Paris, p. 10-11, available at the following address

<http://www.arboredor.com/ebooks/LitteratureCeltique.pdf>, consulted on 10 December 2016. In the second century AD, Pausanias IV, 1, 4 states that "Celts is the name that these peoples formerly gave themselves and that others also gave them", adding that these peoples were are limited to those who "live at the extremities of Europe, near a vast sea whose limits cannot be reached by ships". Also in the 1st century BC, Strabo and Diodorus Siculus

will place the Keltoi in more or less the same region as where Hecataeus of Millet had indicated they lived (**). Similarly, Posidonios (135 - 51 BC), whose studies of Gaul were summarised by Strabo and Diodorus, saw Narbonnia as the heartland of the Keltiké, whose location

It is very important to note that the Celts' ethnic make-up was "quite complex", given that "various Mediterranean influences (Iberian, Ligurian, Greek, Carthaginian, Roman) met there" (Venceslas Kruta, *Les Celtes*, coll. "Que sais-je?", PUF, Paris, 2012) and that all these populations had long been influenced by the "Greeks" from Asia Minor, the Phocaeans (Napoleon III, *Histoire de Jules César*, t. 2, Henri Plon, Paris, 1866, p. 20), who founded Massalia in 600 BC.

No less ethnically diverse were the peoples, scattered over a triangular geographical area whose apex was formed by Bohemia and whose base was formed by a line running from Ireland to the centre of Spain, who are today included under the term "Celts". Here, tall, blond, dolichocephalic Germans rubbed shoulders with small and medium-sized peoples, brown, hairy, brachycephalic, like the Gaels, Aquitanians, Vlachs, Ligurians, Welsh, etc... As far as Gaul is concerned, the differences between the three peoples who, according to Caesar, lived there, and the Gauls, are very obvious.

These nations differ from one another in language, institutions and laws". (see, on the subject of this extract from the *Guerre des Gaules*, "Histoire des Gaulois, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'entière soumission de la Gaule à la domination romaine, par

Mr Amédée Thierry, member of the Institut. 3rd edition, revised and expanded. - Paris, Jules Labitte, 1844.

In Joseph Adolphe Aubenas and Emmanuel Miller (eds.), *Revue de bibliographie analytique*, vol. 6, May 1845, p. 432-445; Christian Koch, "Qu'est-ce que la Gaule et les Gaulois dans l'œuvre 'De Bello Gallico' de César"? GRIN Verlag, 2008, available at <http://www.hausarbeiten.de/faecher/vorschau/110987.html>, consulted on 16 December 2016; see, on the subject of the infidelities to Caesar's text in the Pontus geographer's observations on Gaul (IV, 4), which he knew mainly through the Gallic War, the fine remarks of Claude Charles Fauriel, *Dante et les origines de la langue et de la littérature italiennes*, vol. 2, Auguste Durand, Paris, 1854, p. 158 et seq). With regard to the British Isles, recent genetic research has shown that the 'Celts' are not a homogenous genetic group (Pallab Ghosh, *DNA study shows Celts are not a unique genetic group*, BBC News, <http://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-31905764>)

In the light of this necessary overview of the "Celtic" question, "a denomination which (seems) ... to have only a vague, indeterminate meaning, not applying to any particular people, to any distinct race" (G. Lagneau, *Distinction ethnique des Celtes et des Gaëls et de leur migration au Sud des Alpes*, *Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, vol. 11, n° 1, 1876 [p. 128-145], p. 32), while applying to an mosaic of peoples, or even races, does the statement that "... among the barbarians, the Celts, who nevertheless possess magnificent women, have a preference for boys, so that many of them are seen sleeping with two cuties at the same time on their beds made of animal skins" still have the same value and meaning?

(*) The word and concept of Männerbund have given rise to a great many misunderstandings, which need to be cleared up by demystifying their origins. In Germany at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, "men's societies" were formed. Stefan Georg was idolised by a circle of openly homosexual poets and critics. In 1903, the sexologist, sociologist, economist and Jewish volcanologist Benedict Friedländer (1866-1908) founded the homosexual organisation *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (GdE) ("The Community of Specials") with anarchist writer Adolf Brand (1874-1945) - he campaigned for the recognition of bisexuality and male homosexuality - and a dozen other homosexuals, named after the libertarian philosopher Max Stirner's notion of the independence of the "Unique" (the individual). In contrast to Magnus Hirschfeld, for whom the homosexual was a female, the GoE emphasised the homosexual's masculinity, as Gide would do in *Corydon* in 1924. Some of its members, referring to an ancient Greece straight out of their imagination, dreamt of institutionalising pederasty, while others aspired to recreate the 'literary friendships' that writers of the German Romantic period had enjoyed at the end of the eighteenth century (see Harry Oosterhuis and Hubert Kennedy (eds.), *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*, chap IV: "Eros and Male Bonding in Society", Routledge, New York - London, 2013). Friedländer, a member of the *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee*, an organisation defending the rights of homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender people created in 1897 by the Magnus Hirschfeld, a Jewish physician, disagreed with him about the nature of male homosexuality and the strategy to advance their cause, and refused to join Hirschfeld's efforts to forge an alliance with the Social Democrats and the feminist movement. In the latter respect, their disagreement was not only strategic, as his

This conception of society was similar to that set out by Heinrich Schurtz (1863-1903) in *Alter Klassen und Männerbünde. Eine Darstellung der Grundformen der Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1902; it was this ethnographer who coined the term "Männerbünde"): women, driven exclusively by the procreative instinct, could only have a formative effect on the family. Only man, governed by two primary instincts - the sexual instinct and the social instinct - was a human being, capable of creating and maintaining political institutions (Harry Oosterhuis and Hubert Kennedy [eds.], op. cit.). While the "instinctive sympathy" between men that Schurtz placed at the origin of all civilisation had no erotic character in his eyes, Friedländer affirmed that organisations the family could not exist, if men did not have relationships with each other. sentimental and erotic than with women (ibid.). Friedländer's interpretation of the Schurtzian concept of the Männerbund was tendentious, but in retrospect it lent itself to distortion, since it was based on ethnographic studies of primitive populations. originating in North America, West Africa and Melanesia (N. W. Thomas, "Compte rendu d'Altersklassen und Männerbünde, Eine Darstellung der Grundformen der Gesellschaft by Heinrich Schurtz", *Folklore*, vol. 15, N° 1, March 1904, pp. 108-113) and, as we know today, homosexual behaviour has always been widespread among these populations. The concept of The homosexual Männerbund was popularised by Hans Blüher in *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen* (1912), a work that immediately attracted a great deal of attention, in which he argued that homosexual eroticism was essential to the movement's cohesion and popularity. Wandervogel, of which he himself was one of the first members and from which he was expelled - temporarily - for homosexuality (Robert Beachy, "Review of Claudia Bruns, *Politik des Eros: Der Männerbund in Wissenschaft, Politik und Jugendkultur (1880-1934)*", Böhlau Verlag. Böhlau Verlag. Cologne - Weimar - Vienna, 2008, p. 331). It was not until the late 1910s that Wandervogel section leaders dared to openly advocate the cause of pederasty (Joachim Münster, *Sur le chemin des enfants. L'Éros blühérien dans le mouvement allemand de la jeunesse*, Gaie France, n°8 (December 1987 - January 1988, pp. 25-29). *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen*, based on Blüher's youthful experiences in the Wandervogel movement, was influenced in its theoretical apparatus by the writings of Sigmund Freud (he described his See Jay Geller, "Freud, Blüher, and the Secessio Inversa: Männerbünde, Homosexuality, and Freud's Theory of Cultural Formation". In Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovitz and Ann Pellegrini (eds.), *Queer Theory and the Jewish Question*, Columbia University Press, New York - Chichester, West Sussex, 2003, p. 96) and Friedländer (see Harry Oosterhuis and Hubert Kennedy [eds.], op. cit.). Paradoxically, Blüher claimed to be anti-Semitic; less strangely, his anti-Semitism became more pronounced when conservatives publicly questioned whether he was a pure-bred German. "In response, Blüher adopted a self-defence strategy based on the notion of racial purity and, despite his initial support for Jewish psychiatrists and sexologists, he became increasingly anti-Semitic after 1912... Blüher parried his Männerbund theory during the First World War and responded to Conservative hostility to homosexuality with ever more virulent anti-Semitism and misogyny. In his two-volume *Die Erotik der männlichen Gesellschaft*, published in 1917 and 1919, Blüher "Germanised" Männerbund, explaining that male homosexuality was a typically German phenomenon and denouncing Jews as a foreign body incapable of contributing to the German state.

Blüher's writings of the 1920s... made him one of the best-known anti-Semites of the Weimar period. His theory of the Männerbund inspired the Bündisch movement and anti-democratic opponents of the Weimar Republic... Blüher was among the first to use the expression 'konservative Revolution' in 1918..." (Robert Beachy, op. cit., p. 332). Not only was he "among the first to Blüher did not use the expression "konservative Revolution" in 1918...", but he was considered one of the main thinkers of the konservative Revolution by Armin Mohler, a historian of the movement (Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918-1932. Ein Handbuch) and Ernst Jünger's private secretary. It is no coincidence that Blüher was the only homosexual activist of the time to be mentioned by Himmler in his speech to the Gruppenführer on homosexuality. (<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2014/12/31/discours-au-gruppenfuhrer-sur-homosexualite/>). The hunt for homosexuals was such a priority for the national leaders-socialists who were not homosexuals that in July 1944, when nearly seven thousand Germans had already been convicted of homosexuality, homosexuals were still being tried in Germany (Jeremy Noakes, Nazism, 1919-1945, vol. 4, University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 1998, p. 392; three years earlier, on 21 August 1941, Hitler had condemned the "scourge of homosexuality" ["die Pest der Homosexualität"] in the Wehrmacht and the NSDAP, demanding that it be fought "with ruthless rigour" ["rücksichtslose Strenge"], during a consultation meeting at his headquarters, the memorandum of which does not appear to have survived; Günter Grau, Claudia Schoppman, Homosexualität in der NS-Zeit: Dokumente einer Diskriminierung und Verfolgung, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993, p. 211); well-informed, he was aware of the influence of Blüher's ideas on a whole section of intellectuals and young people; when he observed that "this state of men is about to be destroyed because of homosexuality", he was referring as much to the channels for spreading homosexual ideology as to the practice itself and those who indulged in it.

Reacting against the hold of women and Jewish values on the German family and against the The resulting feminisation of social life, by theorising the Männerbund as the foundation of politics, as Blüher did (Jay Geller, op. cit., p. 94) was a step in the right direction; doing so in the name of a homosexual vision of man, which was propagated simultaneously by doctors and Jewish sexologists, was an aberration. The thesis, which its propagators, like Neill, presented as an established fact, that an initiation based on homosexual practices was the condition for necessary for young boys to be admitted to Aryan warrior brotherhoods is largely based on Stig Wikander's Der arische Männerbund. Studien zur indo-iranischen Sprach- und Religionsgeschichte (Lund, Håkan Ohlssons Buchdruckerei, 1938) and, more specifically, on the association - which he was the first to dare - between the term 'arische' and that of 'Männerbund' - the description that the Swedish Indianist, Iranologist and historian of religions gives of these brotherhoods is, in fact, very similar to that of the 'Männerbund'.

Partly fanciful, since, without going so far as to speak of ritual homosexuality in their regard, he attributes to their cult some of the characteristics of the cults of indigenous pre-indo-European peoples ("orgiastic ritual sacrifices", "a positive attitude towards the dark and demonic forces of life"; see Michael Cooperson, "Bandits". In Robert Gleave and István Kristo-Nagy, Violence in Islamic Thought from the Qur'an to the Mongols, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2015, p. 197. The Maruts, of whom he makes bands of young Aryan warriors, were in reality an indigenous tribe (Padmacandra Kāśyapa, Living Pre-Rigvedic and Early Rigvedic Traditions of Himalayas, Pratibha

Prakashan, 2000, p. 184; as for the Maryannu (from the Sanskrit "marya": "young hero"), an elite group of chariot warriors who founded the kingdom of Mitanni between the loop of the Euphrates and the headwaters of the Tigris in the 15th century BC and whose members bore Indo-Iranian names (William H. Stiebing Jr, *Ancient Near Eastern History and Culture*. 2nd edn, Routledge, London - New York, p. 112), they by no means constituted a Männerbund (Armin Lange, *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2011, pp. 88).

(**) Dion Cassius (c. 155 - AD 235) (*Roman History*, XXXIX, 49) gave the name Celts to the Germans alone. The inconsistency with which this author identified the different peoples who populated Western Europe (see John Eadie, *A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians*, Edinburgh - London - Dublin, T. & T. Clark - Hamilton & Co - John Robertson and Co, 1869, p. xxi).

(ixa) Contrary to popular opinion, "there is absolutely no evidence, literary or otherwise, of any pederasty in Sparta before the end of the fifth century BC" (Paul Cartledge, *Spartan Reflections*, University of California Press, Berkeley - Los Angeles, 2003, p. 102). From an author who had entitled one of his lectures "Sodom in Sparta" twenty years earlier, this admission carries considerable weight. A fortiori, pederasty was never "institutionalised" in Sparta, as William A. Percy III in *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana - Chicago, 1998), one of the works which, along with those by Foucault and Éros adolescent: la pédérastie dans la Grèce antique (Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1980) by Abbé Félix Buffière, contributed greatly to the spread among the general public of the myth of a homosexual Sparta, disregarding the Republic of the Lacedemonians (II, 12): "I believe I must also speak of the loves of the This is part of the education of children. Among some Greek peoples, such as the Boeotians, a man who has been made will form an intimate relationship with a boy, or, as among the In Elea, the favours of youth are won by gifts; elsewhere, it is not even a question of gifts. allowed suitors to speak to boys. Lycurgus had opposite principles on this subject. When a decent man, infatuated with the soul of a boy, aspired to make a friend of him without But whoever seemed to love only the body, he declared infamous. But anyone who seemed to be in love only with the body, he declared infamous; and so he made it so that in Lacedemonia lovers abstained no less from amorous dealings with boys than parents did with their children. brothers with their brothers". In this respect, it is revealing that no works of art dealing with homosexual eroticism have been found in Sparta, whereas excavations have brought them to light in other Greek cities (Helena P. Schrader, *Leonidas of Sparta: A Boy of the Agoge*, Wheatmark, Tucson, AZ, 2010, p. 24; Abbé Buffière struggles to produce a handful of illustrations in chapter 7 of 'Éros adolescent: la pédérastie dans la Grèce antique': 'Miroir de la pédérastie'. Athenian". Of the 80,000 vases unearthed to date in Attica, around thirty allude to homosexual practices, which were also carried out in the "Athenian" style. only satyrs. Was this a "mirror of Athenian pederasty" or a mirror of the abbot's own fantasies? See Adonis Georgiades, *Homosexuality in Ancient Greece. The Myth is Collapsing*, Georgiades, Athens, 2004, p. 127, available at

<https://ia601908.us.archive.org/35/items/AdonisGeorgiadesHomosexualityInAncientGreeceTheMythsC>

<ollapsing/Adonis%20Georgiades%20Homosexuality%20in%20Ancient%20Greece%20-%20The%20Myth%20is%20Collapsing.pdf>, accessed on 12 December 2016; the work has been the

subject of a video outlining it: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-g53NYkcCU>). Herodotus, the first author to mention the agōgē, a Spartan institution that Xenophon is suggested to have claimed was founded on pederasty, makes no allusion to homosexuality, "educational" or otherwise, which, we are told, Attic comic authors would then have imputed to the Spartans: which comic authors are we talking about? How can it be maintained on the basis of Republic of the Lacedemonians (II, 12) that pederasty was practised in the agōgē, when Xenophon says.

precisely the opposite? How can Plutarch be decently presented as a source attesting to the institutional nature of homosexuality in Sparta, when he declares: "It was permissible

(Apophtegmas of the Lacedemonians, 237c) (see, on the subject of the French authors of the Enlightenment who had "the ancient authors say the very opposite of what they said", among other things on homosexuality in the Greco-Roman world, Jeremy Bentham, Essay on the pederasty, GKC, Paris, 2002, the first scholarly essay ever written in English on pederasty.

Homosexuality: edifying; see, on the subject of the falsification of quotations in order to demonstrate the existence of institutionalised homosexuality in ancient Greece,

<http://freedomoutpost.com/examples-distortion-history-homosexuality-sexual-perverts-wikipedia/>

With regard to the issue of homosexuality in Ancient Greece in general, it has been observed that "(m)ost written sources on Sparta come from other Greek cities, where pederasty was de rigueur among the elite" (Paul Chrystal, *In Bed with the Ancient Greeks*, Amberley Publishing, 2016) and that, in classical Greece, homosexuality and pederasty were seen as a form of discrimination.

(Earl .E. Shelp (ed.), *Sexuality and Medicine: Volume II: Ethical Viewpoints in Transition*, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht - Boston - USA).

Lancaster - Tokyo, 2012) by the Middle Greeks, who condemned both practices (Plinio Pioreschi, *A History of Medicine: Greek medicine*, Horatius Press, 1996, p. 48). Robert Flacelière (*L'Amour en Grèce*, Hachette, 1971), the first to introduce this distinction, was considerably less affirmative: "It seems highly probable that homosexuality was confined to the aristocratic and prosperous strata of ancient society" (translated from *Love in Ancient Greece*, "trans. by

James Cleugh, Frederick Muller Ltd, London 1962). He points out that homosexuality was illegal in most Greek cities and observes that the theme of Aristophanes' play *Lysistrata* shows, as does the great popularity of the hetaera, that homosexuality could hardly have been endemic among the common people. Homosexuality and pederasty are absent from Homeric literature. According to experts on the subject of homosexuality in ancient Greece, they are "implicit". It has to be said that almost all these "experts" were homosexuals. According to Aeschylus' scholiast (Sept. Theb., 81), Laios, father of Oedipus, was the first Greek to indulge in pederasty (Louis Ferdinand Alfred Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, vol. 3, Ladrangé, 1859, Paris, p. 38), "when he was invited by Pelops", a beardless young man whom vases often show dressed in oriental garb.

(tunique tachetée et bonnet phrygien)" (Pierre Cuvelier, *Le mythe de Pélopes et d'Hippodamie en Grèce ancienne : cultes, images, discours*, doctoral thesis, University of Poitiers, 2012, p. 4). Pelops was

from Phrygia (Herodotus, VII, 8), the land of the mother goddess Cybele. The exotic origin of homosexuality is thus clearly suggested by the myth.

(1) Jaquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, *Prehistory and the Beginnings of Civilization*, Harper & Row, New York, 1963, p. 218.

(2) Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology*, Penguin Books, New York, 1969, p. vii.

(3) Jaquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, *op. cit.* p. 242.

(4) *Ibid*, p. 371.

(5) Vern L. Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1976, p. 55; David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988, p. 126.

(6) Vern L. Bullough, *op. cit.* p. 54-55.

(7) David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 124-126.

(8) *Ibid*, p. 126.

(9) Vern L. Bullough, *op. cit.* p. 56.

(10) *Ibid*.

(11) David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 127 note.

(12) *Ibid*, pp. 126-127.

(13a) Moreover, the term "gala" is a homophone of "gal-la", "vulva".

(13b) The forthcoming commercialisation of sex robots (<http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/sex-robots-warm-skin-intimate-8985045>) which, it goes without saying, "could even have positive effects on relationships" - ... human? - must be understood in the light of the following remarks

on the etymology of the word 'kurgarru' and related terms: "Many creatures in Sumerian texts are clearly not human. They are described as being 'neither masculine nor feminine', in other words as androgynous. Most translations get round this problem by translating their names as "eunuchs". But this term is not

satisfactory, because the texts clearly state that they do not eat or drink, have no emotions and have no family life. It is obvious that these creatures have no human qualities whatsoever; on the contrary, they have the passivity and characteristics of machines... Five of them are mentioned in the list of "me" (the word "me" means "energy", "power" or "might" in Sumerian [N.D.E.]) that Ishtar received from Enki. These robots are known respectively as Kurgarru, Galatur, Sagursag, Girbadara and Galla. None of these Sumerian words has an equivalent in English. They do not

are generally not translated for the simple reason that nobody knows their exact meaning or how to render them in modern languages. Other terms that are equally difficult to translate seem to refer to artificial creatures - the Lilis, Ub, Mesi and Ala were called "demons". These demons were apparently very numerous and bothered and oppressed the Mesopotamians.

Kurgarru was one of the creatures Enki had produced to enter the realm of the dead and save Ishtar. A "creature neither masculine nor feminine", he was designed to enter the realm of the dead "through the cracks in (his) door", in other words by devious means. Being neither human nor divine, he was not subject to the draconian rules imposed by the "me" to enter and remain in the realm of the dead.

out of the realm of the dead and could move about as she pleased. Kurgarru, or Kurgurru, is one of the 'me' that Ishtar received from Enki. A study of the elements that make up the term 'kurgarru', or 'kurgurru', will show that Ishtar's 'me' was one of the most important.

kurgurru" indicates that it can be translated as "shiny metallic robot". "Kur" often has the meaning of "In its second meaning, it refers to the monsters of the realm of the dead. "Gur" means "to be mobile", or "to move"; "ma-gur" refers to the means of transport used by Enki to get from one place to another.

travel the canals of the rivers of Mesopotamia. "Ra" means "shiny", in the case of a metal. It is possible that "garra" is a form, or a corruption, of "galla", which means "mechanical man". (R. A. Boulay, *Flying Serpents and Dragons: The Story of Mankind's Reptilian Past*, revised and expanded edition, 1999, The Book Tree, Escondido, p. 253). It is

It should be noted that the Sumerians attributed "me", or "powers", to "stones", a term which, in the Semitic languages, refer to gems and quartz crystals in particular. According to the Haggadah, or ceremonial of the first two evenings of Passover, a Jewish text compiled at the same time as the Mishna and the Talmud, the five stones that David chose to confront Goliath (*ibid.*, p. 237) were endowed with magical powers.

(13c) Will Roscoe, "Precursors of Islamic Homosexualities". In Stephen O. Murray (ed.), *Islamic Homosexualities*, Garland Publishing, New York, p. 65.

(14) David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 97 [In Sumer, priestesses were called "assinutum", a feminine form of "assinu", because, in order not to become pregnant, they limited themselves to anal intercourse. *Ibid*, p. 97.

(15) Jaquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, *op. cit.* pp. 334-44; see also Marijas Gimbutas, *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe: Myths and Cult Images*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982, pp. 112-215.

(16) Joseph Campbell, *op. cit.* p. 36-37.

(17) James Mellaart, *Catal Huyuk*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1967, pp. 23-24; see also Jaquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, *op. cit.* pp. 218-227.

(18) Jaquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, *op. cit.* pp. 218-227; Joseph Campbell, *op. cit.* pp. 36-45.

(19) Riane Eisler, *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future*, Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1988, p. 56-58 (as the author's clumsy wording could lead to confusion, it is worth pointing out that in Indo-European vocabulary there is no name for the mother goddess or the

earth goddess. In historical times, there have been peoples whose language, of Indo-European origin, contained terms for the goddess and who, in fact, worshipped one, whether these peoples were of Indo-European origin, such as the Achaeans, the Dorians, the Germanic tribes, or not, such as the Minoans (Charles Barber, Joan Beal and Philip Shaw, *The English Language*, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 82) It seems highly likely that the adoption of mother goddess cults by tribes of Indo-European origin who migrated to what is now known as Europe dates from the time when they came into contact with the Semitic peoples, who, conversely, if we may make this working hypothesis, would have been driven, by imitation and perhaps by a desire to damn them, to put forward either their own male divinities or even one of their own. them, as in the case of the Semitic monotheisms, knowing that these divinities were hybrid rather than masculine, or masculinised forms of their feminine divinities)

(20) Gordon Rattray Taylor, "Historical and Mythological Aspects of Homosexuality". In Judd Marmor (ed.), *Sexual Inversion: The Multiple Roots of Homosexuality*, Basic Books, New York, 1965, pp. 148-149; David F. Greenberg, op. cit. pp. 94-100.

(21) Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Cultic Prostitution: A Case in Cultural Diffusion". In Harry A. Hoffner, Jr (ed.), *Orient and Occident*, Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973, pp. 214-217.

(22a) On the subject of *sa ziqni* and *sa res*, see Will Roscoe, op.

cit. (22b) Will Roscoe, op. cit. pp. 66-67.

(23) Francisco Guerra, *The Pre-Columbian Mind*, Seminar Press, New York, 1971, p. 91 (see Didier Godard, *L'autre Faust: l'homosexualité masculine pendant la Renaissance*, 2001, p. 19).

(24) Raymond de Becker, *The Other Face of Love*, Grove Press, New York, 1969, p. 8, in Don C. Talayessva, *Sun Chief: Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, Leo W. Summons (ed.), Yale College, New Haven, Institute of Human Relations, 1942.

(25) Raymond DeBecker, *The Other Face of Love*, trans. by Margaret Crosland and Alan Daventry. Grove Press, New York, 1969 p. 7.

(26) David F. Greenberg, op. cit. p. 101.

(27) Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Cultic Prostitution: A Case in Cultural Diffusion". In Harry A. Hoffner, Jr (ed), op. cit, p. 214.

(28) David F. Greenberg, op. cit. p. 96.

(29) Will Roscoe, "Precursors of Islamic Homosexualities". In Stephen O. Murray (ed.), *Islamic Homosexualities*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1997, p. 67.

(30) N. K. Sandars, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Penguin Books, London, 1972, p. 8, 13.

(31) Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, "A Note on an Overlooked Word-Play in the Akkadian Gilgamesh". In G. Van Driel, T.J.H. Krispijn, M. Stol and K.R. Veenhof (eds.), *Zikir Sumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, E.J. Brill, Leiden 1982, p. 129.

(32) N. K. Sandars, *op. cit.* p. 30.

(33) Translations, unless otherwise indicated, by Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, University of Chicago Press, 1971, Chicago, pp. 18-33.

(34) Thorkild Jacobsen, "How Did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?", *Acta Orientalia*, vol. 8, 1929, p. 70.

(35) Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, *op. cit.* p. 128-129.

(36) N. K. Sandars, *op. cit.* p. 68-69.

(37a) Thorkild Jacobsen, "How Did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?" *Acta Orientalia*, vol. 8, 1929, p. 72.

(37b) What the author is clearly suggesting here is that having too many children encourages homosexual behaviour.

(38) David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 129.

(39) Raymond De Becker, *op. cit.* p. 14.

(40) David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 130-134.

(41) Raymond De Becker, *op. cit.* p. 14-15.

(42) Vern L. Bullough, *op. cit.* pages 64-65 (for a French translation of this incomplete text, see Pascal Vernus, *Dictionnaire amoureux de l'Egypte pharaonique*, Plon, 2009).

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 65.

(44) See, for example, Judges, 19: 22-30; I Samuel, 18:1-3; I Samuel, 20:30; II Samuel, 1:26; Deuteronomy, 23: 17; I Kings, 14:24; II Kings, 23:7.

(45) As noted above, the oldest text of the epic dates from the middle of the third century AD. millennium BC. The sexual nature of the relationship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu appears in the Akkadian version, which dates from 2400-2200 BC (see Kilmer, *op cit.*). The ban on Homosexuality in the Hebrew Scriptures, which is examined in this chapter and was the first such prohibition in the ancient world, is found in the book of Leviticus, which was written after the return of the Israelites from captivity at the end of the sixth or fifth century BC. Some historians have pointed to a ban on homosexuality in the teachings of the Iranian prophet Zoroaster, who is thought to have lived around 1200 BC. However, the texts in which this prohibition appears date from the 3rd century BC, at the time of the domination of the Parthians over Persia. The *Vendidad*, a Zoroastrian text written around 250 BC in Persia, contains provisions prohibiting homosexuality as part of a sexual code promoting sexuality.

procreative. However, Greek historians attest to a homosexual tradition in Persia from the 5th century BC onwards, so it seems that the ban must have had little effect on the

It is not possible to say much about the sexual behaviour of the Persians, apart from that of the devout Zoroastrians who lived in rural eastern Persia (see David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* pp. 186-189). Although the concept of sexual asceticism was developed in Greek Stoicism in the third century BC, some two thousand years after the writing of the Gilgamesh epic, the Stoics did not disapprove of sexual pleasure or of the "pleasure of the flesh".

homosexuality, since the founder of the school, Zeno, had a lover, Parmenides. They simply advocated moderation and self-control. However, the Stoic concepts, introduced in the precepts of the Mosaic law by the Hellenistic writer Philo Judaeus and combined with the attitude of rejection of the world of dualist cults and the anti-sexual teachings of classical Neo-Platonism, formed the basis of the vehement anti-sexual asceticism which developed in the Christian church from the third and fourth centuries AD. Sexual asceticism as an ideal of Christian morality - an attitude totally alien to the teachings of the Gospels - is examined in chapter 9.

(46) Louis M. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism*, Bloch, New York, 1948, p. 3-4. Curiously, Epstein argues that, although there is no evidence that the Hebrews disapproved of the practices homosexuality before the period of exile, they had always condemned it. It is based on the account of the destruction of Sodom in Genesis and on the account in the book of Judges of the destruction of the city of Gaba following the attempted rape of a man to whom one of its inhabitants had offered hospitality. In both cases, Jewish tradition states that what provoked the punishment was not homosexuality per se, but the brutal behaviour of its inhabitants towards visitors ("since this man has entered my house, don't commit this infamy"). - Judges, 19:23).

(47) Tom Horner, *Jonathan Loved David: Homosexuality in Biblical Times*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1978, pp. 15-25.

(48) Judges, 3:2; Joshua, 23:13; Exodus, 23:29. See also Riane Eisler, *op. cit.* pp. 58, 94-95.

(49) See, for example, Joshua, 6:21; 6:26; 7:24-26; 8:22-29; 11:6-17; 10: 10-11; 10:24-32; Judges, 1:2-6; 1:17, 19; 1:25; 3:28-29; 4:15-16; 8:7, 16; 9:5; 12:6; 18:27; 20:35-48; 1 Samuel, 11:11; 15:2-3; 15:7-8, 20; 22:18-19; 27:8-11; 30:17; 2 Samuel, 8:2-4; 12:31.

(50) Riane Eisler, *op. cit.* pp. 43-45, 94-95

(51a) *Ibid.* p. 93.

(51b) The bull was indeed both a symbol of Baal and a symbol of Yahweh (Judges, 6-24-29) (James S. Anderson, *Monotheism and Yahweh's Appropriation of Baal*, Bloomsbury Academic, 2015, p. 65). In almost all English translations of the Bible (Deuteronomy, 33-17, Numbers, 23:22) Yahweh is described as having horns that resemble "the horns of the bull". Other parallels between Yahweh and Baal include the fact that both gods had the title of "ly", "(Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel*, 2nd edn, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI - Cambridge, 2002, p. 65 ff).

The bull is also the symbol of El, a deity who was supplanted by Baal in Ugaritic mythology. Yahweh is explicitly associated with El and Baal on several inscriptions found on the site of Kuntilet Ajrud, located in the north-east of the Sinai Peninsula (Watson E. Mills (ed.), *Mercer Dictionary of the Bible*, Mercer University Press, p. 494) and it is perhaps no coincidence that the oldest Hebrew name for a god is Baal (as there is no bullfighting divinity that is not associated with a mother goddess, to whom he is subordinate, the question therefore arises as to which mother goddess the first god of the Israelites was subordinate: the mother goddess Asherah? See Tilde Binger, *Asherah: Goddesses in Ugarit, Israel and the Old Testament*; John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1997; Saul M. Olyan, *Asherah and the cult of Yahweh in Israel*, Scholars Press, 1988 [Editor's note]).

It will not be useless to repeat here what we have already said elsewhere about the symbolism of the horn, expanding our remarks. Firstly, the crescent shape of bovid horns is lunar in character and, as such, they are the emblem of the mother goddess. While it is true that "they can become a symbolic vector of solar and male power", this is only in the relative sense that the sun they represent is the one that dies and is reborn every day, like the great divinities of the Semitic pantheons, and not the immutable and perfect essence that the gods associated with this star symbolised for the Aryan peoples; it is only in the relative sense that the masculine principle they evoke is, in accordance with the manifestation of virility among the Semitic peoples, either

crudely material and sensualist, or brutal and ferociously warlike (see Julius Evola, *Tre aspetti dello problema ebraico*, Ar, Padua, 1978, p. 7). As the horns "evoke the prestiges of strength vital, of periodic creation, of inexhaustible life, of fecundity", "they have come to symbolise the majesty of the benefits of royal power" (Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, Marian Berlewi and Bernard Gandet, *Dictionnaires des symboles*, revised and expanded edition, Robert Laffont, p 1982, p. 389), to be more precise of a priestly-royal power delegated in some way by the goddess (in the catacombs, the bull will be the emblem of the priest

<https://ia601403.us.archive.org/11/items/lartchretien00corbgoog/lartchretien00corbgoog.pdf>).

Throughout the Old Testament, the horn refers specifically to the power of the king: "The Lord will judge the ends of the earth, and will give strength to his king, and will lift up the horn of his anointed" (1 Samuel 2:10. The term "horn" has been replaced by "strength" in the Segond Bible); "Yahweh my rock, my

my fortress, my deliverer, my God, my rock of refuge, my shield, the horn of my salvation, my stronghold" (Psalm 18:2). Here again, the term "horn" has been expunged from some of the texts.

French translations of the Bible); God "will cause a horn of salvation to spring up for David" (Psalm, 132, 17) (see, for other biblical references to the horn, S.J. Léopold Sabourin, *L'Évangile de Luc : introduction et commentaire*, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Rome, 1992; for an examination, unfortunately not exhaustive, of the occurrences of the term "horn" in Ugaritic texts and the Old Testament, A.H.W. Curtis, "Some observations on "Bull" Terminology in the Ugaritic Texts and the Old Testament". In A. S. Van Der Woude (ed.), *Quest of the Past: Studies on Israelite Religion, Literature and prophetism*, Brill, Leiden - New York - Coenhagen - Cologne, 1990). This metaphor is

repeated in the New Testament: the Lord "... has raised up for us a horn of salvation in the house of his servant David" (Luke, 1, 69).

The hundreds of thousands of websites that have mastered the art of copying and pasting where the horns are denounced as a satanic emblem would almost succeed in making us forget that horns are a common metaphor for power and might in Judeo-Christianity.

(51c) As the bull and the mother goddess form a divine couple in Semitic mythology, it is not surprising that the

It is contradictory to assume that the original god of the Israelites was Baal (the bull), while asserting that the cult of Yahweh developed in reaction to the cult of the mother goddess.

(52) Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, "Eve and the Identity of Women: Part 6, the Old Testament, Women & Evil". Images of Women in Ancient Art, Sweetbriar College, available at <http://witcombe.sbc.edu/eve-women/6womenevil.html>, accessed on 22 December 2016.

(53) Dennis Bratcher, "Speaking the Language of Canaan: The Old Testament and the Israelite Perception of the Physical World". Consultation on the Relationship between the Wesleyan Tradition and the Natural Sciences, Kansas City, MO, 19 October 1991.

(54) Judges, 2:11-13; 3:7; 6:25 ff; 10:6; I Samuel, 8:4; 12:10.

(55) Tom Horner, op. cit. p. 64; David F. Greenberg, op. cit. p. 137-138.

(56) Judges, 2:13; 3:7; 6:25; 10:6; I Samuel, 7:4; 12:10.

(57) For example, Baal-Gad (Joshua, 11:17; 12:7; 13:5); Baal-Hermon (Judges, 3:3; I Chronicles, 5:23; Baal-Meon (Numbers, 32:38; Ezekiel, 25:9; I Chronicles, 5:8).

(58) I Kings 18:19.

(59) Riane Eisler, op. cit. p. 87-88.

(60) 2 Kings, 18:4.

(61) Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, Avon, New York, 1978, pp. 12-3, pp. 48-50, quoted in Riane Eisler, op. cit. p. 93.

(62) Tom Horner, *Jonathan Loved David: Homosexuality in Biblical Times*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1978, p. 64; David F. Greenberg, p. 137-138; on the subject of kadesh and their female counterparts, see I Kings, 14.22-24, 15.12, 22.46; II Kings, 23:7; Deuteronomy, 23.17-18; Leviticus, 18:3, 24:30, 20:23 (the radical qdš generally refers to the notion of holiness in Semitic languages [Melissa Hope Ditmore (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, vol. 2, p. 418]. It is found in Akkadian "qadishtum" ("consecrated woman") and Canaanite "qedešah" ("consecrated woman").). Some documents attest that the qadishtum had the same functions as the kadesh. The qadishtum could marry and have children, but had to go out veiled [New Orient, vol. 3,

Czechoslovak Society for Eastern Studies, 1962, p. 73]. In the Code of Hammurabi, however, the term has the meaning of "consecrated woman", without having the connotation of "prostitute"; in the ancient texts

In classical Babylonian literature, qadishtu are identified with witches [Youn Ho Chung, *The Sin of the Calf*, 2010, t&t clark, New York - London, 2010, p. 159]. The temple staff of Ugarit included a qdshm. who engaged in "sacred prostitution" to promote fertility [David M. Clemens, *Sources for Ugaritic Ritual and*

Sacrifice: AOAT : Veröffentlichungen Zur Kultur und Geschichte Des Alten Orients und Des Alten Testaments. Ugaritic and Ugarit Akkadian texts, Ugaritic-Verlag, 2001]. Finally, as the author points out, at Memphis, on a monument dedicated to Qdsu, this Syrian goddess associated with love and fertility is called "the prostitute" (David F. Greenberg, op. cit., p. 95 [N.D.E.]).

(63) 2 Kings, 23, 7.

(64) C.A. Tripp, *The Homosexual Matrix*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1975, p. 6.

(65) Jeremiah, 44:24-48.

(66) 1 Kings, 14:24; 15:12; 22:46; Deuteronomy, 23:17-18; Leviticus, 19:4.

(67) Riane Eisler, op. cit. pp. 44-45, 94-95

(68a) Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, op.

cit.

(68b) The author commits an anachronism. For Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, following Job, 41 to the letter ("Corpus illius (Behemot) quasi scuta fusilla, compactum squamis se prementibus"), the body of the demon is covered with bronze scales, "figures of the universality of sins and sinners" (M. Le Chanoine J. Corblet (ed.), *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 2e série, t. 12, Paris - Arras, 1880, p. 18) "When paintings and statues of the devil burst onto the art scene, they no longer appeared completely clothed in the devil's image.

of scales, but formed entirely from the assembly of the limbs of several different animals making up one and the same subject or rather one and the same monster, and this is what can be seen in all the written, painted or sculpted works of art that have survived from this period. They show various parts of animals with no mutual analogy, such as the legs of a monkey adapted to the body of a hen or a palm, or the hooked beak of a hawk to the head of a mammal. It is for this reason that the figures of the demons are so

The first known precise description of the devil comes from the monk Raoul Glauber. The first known precise description of the devil is by the monk Raoul Glauber (985- 1045) who, in his *Histoires*, relates the vision he had of him in a dream as follows: "He was small of stature, with a frail neck, an emaciated face, very black eyes, a rough and tense forehead, pinched nostrils, a prominent mouth, thick lips, a receding and very narrow chin, a goat's beard, hairy and tapering ears, bristly hair, dog's teeth, a pointed skull, and a very long, stubby face.

swollen chest, a hunchback on his back, his buttocks quivering, sordid clothes" (*Les Histoires*, V, 1, quoted in Bernard Teyssedre, *Le Diable et l'Enfer au temps de Jésus*, Albin Michel, 2014, p. 249). In Hildegard von Bingen's *Scivias* (c. 1150), a work adorned with illuminations depicting twenty-six of her mystical visions, Satan is not horned (<https://s-media-cache->

ak0.pinimg.com/originals/30/93/93/309393074ba71365a4999abf14e4c234.jpg). In *Ordo virtutum*, a liturgical drama of his own composition, the figure of Satan "has the skin of a reddish-brown beast similar to that of dragons" (Morgan A. Matos, "The Satanic Phenomenon: Medieval Representations of Satan", PhD thesis, 2011, available at: <http://scholarship.rollins.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=mls>, accessed 23 December 2016, p. 35) in pictorial representations of the period. As early as the twelfth century, Satan began to be depicted as a fantastic animal with bull's horns in bestiaries and psalters (<http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/28/76977>; England, Oxford c. 1215), in the breviaries and bibles. According to Canon J. Corblet (op. cit., p. 18), it was because of the need to illustrate vice and evil with monstrous forms that "the bull's horns, an attribute of his and physical power, are often attributed to the devil in hieratic painting...".

The "Middle Ages". Why would bull's horns be monstrous? In reality, Satan, for the Church of the time, himself represented the Jew, whom Christians associated with horns by virtue of a supposed mistranslation of a word in Exodus, 34.29 ("Now it happened that when Moses came down from on Mount Sinai, holding in his hand the two Tables of the Testimony, when [I say] he came down from the mountain, he did not notice that the skin of his face had become radiant while he was speaking with God") in the vulgate (according to Charles Szlakmann, "The Hebrew verses mention the expression "karan or panau" three times. the skin of his face was radiant". But Saint Jerome translated "cornuta esset facies sua" "his face was horned". He fell victim to the phonetic proximity between the Hebrew words 'karan', to radiate, and keren, horn." (Moïse, Paris, Gallimard, "Folio Biographies" collection, 2009, p. 189-190; according to The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon, Jerome was not the victim of anything at all, because "qaran" can be translated as "horns", or more accurately, and this detail is important, "horns of a goat": (<http://www.lehrhaus.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Exodus-30-1-10.pdf>, p. 1). The Church reinforced the association of the Jew with the image of a horned devil by taking a decree that required Jews to wear a "horned" hat ("pileum cornutum", which - another important detail - more closely resembles a Phrygian cap) (Mariko Mizayaki, *Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism*. In Debra Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, Garland Publishing Inc, New York - London, 1999, p. 29.) From the "Middle Ages" to the "Renaissance

Michael Pacher (*Saint Augustin and the Devil*, 1471) gave them the shape of insect antennae (<http://www.crisismagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Michael-Pacher.jpg>); next to a horned devil is a devil with feline ears in a painting by Hieronymus Bosch (<https://img.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeed-static/static/2015-10/23/10/enhanced/webdr13/enhanced-24351-1445610547-12.jpg>); the shape of the horned crown of the devil depicted riding a horse in an undated painting, but which, given its workmanship, must be from the 15th century. (<https://img.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeed-static/static/2015-10/23/10/enhanced/webdr03/enhanced-27502-1445610695-1.jpg>) is reminiscent of the fleur-de-lys; Fra Angelico, on the other hand, topped his with a superb bull horns (<http://www.romantisme-noir.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/fra-angelico-hell-1435-1440.jpg>, whose purity of execution is on a par with that of the drawing of Satan illustrating the Codex Griga (13th century) (http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/File:Codex_Gigas_devil.jpg). (Huguette Legros, *Le diable et l'enfer : représentation dans la sculpture romane*, OpenEdition Books Presses universitaires de

Provence, available at: <http://books.openedition.org/pup/2668?lang=fr;en>, accessed on 20 December 2016)

As for the Satan wearing the horns of a goat, which is now part of the "popular" imagination, it derives from and hardly predates the drawing of the "Mendes goat" with which Eliphas Levi decorated his "Dogme et rituel de haute magie" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horned_God#/media/File:Baphomet.png).

(69) On the basis of a detailed textual analysis, biblical scholars have come to the conclusion that most of the books of the Old Testament were compiled from a number of different texts written by various priests over a period of several hundred years beginning around the beginning of the eighth century BC. The first of the texts, known as the J-text, was written by a member or members of the Aaronite priesthood in Jerusalem and contained an account of events from Creation to the arrival of the Israelites in Canaan. The narrative, written from a Aaronite, emphasised the importance of Aaron and the priests who descended from him and put into perspective the role of Moses, from whom their rivals, the Shilohs, claimed descent. The text, which comes very close to what became the first four books of the Torah, also included the first code of the law

Hebrew, including a long list of rules relating to areas ranging from clothing to food, which enabled the Aaronite priesthood to establish its authority over Hebrew worship. The second text, Text E, written in reaction to Text J by the Shiloh priests in the Northern Kingdom, provides a similar historical account, but contains a different code of laws and emphasises the role of Moses, while downplaying that of Aaron. In the period following the destruction of the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians in 720 BC, when Jerusalem was flooded with refugees from the North, the two texts were grouped together, mainly with the aim of facilitating the assimilation of the refugees with the people of Judah. At the end of the 7th century BC, King Josiah initiated religious reforms aimed at standardising Hebrew worship according to the rituals of the Temple in Jerusalem, controlled by the Aaronite priesthood. As a result, the Aaronites drew up a new version of the JE text, known as the P text, in which they reaffirmed their point of view, ridding it of the texts that went in the direction of the priests of Shiloh. In response, a member of the priesthood of Shiloh, thought by many scholars to be Jeremiah, composed a lengthy historical account that spanned from the arrival of the Israelites in Canaan to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and the exile of the Israelites to Babylon. The text, referred to by scholars as the "Deuteronomistic History", includes the book of Deuteronomy as well as the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings. After the Persians

had defeated Babylon and the Israelites had been freed from captivity, the Persian monarch, Artaxerxes, appointed Ezra, a member of the priesthood of Aaron, religious leader of the Israelites, an act that definitively gave the priests of Aaron control over Hebrew worship practices. In the years following, a writer whom scholars call R, or the editor, perhaps Ezra himself and certainly a member of Aaron's priesthood, compiled the texts anew, modified them, edited them and grouped them together in the first four books of the Torah. At the same time, he added eleven chapters to Genesis, made the book of Exodus twice as long, composed the greater part of the Book of Numbers and wrote the whole of Leviticus. He then integrated the books of Deuteronomistic History with the other texts and organised the whole into the books of the Bible as we know them today. Around the same time, an Aaronite scribe added I and II Chronicles, which offers a response

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah take up the historical narrative, with the return of the Israelites from exile, the rebuilding of the Temple and the reconstitution of the nation of Israel, from an entirely Aaronite perspective. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah take up the historical narrative, with the return of the Israelites from exile, the rebuilding of the Temple and the reconstitution of the nation of Israel, from an Aaronite perspective. The other books of the Bible, the books of the prophets and the books of wisdom, were compiled from many other sources, including the writings of the prophets themselves and other texts handed down through the generations.

(70) R.E. Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, Harper Collins, 1997.

(71) Isaiah, 6:13, 17:8, 27:9.

(72) Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *op. cit.*

(73) 1 Kings, 21:25.

(74) 1 Kings, 16:31-33.

(75) Oxford English Dictionary.

(76) American Heritage Dictionary.

(77) Rictor Norton, *A History of Homophobia*, 1: The Ancient Hebrews, <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/homopho1.htm> , p. 71 ; David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 139-141.

(78) David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 139-140.

(79) For example, 1 Kings, 14:23-24, in the Hebrew original of which the term "to-ebah", "idolater", is used. "The term "ritually impure" is used in reference to the activities of the kadesh.

(80) Louis M. Epstein, *op. cit.* p. 4.

(81) In addition to the passages of Scripture quoted here, see David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.* p. 136 note 49, who lists others relating to the sin of Sodom understood as an inhospitable or cruel attitude towards guests or travellers: Deuteronomy, 29:23, 32:32; Isaiah, 1:9-10, 3:9, 13:19; Jeremiah, 23:14, 49:18, 50:40; Lamentations, 4:6; Amos, 4:11.

(82) Luke, 10:10-12.

(83) Many biblical exegetes reject the hypothesis that, in this passage, "to know" "According to these specialists, the incident was due to the fact that Lot, who was not a citizen of the city but a foreigner who lived there and had no rights, had brought two men into the city. According to these specialists, the incident can be explained by the fact that Lot, who was not a citizen of the town but a foreigner residing there with no rights, had introduced two "homosexuals" into the house. strangers without permission. According to this interpretation, the men were simply trying to find out who these strangers were. It seems to be fully confirmed by the fact that, in the Bible, "yadha", the verb "to know" used in the verse in question, is used in more than nine hundred other biblical passages in the sense of "to make the acquaintance of" and only ten times in the sense of "to know". to have sexual relations". However, Lot's offer to give them his two virgin daughters at the

the place of the two angels implies that Lot had understood that they were going to have sexual relations with them

(Rictor Norton, op. cit.) (our two homosexual authors, Norton and Neill, did not consider the possibility that Lot, knowing their attraction to women, had made them this offer in the hope that it would cause them to lose sight of the fact that they had asked him to bring the two angels out of his house for "to know" in the sense of "to become aware of their identity" [N.D.E.])

(84) Vern L. Bullough, op. cit. p. 83; Derrick Sherwin Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition*, Longmans, Green, London, 1955.

and Co, 1955 pp. 8-27; Robin Scroggs, *The New Testament and Homosexuality*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1983, p. 85-98.

(85) Judges, 19:22-30.

(86) 1 Samuel, 16:12-23.

(87) Ibid.

(88) 1 Samuel, 18:1-4.

(89) 1 Samuel, 18:21 (literally: "by two", as stated in *The Inclusive Hebrew Scriptures*, vol. 2: *The Prophets*, Altamira Press, p. 115. The Second Bible is therefore wrong to translate this passage as "... said to David for the second time, Today you will become my son-in-law").

(90) 1 Samuel, 18:5.

(91) 1 Samuel, 20:30-34.

(92) 1 Samuel, 20:41.

(93) 2 Samuel, 1:26 (again, this is a "chaste" translation of David's sadness). Other translations, closer to the Hebrew text, notably that of André Chouraqui, are less watered down:

"Jonathan, my brother, you were so charming to me! Your love was more wonderful to me than the love of women. Finally, an ambiguity in the Hebrew vocabulary also makes it possible to translate:

"Jonathan, my brother, you were full of charms for me! (Odon Vallet, *Jésus et Bouddha: Destins croisés du christianisme et du bouddhisme*,

Albin Michel, 1999 [N.D.E.])

(94) Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, op. cit. p. 130 (See also *Gilgamesh: A Reader*, John R. Maier, p. 85).

(95) John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*, Villard Books, New York, 1994, p. 135.

(96) Ibid.

(97) 2 Samuel, 9:1-13.

(98) Tom Horner, op. cit. p. 31-32. For a detailed examination, supported by quotations, of the translation of the passage in the Septuagint and in the Massoretic text by some twenty biblical exegetes, see Bruce L. Gerig, "Saul's Sexual Insult and David's Losing it: Homosexuality and the Bible, Supplement",
The Epistle: a Web Magazine for Christian Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgenderal People,
<http://epistle.us/hbarticles/saulinsulldaveloseit1.html>.

(99) Ibid.

(100) John Boswell, op. cit. p. 136-137.

(101) Tom Horner, op. cit. p. 28.

(102) Quoted in Tom Horner, op.cit. p. 39.

(103) Daniel, 1:9.

(104) David F. Greenberg, op. cit. p. 121.

(105) Allen Edwardes, *The Jewel in the Lotus, A Historical Survey of the Sexual Culture of the East*, Julian Press, New York, 1959, p. 189.

(106) David F. Greenberg, op. cit. p. 122 (see Vincent Azoulay. "Xenophon, le roi et les eunuques: Généalogie d'un monstre?" *Revue Française d'Histoire des Idées Politiques*, L'Harmattan, 2000, 11, pp. 3-26; available at <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00268761/document>, accessed 20 December 2016; Dominique Lenfant, "Le mépris des eunuques dans la Grèce classique: orientalisme ou anachronisme?" In A. Queyrel Bottineau (ed.), *La représentation négative de l'autre dans l'antiquité. Hostilité, réprobation, dépréciation*, Editions Universitaires de Dijon, Dijon, 2014, available at the following address
<http://dominiquelenfant.free.fr/pdf/2014.Lenfant.Mepris%20des%20eunuques.pdf>, consulted on 20 December 2016 [N.D.E.]

(107) Ibid.

(108) John Maxwell O'Brien, *Alexander the Great: The Invisible Enemy*, Routledge, New York, 1994, p. 112.

(109) Daniel, 1:3.

(110) *Odyssey*, 14:297, 15:449.

(111) Joel, 4:3. For an analysis of the translation problems of this passage, see Tom Horner, op. cit, p. 68.

(112) David F. Greenberg, op. cit. p. 122 note.

(113) Ibid, p. 121 note.

(114) Ezra, 7:26.

(115) By appointing Ezra religious leader of the Jews and sending him back to Jerusalem with sufficient funds to exercise his authority, Artaxerxes was not only being magnanimous towards the Jews, he also had specific political objectives in mind. In 460 BC, a Greek confederation led by Athens had defeated the Persians at Memphis and seized much of the coast of Palestine and Phoenicia, posing a serious military threat to the Persian Empire. The establishment of a strong pro-Persian religious and civil power in Judea was intended to act as a bulwark against Greek incursions from the Palestinian coast.

(116) Louis M. Epstein, *op. cit.* p. 7.

(117a) The Testament of Patriarch Reuben, 1:21.

(117b) If, in the post-exilic writings, it appears that the woman begins to be effectively presented as the personification of evil, of Israel in a state of sin, for reasons that do not appear in the post-exilic writings, it is because the woman is the personification of Israel in a state of sin.

This is not only due to the participation of Jewish women in the orgiastic rituals of the Canaanite religion, but also to the radically different image given of them in the pre-exilic writings, in which they are generally portrayed not as temptresses but as victims of "transgressions".

(Alice A. Keefe, *Woman's Body and the Social Body in Hosea 1-2*, Sheffield

Academic Press, London - New York, 2002, p. 167). In Genesis 34, Judges 19 and 2 Samuel 13, it is not the woman but the rape of the woman that causes social chaos. Moreover, the woman's body symbolises the social body in Judges 19 (see *ibid.*, p. 175).

(118) Louis M. Epstein, *op. cit.* p. 7.

(119) John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980, pp. 100-102; Tom Horner, *op. cit.*; David F. Greenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-141; Rictor

Norton, "Homophobia and the Ancient Hebrews". In Winston Leyland (ed.), *Gay Roots: An Anthology of Gay History, Sex, Politics and Culture*, Gay Sunshine Press, San Francisco, 1993, pp. 70-71.

(120) Some scholars believe it is possible that the ancient Hebrews were also influenced by the strict religious precepts of the Zoroastrian religion of their Persian benefactors, which placed great importance on reproduction and condemned all sexuality not oriented towards procreation, including homosexual practices. Given the Israelites' weakening as a nation, such a ban might have been considered desirable. However, as

As mentioned above, the Zoroastrian prohibition of homosexuality was formulated in the Vendidad, which was not written until the 3rd century BC, apparently two centuries after an identical prohibition had been inserted in Leviticus.

(121) Rictor Norton, *op. cit.* p. 71; other examples of the use of to-ebah in reference to idols or non-Jewish cults can be found in Deuteronomy, 7:25-26; 17:2-5; 13:12-15; 12:31; 18:9-12.

(122) John Boswell, *op. cit.* p. 100.

(123) Victor Paul Furnish, "The Bible and Homosexuality: Reading the Texts in Context". In Jeffrey S. Siker (ed.), *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, KY, 1994, p. 20.

(124) The various attempts to clarify the meaning of "miskebe issa" have not succeeded in doing so. Starting with that of Neill, only to confuse the problem even more. We will try to put it clearly: if the writers of Leviticus had intended to condemn, purely and simply male homosexuality, they would have said: "Thou shalt not lie with a man", but they wrote "You shall not lie with a man as one lies with a woman", i.e. "you shall not have sexual intercourse with a man as one has sexual intercourse with a woman". So what would be condemned here is not the fact that a man has sexual intercourse with a woman, but the fact that a woman has sexual intercourse with a man.

For another man, it would be the fact of a man having sexual intercourse with another man, behaving like a man towards a woman, in other words playing an active role in relation to his male partner. This reading, which is syntactically logical, is culturally absurd, insofar as in all societies where male homosexuality was widespread from antiquity to the "Middle Ages", active homosexuality was valued over passive homosexuality. However, "miskebe issa" has a meaning that may resolve the difficulty posed by the translation of the verse: "the state of a woman being penetrated", or more simply "vaginal receptivity" (Saul M. Olyan, *Social Inequality in the World of the Text*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2011, p. 62). Leviticus 18-22 could thus be rendered as "Thou shalt not lie with a man in the state of a woman being penetrated" and would thus constitute a condemnation of passive homosexuality alone.

In passing, it has been argued (*ibid.*, p. 63) that the homosexual practice referred to in this passage is not necessarily that of anal intercourse.

(125) Jewish scholars of later times still interpreted "kadesh" in the sense of "a place of worship". As shown by Sanhedrin, a treatise in the Babylonian Talmud containing laws relating to civil and criminal law. Rabbi ben Elsiha, who taught in the first half of the second century AD, interpreted the prohibition of kadesh in Deuteronomy as a general condemnation of passive sodomy. The commentary by Rashi (1040 - 1105) also gives "kadesh" the meaning "to be able to do one's own business".
homosexual" (Louis Crompton, *op. cit.*, p. 43).

(126) Robert A. Di Vito, "Questions on the Construction of (Homo) sexuality: Same-Sex Relations in the Hebrew Bible". In Beattie Jung, Joseph Andrew Coray (eds.), *Sexual Diversity and Catholicism: Toward the Development of Moral Theology*, the Liturgical Press, Collegeville, MN, 2001, pp. 114-116; Victor Paul Furnish, "The Bible and Homosexuality: Reading the Texts in Context". In Jeffrey S. Siker (ed.), *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, KY, 1994, p. 20. On the cultic connotations of "zakar", see the detailed analysis, supported by numerous Scripture quotations, from Bruce L. Gerig, "Homosexuality and the Bible: the Levitical Ban: A Mysterious Puzzle". In *The Epistle: A Web Magazine for Christian Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgendered People*, available at <http://epistle.us/homobible.html> and <http://epistle.us/hbarticles/zakhar2.html>.

(127) Louis M. Epstein, *op. cit.* p. 3-4.

(128) Robin Scroggs, *The New Testament and Homosexuality*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1983, p. 92-94. Among the texts cited by Scroggs that condemn homosexual practices as idolatrous are the Letter of Aristaeus, The Wisdom of Solomon, the Sibylline Oracles and The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

(129) Rictor Norton, *op. cit.* p. 71.

(130) Bernard Bamberger, "Leviticus". In W. Gunther Plaut (ed.) *The Torah: A Modern Commentary*, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York, 1981, p. 881; Rictor Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

(131) 1 Maccabees, 14-15; 49.

The bourgeois mythology of the Enlightenment

If Jacques de Mahieu's books, whether those dealing with 'mysterious archaeology' (all translated into French) or, even more so, those of interest to us here, i.e. those on race and the history of ideas, have been republished almost non-stop in Argentina since the death of this highly penetrating mind, although mysteriously none of them has ever been published in French translation. The publication of *QUI Suis-Je?* Jacques de Mahieu (Pardès, 2018) unfortunately did nothing to change this. Maurras et Sorel fills this gap.

Maurras y Sorel (La Editorial Virtual, 1968), as the author indicates in a preliminary note, brings together three essays first published in the *Boletín de estudios franceses*, edited by the Argentinian historian and journalist Alberto Falcionelli (1910-1995) of the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, on the occasion of the bicentenary of the *Encyclopédie*, which the university was keen to "celebrate in its own way". He These are "La mitología burguesa del 'siglo de las luces'" (1950), "La Contra Enciclopedia Contemporánea - Maurras y Sorel" (1952) and "La Tour du Pin - precursor de la tercera posición" (1952).

In *Révolution contre le monde moderne* (1934) and, in fact, as early as *Impérialisme païen* (1928), Evola had traced the process of caste regression, drawing on data provided by Guénon. "The bourgeois mythology of the Enlightenment" offers an analysis of the many converging factors in the involutive transfer of power from the aristocracy to the merchant and financial bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century. An extract is given below.

At a time when, on the occasion of yet another republican electoral episode (*), the Trotskyite-capitalist hydra - in other words, and to use Maurras' expression, the anti-France - is unleashed in the media, while intriguing behind the scenes, the 'third way' has probably never been more topical.

I. THE BOURGEOIS MYTHOLOGY OF THE "CENTURY OF ENLIGHTENMENT"

1. Society in the 18th century

From a social and political point of view, the 18th century, or more precisely the period between the death of Louis XIV in 1715 and the convening of the Estates-General in 1789, was a difficult time for the country.

The prehistory of pre-Socratic philosophy in an orientalisng context

1. Historical contexts

To this day, philosophy is linked to a chain of traditions that begins with Greek texts dating back some 2,400 years: the works of Plato and Aristotle have been studied continuously ever since; they were passed on to the Persians and Arabs and reintroduced into Europe and can still be found in any philosophical library. Plato, in his turn, was not an absolute beginner; he read and criticised Heraclitus, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Protagoras and other sophists - we speak of 'pre-Socratics' but should rather say 'pre-platonists'; Aristotle read and criticised Plato and everything else he could find up to Anaximander. Even if philosophy is anything but sure of its own identity, the very question "What is philosophy?" is inseparably linked to the Greek foundations. No one has been able to reinvent philosophy because it has always been there.

No comparable tradition of books, texts and translations goes back further than Anaximander, Heraclitus, Parmenides. As far as we can see, there are no direct translations in Greek literature before the Hellenistic period. No book from the Classical period can be said to have been a translation from an oriental language, although Hannon's *African Journey* is an example. a possible exception (1). While Latin literature began with translations and adaptations from Greek, the situation in the formative period of Greek literature must have been different. And yet there was a literature, a highly developed literature, all around in the various 'oriental' civilisations close to the Greeks. And the Greeks were anything but immune to Eastern influences.

In fact, what we take to be the beginning of Greek philosophy began just as the Eastern superpower encountered the Greek world and established its reign over the most flourishing, advanced and sophisticated regions, the cities of Ionia. Thales of Miletus is linked to a solar eclipse that is connected with the conflict between the Medes, Lydians and post-Assyrian Babylonians in 585 BC. (2); Anaximander is said to have written his book, one of the first Greek books in prose, just as King Cyrus the Persian conquered Sardis, capital of the Lydians, in 547 BC (3); Xenophanes left his city, Colophon in Asia Minor, "when the Mede arrived" (B22). Heraclitus remained in Ephesus, where he kept in touch with the sanctuary of Artemis, where the construction of the first great marble temple in Greece had been begun by Croesus, King of Lydia, and was completed under Persian rule. Artemision adopted a Persian title, Megabyxos.

But the establishment of Persian rule over the eastern Greeks was only the final act in a process of interaction that had long since taken place. After the break-up of the so-called Koine of the Bronze Age, after the end of palaces and literature, while a fragmented and unstable conglomerate of small tribes and colonies had remained to the east of the Mediterranean, progress had mainly come from three sources: the intensification of Mediterranean trade with Phoenician cities, such as Tyre in the first place; the spread of a simple writing system, the alphabet; and the tremendous expansion of Assyria - a military crisis at the root of economic and cultural progress.

Assyrian expansion reached the Mediterranean in the ninth century and reached its peak in the eighth and seventh centuries: Damascus was conquered around 800, Israel in 722, Cyprus around 700; Sidon was destroyed in 670; Egypt came under Assyrian rule in 671-655. The main adversary in Anatolia of In the east, Urartu collapsed under the weight of an invasion from the north led by the "Cimmerians" around 700, as did Phrygia. At this time, Gyges became King of Lydia, establishing his reign over the main Greek cities of Anatolia and forming an alliance with Assurbanipal, King of Assyria. This enabled him to open up the King's Highway from Ionia to Mesopotamia. Assyrian power then collapsed suddenly by the combined assaults of Babylon and the Iranian Medes in 612: Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, was destroyed.

The Greeks were on the fringes of these events. The Greeks settled in Cyprus in the twelfth century. They established trading posts in Syria in the ninth century. They themselves succeeded in developing long-distance trade in competition with the Phoenicians, from Syria to Etruria, with "colonies" in southern Italy and Sicily. At this time, Euboea was the dominant location for relations between East and West. There were some conflicts with the Assyrians in both Syria and Cilicia; in the eighth century, the Greek kings of Cyprus paid tribute to Assyria. However, this was nothing like the disasters that had befallen the Arameans and Luvites of southern Anatolia, to the Phoenician cities of Syria, Israel in Palestine and Egypt. The Greeks were lucky enough to be hit but not crushed by the Eastern onslaught. On the contrary, they benefited from it: Eastern skills spread throughout the Mediterranean regions, probably in part thanks to the refugees. The Greeks, being the most Oriental of Westerners, were able to begin their own particular journey (4).

By far the most important cultural transfer was alphabetic writing. There is no need here to dwell on the advantages of the alphabet over ancient writing systems, whether hieroglyphic or cuneiform (5). Nor will there be any discussion of the difference between

the consonant script, which the Semites had kept until then, and the vowel script, which the Greeks introduced, largely through misunderstanding (6). The success of the Greek alphabet is This can be seen in the fact that it was quickly adopted by the surrounding peoples, almost simultaneously by the Phrygians in the east and the Etruscans in the west, followed by the Lydians and Lycians in Anatolia - the case of the Carians is more complicated - and by the Latins, Venetians and Iberians on the other.

The Greeks adopted the alphabet, it seems, shortly after 800 BC (7). There was something of a writing explosion in the second half of the eighth century. A linear writing system of the Mycenaean type had survived in Cyprus. But the Greeks then decided to write in "Phoenician", as they called it. They learnt and carefully preserved the names of the letters, alpha, beta, gamma, delta, which have no meaning in Greek, and they preserved their immutable sequence, which our computers always respect each other; the shapes of the letters, too, were virtually identical at first. The place of transfer is unknown - the Phoenicians or rather the Arameans, Syria or Cyprus? Some still maintain a considerably earlier date, but direct evidence is lacking.

Along with the alphabet, the Greeks also adopted the writing tablet, which retained its Semitic name, *deltos*, as well as leather scrolls and the layout of books, with a characteristic subscriptio at the end instead of a title at the beginning (8). Some form of book transmission from cuneiform to Phoenician and Greek must have occurred. But since the transition to alphabetic writing meant using perishable materials, wooden tablets and scrolls, and abandoning clay tablets, direct evidence suddenly disappeared. With closer contact with Egypt after the

In the seventh century, papyrus replaced the leather scroll. The first Greek books that we can assume existed were poetry - Homer, Hesiod, perhaps oracles. There are two famous verse documents from around 730 BC, the "Dipylon amphora" in Athens and the "Nestor cup" in Ischia (9). Nestor's cup, in particular, with its careful inscription in line verse, leaves little doubt that books of Greek poetry existed at this time (10). The

The first books in prose, however, appeared much later, with Anaximander and Pherecydes in the sixth century.

This prompts some reflections on the means of philosophising, including the problem of the oral versus the written word. For the last 2400 years or so, we have known philosophy in the form of the philosophical books were and still are written in discussion circles, in 'schools of philosophy'. Plato set the example with his Academy, and similar institutions existed with varying degrees of success right up to the end of Antiquity, and were

resurrected in the universities and academies of Europe. We know less about the situation before

Plato. We are told that Anaximander's book was the first prose book published

(11) - in what context? We are told that Heraclitus dedicated his book to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (12) - did this mean publication or seclusion? We note that practical manuals on astronomy and geography began to circulate in the sixth century; a *Nautike Astrologia* was attributed to Thales (13); Scylax of Caryanda, in the time of Darius, wrote a *periêgesis* (14); Hecataeus wrote on geography and presented a map of the Earth (15). There are also genealogical manuals written in prose by Hecataeus of Miletus, Acousilaos of Argos and Pherecydes of Athens (16). Both the astronomical-geographical and genealogical manuals were, in a way, modernisations of the works of the ancient Greeks.

of Hesiod, *Theogony* with *Catalogue*, and *Works and Days*, which ends with astronomy. Acousilaos precedes his genealogy with the *Theogony*. At around the same time, around 500 BC, another book appeared, which began with the creation of the world and continued with the development of the tribes that made up the people: *Bereshit*, the first book of the Bible, whose final redaction could be considered as the first book of the Bible. belong to the same period. The Greeks were not isolated.

So much for the books; it is difficult to find serious proof of the existence of philosophical schools before Plato, even if later doxography has constructed successions (*diadochai*). There are contradictory statements about the sect of the Pythagoreans (17). Heraclitus are mentioned in the fifth century, but it is not clear whether they read and imitated Parmenides either adopted Heraclitus, just accidentally, or had links and an organisation. Parmenides adopted Zeno, we are told (18). This would seem to be an ancient and ubiquitous model of the tradition of knowledge, especially secret knowledge, within a "family", be it that of craftsmen, seers or poets (19). The doctors of Kos were all Asclepiades.

In the Eastern world, there were other institutions for the tradition of knowledge: the temples, which existed as economically independent and autonomous units and supported a clerus of priests; linked to them were the schools of writing, the "house of tablets". Given that the ancient, complex writing systems, which continued to be used in the first millennium BC, were still very much in use in the Middle Ages, it is not surprising that they were also used in the second millennium BC. A wise man is a "Lord of the tablets". Sapiential literature tends to appeal to kings, seeking to benefit from their authority, be it Solomon or another monarch.

The situation of the Greeks, by comparison, was characterised by a threefold defect: there were scarcely any temples as economically independent units that could support a clerus; there was no prestige of a house of tablets; and kings had recently disappeared. Alphabetic writing was so easy to learn and practise that no class distinctions emerged from primary schools; it was the sophists who invented higher education as a new form of class distinction. It was the sophists who invented higher education as a new form of class distinction. In fact, this was a decisive factor in transforming a lack into progress: cultural knowledge separated itself from the dominant institutions and hierarchies, from the houses of the
It became mobile, managed by the individual alone. This spread with the economic and political changes of the time, which emphasised the individual initiative of people and groups. Thus even "wisdom" became the capital of the enterprising individual, in competition with his fellow man (20). The West Semites from Tarsus via Tyre to Jerusalem would have had the same opportunities with a similar economy and a similar writing system. We can hardly estimate how far they got. They were harassed, disrupted and stopped by the devastating Assyrian and Babylonian invasions recorded by history. The Greeks, being

those who lived furthest east among the Westerners, were close to the events but remained virtually untouched. In the midst of the turmoil, the Jews were able to preserve their own identity. only by the forced decision to make their scriptures their highest authority, rather than using them as the tool of spiritual freedom.

The particular luck of the Greeks on the fringes of the productive and dangerous East was repeated, in a striking and unforeseeable way, with the Persian Empire: its expansion was stopped just at the limit that has since

was called the frontier between Asia and Europe. Around a third of the Greek population had fallen under Persian domination and for centuries lost their cultural importance; but the rest unexpectedly managed to retain their freedom and thus develop a new consciousness in opposition to Asia. This was the advent of what has since been called "classical" civilisation; it came to declare its independence at all levels; this has had a decisive influence even on cultural history in retrospect.

In fact, what we call primitive Greek philosophy owes a debt to earlier literary traditions in two ways: there was, and there continued to be, what we call literature.

Then there were the cosmogonic myths, the "creation stories". Note that every school of writing needs practical texts in order to

And what constitutes the content of an elementary book? Proverbs and stories

simple - namely sapiential literature and mythology. It is thus one of the social contexts for literature that we have been dealing with. This is not to forget that mythology was used in hymns and other ritual texts to celebrate the respective gods; thus the Enuma Elish has its place in the Babylonian New Year festival - and not without reference to kings - in both works.

Hesiod's Theogony, including the catalogues, and The Labours and the Days. These two works seem to be close to the date when the Greeks first borrowed the alphabet and learned the function and layout of leather scrolls. This does not mean that Hesiod was the only gateway. There is the cosmogonic passage in the Iliad, which is close to the Enuma Elish (21). And Orpheus' theogony, as known from the Derveni papyrus, seems to be a meeting place.

oriental motifs; there must be a lot we can't identify. But we also see how a body of astronomical knowledge and mathematical techniques had accumulated particularly in the temple-schools of Babylon; it made significant progress just at the crucial period of the sixth to fifth centuries. It clearly affected the Greeks. See our names of planets or the laborious sexagesimal system we still use to measure circles and angles.

2. Research periods

The thesis or suspicion that Greek philosophy was not originally invented by the Greeks, but was copied from more ancient Eastern prototypes, is not new. It goes right back to Aristotle's book *On Philosophy* and his students, who discussed the barbaros philosophia; they took it into account, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Iranian magi including Zoroaster, Indian gurus and also Jews (22). Pythagoras' association with Egypt predates Aristotle.

(23) and probably also that of Democritus and the Magi (24). The question of barbaros philosophia was the first topic discussed by Diogenes Laërce. The last head of the Neoplatonist Academy in Athens, Damascios, in his book on first principles, suggests interpretations of the cosmogonies of the Babylonians, Magi, Phoenicians and Egyptians, citing the book of Eudemos, the well-known pupil of Aristotle, which contained, among other information, an exact paraphrase of the first lines of the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*. This is one of the first cases where a direct translation from an oriental book can be established (25). Normally, knowledge of the Oriental languages did not exist, or were even concealed. The Hellenic translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, stands out as a singular achievement; it was hardly noticed outside Jewish circles.

The Jews and Christians appropriated the thesis about the barbaros philosophia and maintained that Moses had lived several centuries before Plato (26). They thus claimed that Plato had taken all the *What is Plato if not a Moses speaking Attic,*" wrote Numenius (27). Unimportant in these ancient discussions was the overall direction: there was no trace of East-West or North-South conflict.

The scholarly history of philosophy as developed in the nineteenth century summed up the discussion, with varying results. By then, India and China had been discovered as high cultures to be taken seriously. India in particular could impress with texts that seemed close to Greek philosophy even by the strength of linguistic knowledge. However, what won This was Eduard Zeller's critical position: in the introduction to his magnificent work *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (28), first published in 1856, he presented an examination of previous proposals regarding the Chinese, Indian and other precursors of Greek philosophy, and came to a negative conclusion. Zeller's position and arguments have often reworked and repeated until the middle of the twentieth century (29). Hence our agreement with the idea that Greek philosophy was self-generated and purely Greek.

As a result, the radical change that occurred just around the time of Zeller's essay has often been overlooked: the emergence of original texts in Oriental literature, initially Egyptian and Mesopotamian, then Hittite and Ugaritic. Until then, little more than the Old Testament had been known of pre-Greek antiquity, and philologists had no problem showing that these texts had not been known to the Greeks before the Hellenistic period. The Avesta became known in 1771

(30) but remained a marginal curiosity. However, the new "Ancient Near East" texts have since gone down in history. Henceforth, neither Hebrew nor Greek, neither Moses nor Homer are the beginning of literature, but rather the texts of the pyramids or the Sumerian myths. The problem of the context in which Greek philosophy evolved from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC now appears in a different light. It was an unknown man, William Ewart Gladstone, who, in 1890, referred to the parallel

between Apsû and Tiamat in the *Enuma Elish* and Ocean and Téthys in the *Iliad* (31). There were discussions about "Babel and the Bible" and also about Homer and Gilgamesh. Philosophically relevant themes arose on the other side, the Iranian side, after Zarathustra had become famous through Nietzsche. Richard Reitzenstein, with the help of H. H. Schaeder, went from Hellenistic syncretism to Iranian origins, and Iranian and Indian parallels to Hesiod's Myth of the Ages were discovered. underlined, while the Uppsala school developed the idea of a World Giant and a 'God of Time' "Both made their appearance in Greek Orphism. Albrecht Goetze even discovered "Persische Weisheit in griechischem Gewande", comparing a chapter of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Weeks* with texts in Pehlevi. The history of religion still seemed to arouse more interest than that of philosophy. It was not until 1941 that Francis Macdonald Cornford, in a lecture at Cambridge, presented a detailed comparison of Hesiod and the *Enuma Elish*, which was published in 1950 (32). In the meantime, the Hittite texts had appeared, with the striking parallel between the myth of Kumarbi and Uranus-Cronos in Hesiod; Hittite is Indo-European, which helped to break down the barrier against the "Semitic" world. After Hittite, Ugaritic was also readily accepted. Uvo Hölscher underlined the new perspective in a fascinating article, "Anaximandros und der Anfang der Philosophie"; Hans Schwab, in his article "Weltschöpfung" in the *Pauly-Wissowa*, elaborated on this point.

the whole panorama of cosmogonic myth; Martin West's commentaries on Hesiod are full of information and pertinent reflections, not to mention Peter Walcot's sober and informative book (33).

The opening up of new horizons coincided with a change in the concept of philosophy: rational ontology, in the wake of Aristotle and Scholasticism, lost its appeal among the "philosophers" of the time.

Aristotle and even Plato could be considered as having initiated errors

There was a new interest in the pre-Socratics, and in Heraclitus and Parmenides in particular, from Karl Reinhardt via Heidegger to

Gadamer, combined with an intense interest in myths (34). The title of Olof Gigon's 1945 book is characteristic: *Der Ursprung der griechischen Philosophie von Hesiod bis Parmenides*. This includes Hesiod in the "origin", which seems to end with Parmenides. In the same year, however, the Hittite texts about Kumarbi had been published (35), which added a pre-Hesiodic foundation to the sequence - Olof Gigon did not appreciate this at all. But the evidence was there.

Things calmed down again in the following decades, although the willingness to include the East in our panorama of Antiquity continued to grow, with an increasing move away from the nineteenth-century conception of the classic. A more virulent discussion began with a

secondary problem with Martin Bernal's Black Athena (36). Bernal accuses the Western tradition, particularly the German one, of excluding the Semitic South-East out of racial prejudice; he argues that the origin of most cultural achievements is to be found in Bronze Age Egypt - which would rule out philosophy. His thesis, and the reactions it provoked, indicate the growing insecurity of our white Western world. Attacks are being launched against "dead white males", of which the Greeks are the most prominent.

the oldest and should be the deadest of all. We can hope that these debates will encourage research rather than hinder it in the name of political correctness.

3. Collections of non-Greek texts

The various languages and civilisations close to Archaic Greece, including their idiosyncratic writing systems, call for specialists, whose fields of expertise are necessarily separate. An introductory orientation should nevertheless be presented, as follows.

Apart from the Greco-Roman 'classics', only two bodies of ancient texts have survived through the centuries. direct transmission, the sacred books of Israel, conventionally known as the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament, and the Iranian Avesta. Greek literature is easily accessible, including translations, commentaries and lexicons, although dates for Homer and Hesiod, for example, are always a matter of debate.

subject for discussion. The Bible has been the subject of the most in-depth study for centuries, on both the Jewish and Christian sides, with the result that the historical and literary evaluation and in particular, the dating of texts, or segments of texts, remains deeply controversial. The Avesta has few specialists other than linguists, and the dating problem is hopeless. It is clear that there are two linguistic strata, the "ancient avestic", which is mainly that of the "songs", the Gathas of Zarathustra, and the "recent avestic", which constitutes the bulk of that of the liturgy (Yasna), the hymns (Yashts) and the "law against evil spirits" (Videvdāt). What we know of Zarathustra is mainly the message of the Gathas. But its dating is still estimated at between

before 1000 BC and the sixth century (37). We are inclined to date the rest of the Avesta approximately to the time of the Achaemenid Persians, from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC, even if the written form of the Avesta is not yet known.

The definitive version, in a particular script designed for this purpose, could date from 400 AD. By this time, the religion of Zarathustra had long since become the state religion of the Sassanid Empire. After the fall of the Sassanid kingdom, in the ninth century, a series of books was produced by Zoroastrians in a Middle Persian language, Pehlevi, which collected and elaborated the ancient traditions, making the use of parts of the Avesta that have since been lost. Specialists have tried to find very ancient Iranian traditions, even pre-Zoroastrian ones, in these books from the ninth century, even if this means a leap backwards by more than a millennium.

Compared with the problems posed by religious continuity, the rediscoveries and decipherments in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria and Egypt point to an indisputable Bronze Age and early Iron Age stratum. Most of the time, however, we are dealing with fragments, and problems of interpretation are bound to persist.

Egypt, with its rainless climate, was particularly fortunate in preserving wooden tablets and, in particular, papyrus leaves with written texts, apart from the vast monumental heritage. There is a rich conglomerate of religious speculations dealing in particular with cosmogony and the afterlife, continuing right up to the "pyramid texts". Isolated sanctuaries developed their
There is, for example, "a monument of memphitic theology" or "the cosmogony of Hermopolis". What is striking from the Greek perspective is the primordial origin of water, with the cosmic "egg" of the beginnings. This is not to overlook the vast corpus of mortuary texts and a significant body of sapiential literature.

The cuneiform script that has survived on tens of thousands of clay tablets is incredibly rich. It began in the third millennium with the Sumerian language, but soon adopted the Semitic language, which is now usually referred to as Akkadian, comprising Babylonian and Assyrian. Akkadian cuneiform spread to Syria in the third millennium, and to Anatolia in the second; it was the general medium of diplomacy in the Late Bronze Age; it began to decline in relation to the alphabet in the first millennium, but continued to be in full use in Mesopotamia up until the second millennium.
first century BC

As for cuneiform 'literature' in a more specific sense, there are mythological stories about gods and heroes in Sumerian, including specific acts of creation, mainly in the form of relatively short songs; there are also proverbs and fables. Akkadian
later developed prestigious epics such as Atrahasis, Gilgamesh and the Enuma Elish, the ceremonial cosmogony of Babylon. There are also elaborate sapiential texts such as the Babylonian Theodicy. A separate category, no less important, are the tablets of mathematics and astronomy.

Hittite texts are mainly represented by the archive at Boğazköy-Hattusa, the Hittite capital. They are dominated by the Akkadian tradition, but Hittite also had an influence. There are rich collections of ritual texts and hymns to the gods, as well as mythological stories in epic form. The stories of divine successions and battles, The Kingdom of Heaven, Ullikummi and Illuyankas, are particularly well known. An important and complex sapiential text, the Song of Liberation, has recently come to prominence as a bilingual Hittite-Hittite text.

At Ugarit, excavations have brought to light several archives of tablets, some in Akkadian, some in a special quasi-alphabetic script that was used in particular for the following texts mythological-ritual. The language is close to Hebrew, and there are even coincidences in certain phrases. Parallels to Greek mythology have been noted from the outset concerning conflicts between gods, gods dying, dragon battles and war. There should, however, be a warning that the texts are few, short and fragmented, and passages

Entire texts may be unclear due to a consonantal script that gives insufficient indication of grammatical forms. Hittite and Ugaritic cuneiform disappeared with the end of the Bronze Age, around 1200 BC, although traditions and even mythologies persisted in Canaan and Asia Minor.

Syria in general and the Phoenician cities in particular, in the midst of their remarkable development during the Iron Age, definitively adopted alphabetical writing and abandoned the clay tablets. Written documentation therefore came to a sudden end. There is no doubt that there were books of all kinds in the Phoenician and Aramaic languages, but virtually nothing has survived; we remain dependent on Greek testimonies, particularly concerning Phoenician cosmogonic myths. Only one of the sapiential books has achieved world renown, the *History of Ahiqar*. It was originally written in Aramaic, fragments of which appear on the Elephantine papyrus; it may have been known to Democritus and more probably to Theophrastus. A Greek version can be found in the *Life of Aesop*. The complete text exists in Syriac and later in Armenian and Arabic (38).

4. Mathematics and astronomy

The use of numbers is prehistoric, as is the familiarity with the seasons of the year, the changes in the position of the sun, the periods of the moon. Proof of cultural dependence comes from details that are not omnipresent but idiosyncratic, such as the names of the constellations and planets, or the sexagesimal system that is specific to Mesopotamia. As a result, the influence of The Mesopotamian influence on Greece is certain. Homer has two names for the best-known constellations in the northern sky, *Ourse* or *Chariot*; the name *Chariot* is also Akkadian. The determination of the *Little Dipper*, which includes the *North Star*, belongs to the *Nautikê Astrologia*, which has been attributed to *Thales*; *Callimachus* asserts that it comes from the Phoenicians (39). In most other cases, it is impossible to determine the mode of transfer, the date or the type of texts involved. There are more legends than facts about what the Greeks say about Egyptian priests, Chaldeans, etc.

Babylon, the *Magi* or even *Pythagoras*.

Mesopotamian schools taught arithmetic. They developed the sexagesimal system for writing numbers, which allows divisions by 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. There are tables of numbers to facilitate additional calculations, including square and cube roots. Surprisingly, the 'Pythagorean theorem' was in regular use for about a century.

millennium before Pythagoras. There is even a tablet of "Pythagorean numbers", corresponding to the equation $x^2+y^2=z^2$. Equations of the second degree are also solved by arithmetic (40).

This is broadly analogous to the second book of Euclid; it is generally accepted that there is an influence of direct, even though the logic of mathematics must produce parallel developments and modern forms of writing with mathematical symbols can render more impressive similarities than the original texts would.

The sexagesimal system had an influence on the weights and coins of Greece, where they bear a number. Semitic noun, *mana*, Greek *mnea*, *mnâ*, "measure". A "mine" is the sixth part of a "load to be transported", *talanton*. The other use of the sexagesimal system that remains belongs to the circle: the 360 degrees, subdivided into 60 minutes, 60 seconds; one degree approximates the daily movement of the sun in the zodiac. The first clear Greek proof of this comes from Hypsicles in the third century BC. C. (41); but it was probably already used by Eudoxius in the first half of the fourth century.

Babylonian astronomy was not originally ancient, contrary to what the Greeks thought.

(42). Ptolemy, in his *Syntax*, dated the observations of the "Chaldeans" to 721 BC, as follows as Hipparchus had done before him. By watching for celestial omens a kind of astrology had developed in early times. Eclipses of the moon and sun were thought to be signs of disaster, and rituals were developed and used to counteract the threat - so far, no idea of causal necessity, which was later to dominate Greek astrology. Observations, including eclipses, accumulated, and regularities were observed. There are tables of numbers dating back at least as far as the sixth century which, using "zigzag functions", allow precise calculations of stellar and lunar movements and visibilities. This is a form of science in the full sense of the word.

This was the first time the term had been used, albeit in a completely different way to later Greek methods, and without any physical hypothesis to explain it. It was found on tablets by Franz Xaver Kugler; the new description is by Otto Neugebauer; it did not reach its apogee until the Seleucid era.

A simple and ancient problem of practical astrology is the correlation of the phases of the moon and the solar year. While the Egyptians decided to completely dissociate the solar year from the moon - a move that was taken up by the Julian calendar - everywhere else the true lunar months were retained, with intercalary months to keep in step with the seasons of the year. In Babylon, an intercalary cycle of 19

years was found, and there is little doubt that Meton, who proposed such a cycle to Athens in 432 BC, drew his ideas and knowledge from the East.

More precise observation is needed to notice the inequality of the seasons - the summer period of half the year, from equinox to equinox, lasts a few days longer than winter. According to tradition, Thales had already dealt with this problem. The Babylonians developed two different systems of astronomical calculation to deal with this inequality.

More specific discoveries in astronomy concern the planets and the establishment of their trajectory through the constellations of fixed stars, which the Greeks called the zodiac. For a long time, Greek knowledge was meagre, since the simple identification of the morning and evening stars (Eosphoros/Phosphoros and Hesperos) as planets was attributed only to the Greeks.

Ibycus, Pythagoras and Parmenides (43); while the Babylonians calculated the periods of Venus at the time of Ammisaduqa in the seventeenth century BC (44). The precise trajectory along which the planets orbit can be observed most easily in the "way of the moon", an Akkadian expression. Further observations show that the sun and the planets

keep the same trajectory - the projection of the Earth's ellipse. This circle is marked, in vague analogy to the 12 months of the year, by 12 constellations which are then transformed into purely mathematical constructions, "signs" of 30 degrees each. The Greeks called it the "circle of animals", zodiakos, and say that it was first described by Cleostratus and Tenedos, a pupil of Anaximander. Earlier evidence of the zodiac seems to be lacking in Mesopotamia, but is now reported on seventeenth-century tablets (45). The first horoscopes

cuneiforms appeared at the beginning of the fifth century (46).

Our names for the planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars and Jupiter, are indirect copies of Akkadian designations by the Greeks, who translated Nabu, Ishtar, Nergal and Marduk. This was done in Plato's time at most, perhaps a few decades earlier (47).

We suspect that the idea of a Great Year, which we find in relation to the planets in Plato and Aristotle, and in an uncertain context Heraclitus, comes from Babylonian astronomy or even Iranian speculation. There is no direct proof of this, but there are indications indirectly in Berossus on the subject of saros as equal to 6000 years (48).

The Babylonians spoke of the "circle" of heaven and earth. A circular plan of the Earth is found on a tablet (49), which has often been compared to the alleged map of the Earth presented by

Anaximander and Hecataeus. The concept of a 'sphere' of the sky seems to be a purely Greek step, as is the explanation of eclipses and the idea and proof that our Earth must itself be 'spherical'. even be a sphere.

5. Sapiential literature

What we call "sapiential literature" is a genre of literature that is fully developed in Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hourrite (50) and, last but not least, in the Hebrew Bible. Comparable Greek texts include Hesiod's *Works and Days*, *Theognis*, Phocylides, an obscure poem Chironos *Hypothekai* and the tradition of the Seven Wise Men, which took the form of prose around 600 BC; all this could still be oral, at least in part. The prose books take up the tradition: the Aphorisms in the Hippocratic corpus, the works of Democritus, then Anonymus Iamblichii (DK 89) and *Pros Demonikon* by Isocrates. The tradition continues through to the Logia of Jesus. As for the pre-Socratics, Heraclitus can be included in the genre (51), and so can Anaximander, who, according to Apollodorus, presented his "opinions" in "a summary exposition" (*kephalaiôdês*) (52): not one not a stream of rhetoric but isolated sapiential statements.

Sapiential literature uses proverbs in a variety of forms to form general rules, whether imperatives, statements or even short stories. fables, fables about animals and plants, are among them (53). There are highly developed literary forms, such as dialogues, in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and in Job. Sometimes a given situation is evoked, with kings entering the scene: King Amenemhat's Instructions to his son Sesostris I (54); or, in Sumerian, Shuruppak's Instructions to his son Ziusudra - Ziusudra was to survive the flood. In the Old Testament, we find "The Proverbs of Solomon the Son of David, roi d'Israël", and also "Les paroles du roi Lemuel. Sentences with which his mother instructed him." (Proverb 31), which should be compared with "Hesiod's admonitions to his brother Perses", given that Hesiod's *The Labours and the Days* was contemporary with it, or "Chiron's advice to Achilles", Chironos *Hypothekai* (55). A more exciting story was introduced in the Aramaic text of Ahiqar, which was also known to the Greeks (56). Ahiqar is slandered by his nephew and imprisoned by the king; when his innocence is proven and he is released, he is given the opportunity to pass on his wisdom to the wrong nephew by flogging, a blow, advice.

Wisdom proverbs rarely appear even in an attempt to establish a rule or a system. If there is causal reasoning, it is only at one stage; it is not ethical philosophy. There may be sophisticated literary devices such as the acrostic (57); there are There are elaborate antitheses and striking metaphors, but also enigmas. "A Woman

A virtuous woman is her husband's crown, but a woman who brings shame is like a cavity in his bones. (Proverb 12:4); Hesiod is simpler: "Man can meet with nothing better than the
There is nothing worse than a woman when she is good, but nothing worse when she is bad. (The Works and the Days, 702)

There are always recognisable intellectual achievements in sapiential literature that go beyond trivialities: there is an elaborate use of language, with analogies and antitheses; there is the assumption, which is anything but obvious, that it is useful to have wisdom, that it pays to learn it from wise men - a logos optimism, one might say. There is also the postulate of generalisation: the advice of the wise man is valid always and everywhere, beyond the moment - even if the advice could be: keep the moment, *kairon gnôthi*.

The optimism of logos has its limits; it can border on cynicism: "Most people are bad" - this, too, is a proverb of the Seven Wise Men (58). And is it true that "wisdom has more than gold" (Proverb 23:14)? Does piety pay off? The text of Job takes pains to defend the thesis; the so-called Babylonian theodicy says: "Those who neglect the god take the path of prosperity while those who pray to the goddess are impoverished and dispossessed." (59)

The optimism of the logos is always inclined to lead to a form of morality based on reason against emotion; a morality that urges rationality, moderation, self-control, as well as justice and piety, against strong temperament, drunkenness and sexual dissolution. "Avarice is a serious and incurable evil", say the Egyptians; "Austerity and happiness are better than riches and problems" (60); "Moderation is the best", say the Seven Wise Men (61). A line from Homer that made a lasting impression on Greek readers is Odysseus' warning to the suitor Amphinomus: "Such is the disposition [*noûs*] of men on Earth, just as the day that Zeus, the father of men and gods, brings", uncertain and changeable, brilliant or obscure. Wisdom is taken up by Archilochus (West 131/132) and criticised by Heraclitus (B17, B72). But long before Homer, an Akkadian text analysed the condition of humanity in a similar way: "Their disposition changes like day and night: when they are hungry they become like corpses, when they are satiated they rival the gods" (62). A remarkable proverb from the Cologne papyrus of Archilochus about the animal world is that "the bitch, being hasty, gives
The same proverb appears in a text by Mari a thousand years before Archilochus (63). There are other parallels in fables (64).

More important than coincidences of this kind is the tendency to extend wisdom to cosmic dimensions. The ethics of measurement come to dominate the broad outlines of cosmology: the forms of

The pre-philosophy we are looking for, wisdom and cosmogony, come into contact. "By wisdom the Lord founded the earth, by understanding he established the heavens" (Proverbs 3:19).

Wisdom herself proclaims: "When he arranged the heavens, I was there; when he drew a circle on the earth, I was there.

surface of the abyss, when he fixed the clouds above [...] when he gave a limit to the sea [...] I was at the work with him" (Proverbs 8:27-30). The Egyptians have Maat, the Order, walking beside the sun god, the Babylonians have Misharu, the Just Order, in the same place and function (65). "

Helios will not transgress his limits", writes Heraclitus, "or else the Erinyes, the assistants of the Justice, will find it" (66). Anaximander asserts that all present things, *ta eonta*, "give reparation and satisfaction to one another for their injustice, according to the time marked" (67); he is probably thinking of the order of the day and the year, which effectively compensates for the lack by excess and vice versa. The paradigm of cosmic order is a form of justice, whether it's Maat or Misharu accompanying the sun, or the Erinyes hunting down any transgression. Justice holds the alternating keys of day and night, formulates Parmenides (68); "This world [...] always was, is and will be

An eternal fire, kindled by measure and extinguished by measure", according to Heraclitus (69). Heraclitus had obviously reached a new dimension, still starting from the same foundation of justice and "measure for measure" in the cosmic order.

And even the peculiarity of Heraclitus' wisdom can be seen more clearly in the background of traditional sapiential literature. The beginning of Solomon's proverb, slightly abbreviated, is: "The proverbs of Solomon, son of David [...] by which [...] the simple will gain insight and [...] if the wise listen, he will increase his knowledge" (70). This contrasts with the beginning of Heraclitus' book:

"This logos, which is true, is always misunderstood by men, either before they hear it or w h e n they hear it for the first time. Even though all things are done according to this verb, they seem to be ignorant of it" (71). Doesn't this sound like a parody of the promise of naïve, banal wisdom that should be taught to those who don't know it and improved upon by those who do? No," says Heraclitus, "men show that they are incapable of understanding, even if they are in immediate contact with the things that happen. This certainly goes beyond the assertion that wisdom existed when limits were imposed on the sea. But it presupposes the traditional approach.

6. Cosmogony

There are many different accounts of the beginning of the world. The paradigm, as it was, is established by the Babylonian text of the *Enuma Elish*, the epic of creation recited at the Babylonian New Year's feast (72). In Egypt, we find no representative text but several groups of texts, either fully developed or of a rather allusive nature, usually reflecting the position of a particular sanctuary: Heliopolis, Memphis, Hermopolis (73). In Hittite, we have the

Kumarbi's text, which is particularly close to Hesiod (74). This is not to leave out the beginning of the Bible, which even has a cosmogony in two different accounts (75).

The cosmogony is highly speculative, as has always been acknowledged. Even so, the outward form of the text is ingenuous: it is a typical ad hoc history - an expression of disdain for anthropologists (76). In the beginning there was [...] then came [...] and then - and so on. First the world was not, then Heaven and Earth appeared, and gods, and men, and their relationship was established. Even the so-called early philosophers among the Greeks did not disdain this form of narrative: "All things were confused", says Anaxagoras, "all things being together, none appeared, all was occupied by air and ether" (77). How close is this to "

And the earth was without form, and void: and darkness was upon the face of the deep" (Genesis 1:2).

A speculative result is still to be found in the concept of 'beginning', a beginning from which all things flow. The Bible begins with the famous words "In the beginning" (bereshit) (Genesis 1:1) and Hesiod writes "in the beginning" and asks "what is the origin of the world and the first of all beings" (Th. 115), while Anaximander appeals to the concept of Arche, according to Theophrastus' statement (78).

Further results of speculation are reversal and antithesis. If you start to
To tell the story of the beginning of everything, you must first subtract from your understanding everything, the whole of your world, people and animals, houses and trees, mountains and sea, Heaven and Earth. Thus the typical beginning of the cosmogonic myth is accomplished by subtraction: there is this great and resounding Not Yet. Thus begins the Enuma Elish: "When above the sky was not yet named, when below the earth had no name [...] No reed bush was gathered, no cane plant was visible, while none of the gods had appeared, neither being called by a name, nor endowed with a destiny [...]" (79) An Egyptian text from the pyramids states that "When the sky had not yet been called by a name, nor endowed with a destiny, none of the gods had appeared [...]" (80).
built, when the earth had not yet seen the light of day, when nothing had yet been created" (80)
- what was there then? "[T]here was darkness on the face of the deep [...]", the Bible tells us (81);
a chasm

Chaos," says Hesiod (82); Night, says Orpheus' Theogony (83); Infinity, seems to have written Anaximander. Anaxagoras wrote: "Everything was confused" (84). The most frequent answer is
There was water in the beginning. This is not limited to the ancient world.
brought back from America (85). The beginning is water, Thales is said to have declared; but long before Thales, the Egyptians had developed cosmogonies of water in various variants (87). The Enuma Elish also describes underground water and salt water, Apsû the procreator and Tiamat who begat them all as the parents of everything. Astonishingly enough, this reappears in the middle of Homer's Iliad with Ocean and Thetys, "begetting all" (88).

Unity is destined to dissolve: differentiation must come from a single beginning. Every cosmological account is bound to follow these lines. The most grandiose idea is that Heaven separated from Earth in the second stage of creation. The normal archaic language doesn't usually have a term for 'world'; it lists the fundamental constituents, 'Heaven and Earth'. Thus the world as "Earth and Sky" appeared as a result of separation. Even this idea is not peculiar to the ancient Mediterranean world; it is found in Africa, Polynesia and Japan (89). The Hittites and Hesiod have a violent myth of the castration of Heaven, of the separation of the primordial couple (90). The Egyptians have a more peaceful development, since Shu, the "Air", simply lifts the Sky goddess - who is feminine in this case - Nut, from the Earth (91), Geb. According to Anaximander, a sphere of fire grew around the centre, which was apparently a kind of silt; the sphere then burst into pieces which were transformed into wheels, carrying embrasures of flames around the Earth (92). This again signifies the separation of Heaven and Earth. It persists, in another way, in Leucippus (93).

For further development, there are two narrative options, two models: one could be called biomorphic, the other technomorphic. The biomorphic model introduces couples of different sexes, insemination and birth; the technomorphic model presents a creator in the role of skilled craftsman. The biomorphic model gives rise to successive generations, with episodes of battle between the Old and the New; it suggests narratives and is therefore highly mythical. The myth of succession is found in the Enuma Elish, in the Hourrite-Hittite kingship of heaven and in Hesiod (94). It is curiously echoed in Hippo: "Fire, generated by water, overcame the power of the procreator and created the world" (95). It is tempting to call the biomorphic model the Greek model, the technomorphic model the biblical model. "In the beginning, the Lord created heaven and earth" (96); "and God made [...]" He sculpts Eve from a rib and even makes the first clothes from skin. Hesiod, on the other hand, fully opted for the biomorphic version. Things are more complicated, however, especially when there are combinations of the two models, as in the Enuma Elish, and also in the Orphic cosmogony as known from the Derveni papyrus: both introduce certain generations of gods into the conflicts of the succession myth, but at a certain stage they make the main god plan his creation.

Creation is more rational: it gives the author the opportunity to describe objects in detail. Listen to the Enuma Elish: when Marduk killed Tiamat, the primordial mother, the monster of the sea, "the Lord rested and inspected his body, he divided the monstrous form and created wonders, he cut it in two like a fish to dry, he arranged half of it as the roof of the sky" - we get the separation of heaven and earth - "as for the stars, he arranged the constellations [...] he made the crescent moon, he entrusted the night to it [...]" Every month, without ceasing, you will give it the shape of a crown. At the beginning of the month, to shine over the land, you will show your horns to determine six days; on the seventh day you will be half a crown. The fifteenth day must always be the

the middle of the month. When the sun reaches you at the base of the heavens, it diminishes your crown and decreases the light." (97)

It's not hectic, but it's perfectly correct. The Old Testament is much more succinct: "God said, 'Let there be lights in the expanse of the sky to separate the day from the night [...]' and God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night [...].

He also made the stars". (98) Hesiod is less precise: "And Theia gave birth to the great Hèlios and the shining Selènè, and Éôs who brought light to all earthly men and to the Gods

immortals who inhabit the wide Ouranos. And she bore them, having joined in love with Hyperion. And Eurybiè, having been united in love with Kréios, gave birth to the great Astraïos and Pallas, for she was a powerful Goddess, and Perses who excelled in all works. Éôs, united with Astraïos, gave birth to the Impetuous Winds: the agile

Zephyros and the swift Boreas, and Notos. And she gave birth to them, having united with a God. Then she gave birth to the Star of Light, born in the morning, and to the shining stars with which Ouranos is crowned. (99) No one would say that Hesiod is more rational than the Orientals; he only gives names to the concepts of the divine - Theia - and "he who is above", Hyperion; but this is only a tautology to make Astraïos the father of the stars, he is absolutely unsystematic in his

separation of the morning star from the other stars. The concept of "creator of the world" is The order of this world [...] was never created by gods or men" (B30). Heraclitus seems to be developing the biomorphic model into a

phytomorphic, the principle of growth according to internal laws, as in the case of plants

The Greek word for such growth is physis, which was later translated into Latin as natura. The famous saying that "physis likes to be hidden" (B123) probably has its origins in this precise observation: if you dig up the germ to see it grow, you destroy the plant.

Yet we observe that almost none of Heraclitus' successors could do without a

creator: Parmenides introduces a female daimon who "governs everything" and creates divine powers such as Eros (100); Anaxagoras gives a similar function to the noûs, the spirit, the force responsible for all differentiation; Empedocles has Love make organs and organisms in his factory; it was only Democritus who, criticising Anaxagoras, tried to exclude the spirit from the formation of the body. macrocosm and microcosm (101). The reaction came from Plato and Aristotle; Plato's Timaeus finally established the term "creator", dêmiourgos, in Greek philosophy.

It has become commonplace to assert that it was the Greeks who travelled the path leading from mythos to logos (102). More recently, it has been observed that even the Orientals - the scholars of Assyria, for example - were already pursuing such a path. Take one of the texts from the house of the conjuror priests of Assur, circa 650 BC (103): there are three earths and three heavens, says the text: "... and three heavens, and three earths and three heavens, and three earths and three heavens, and three earths and three heavens, and three earths and three heavens".

In the Upper Earth he established the souls of men at the centre; in Middle Earth he made the souls of men sit in the centre.

his father Éa, in the centre" (Éa is underground water); "in the lower Earth, he includes the 600 gods of the dead (Annunaki), in the centre." This postulates three stories for our world, the Earth on which we live, with underground water, just as Thales describes it, and deeper down, in a region

the lower world with its appropriate gods. Heaven, by correspondence, also has three domains: the highest belongs to the god of Heaven, Anu, along with 300 celestial gods; the middle Heaven, made of a resplendent stone - perhaps amber - is the throne of Enlil, the sovereign god; the lowest domain, made of jasper, is the domain of the constellations: "he conceived the constellations of the gods upon it". According to Livingstone, these texts "bring the existing theology more closely into line with the facts of the natural world", with the natural cosmos in which we live. The narrative always takes the form of a cosmogonic myth: the god did this, and this, and this, and so on. The result, however, is the existing cosmos, which could be better indicated by drawing a figure rather than a narrative (104).

Three heavens appear in Anaximander; he even seems to have used the plural "heavens" (*ouranoi*), which is absolutely unusual in the Greek language (105). But he combined the three heavens with three categories of celestial bodies - the stars, the moon and the sun - thus introducing "the logos of dimensions and distances", as Aristotle's pupil Eudemus explained (106). His sequence, in turn, was obviously influenced by Iranian tradition, the ascent of souls towards the stars, the moon, the sun and eternal light (107). Anaximenes corrects this by saying that the stars are further away than the sun. Between the Assyrian priest and Anaximander - the Ezekiel text gives a date of 593/2 BC. - there is Ezekiel's vision of Yahweh on his throne, arranged in a wheeled chariot of complex design, whose wheels come and go; and whose throne is of amber, as at Ashur (108).

Anaximenes says that the stars are fixed in a crystalline sky "like drawings", *zôgraphêmata*: this almost seems to be a translation of the Assyrian text: Enlil "conceived" or "drew" the stars. constellations on the sky of Iaspis (109). Another Akkadian astronomical text, *Enuma Anu Enlil*, describes the same idea in a more theological guise: on the sky "the gods conceived the stars in their own image". Peter Kingsley has drawn attention to the fact that virtually the same expression appears in the Platonic *Epinomis*: the constellations are "images of the gods, like animated statues of the gods, fashioned by the gods themselves." (110)

A sort of dialogue seems to be going on between Ashur, Jerusalem and Miletus. Let us not forget which, according to tradition, Anaximander wrote just as Sardis was being conquered by the Persians (111); while Gyges had maintained regular contact with Nineveh more than a century earlier; and the brother of Alcée, a mercenary, had gone to Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon (112).

7. Iranian affinities

The Achaemenid Empire is no longer part of prehistory but part of the contemporary history of the pre-Socratic movement. Eastern sources, however, become particularly evasive during this period, while Greek evidence often presents Greco-Persian amalgams that are difficult to analyse.

The term *magos* is clearly borrowed from the Iranian language, and is therefore irrefutable proof of an Iranian influence.

early Iranian in Greece. It has a dual use or meaning in Greek, already discussed in a book, *Magikos*, attributed to Aristotle (113): the "authentic" *magoi* are said to be priests with a particular theology and ritual, in contrast to the "magic of sorcerers" (*goeteutike mageia*), whose meaning predominated. The *Magoi* appear in Herodotus as a class of Mede priests and spokesmen for Persian religion; *magoi* as charlatans and magicians are attested to in the Hippocratic treatise *De la maladie sacrée*, and also in Sophocles and Euripides (114).

For the earliest evidence, we usually refer to Heraclitus (115) and overlook the earlier and in fact fundamental testimony, the Behistun inscription of Darius. Darius states: "There was a man named Gaumata, a Magus, who lied and said: I am Bardia" (117). Each time the name "Gaumata" appears, the phrase "the Magus" is added, as if to make it unforgettable.

This was obviously an Iranian term; the text gives no explanation. But it also states (sec. 70) that Darius sent the text throughout his domain to be read in public. In other words, the text became known to every Greek in every city in Asia Minor and the adjacent islands around 520 BC.

C. The Greeks would therefore have remembered the term *magos*, so that if such a man appeared he would have attracted attention. Note that we are talking about a time for

This is more than 80 years after Sophocles, Herodotus and Hippocrates, and perhaps more than 20 years after Heraclitus, who loses the status of first witness.

We are not aware of any "teaching of the Magi". We are left with fascinating conjectures and haphazard reconstructions, in an amalgam of Greek and authentic Iranian. The two elements of the Iranian tradition that were presented to great acclaim in the 1920s,

The Myth of the Ages and *Persische Weisheit in griechischem Gewande* are based on Pehlevi testimony.

The specialist who took the second element into consideration most recently,

Duchesne-Guillemin, arrived at contradictory results (118); while the Hippocratic treatise

On the Wounds has somehow been lost (119). The myth of the ages is a problem concerning Hesiod's sources (120); the Pehlevi texts as well as the Indian yugas that have been put in the context are so many centuries later that particular faith is required to consider them close to the putative original.

Similar uncertainties and controversies accompany the invention of a god of Time, Zurvan, the supreme god of a certain pre-Zoroastrian or para-Zoroastrian religion; it was claimed that he had influenced Chronos in Phecydes and in the Orphic theogony (121), but also the god Aeon, Eternity; which made its appearance on the threshold of the end of Antiquity (122). The Iranian testimony, in this case, must be collected from Pehlevi, Syriac, Armenian and Arabic sources - another challenge for a deep dive into various late syncretic documents.

A special link between Heraclitus and Iran has often been assumed, with the complex of fire and cosmic order as the linking ideas (123). But apart from the obscurity of Heraclitus, there are no Iranian texts on which to base a direct comparison; the Zoroastrian fire cult appears fully developed only in the post-Achaemenid period.

There remain two religious ideas in which an Iranian influence has long been assumed: celestial immortality and dualism, which introduces an adversary to God (124).

The idea of an ascent of the soul to heaven, which is still popular in our own religion, does not belong to the oldest stratum that is common to Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Greece; rather, we find a land of no return or a domain of Hades as the place dark and sinister underground with swamps and clay, far from the gods. In the religion of In Zarathustra, on the other hand, from the earliest documents we find the promise that the pious will ascend to God and remain with him in the future (125). In Greece, the idea of the soul, psyche or pneuma, ascending to heaven after death can be found from the fifth century BC onwards.

The classic document of Mazdean doctrine is the Hadoxt Nask, a text in the language of the Avesta. On the third night, the deceased meets his own "religion", daena, in the form of a beautiful girl who guides him through three stages - the right thought, the right word and the right deed - towards the "eternal light" in the presence of Ahura Mazda (126). In Pehlevi writings, citing lost parts of the Avesta, the three stages are specified as being the stars, the moon and the sun (127). There could be pre-Zoroastrian elements: immortality, amrta-, is an Indo-European concept; there is a celestial paradise in the Veda.

The Greek evidence for such an idea of celestial ascent is less specific, although it was once referred to as "a Pythagorean revolution" (128). The most important is the epigram Athenian at the death of Potidaea in 432 BC (129). What is striking is the proximity with the pre-Socratic thought, with physical ideas about aither (130) and the 'return to the origins'.

(131); this appears in the Hebrew Qohelet (3.21) but it is suspected to be a interpolation. Could there have been an Iranian impulse? The pre-Socratic elements, the concept of aither and the return to origins are not found in the Zoroastrian religion. On the other hand, there are Greek antecedents, first and foremost Heracles, who ascends to Olympus (132). In addition, there is an Egyptian influence, which was certainly at work in the field of funerary beliefs. Celestial immortality, however, is not at the centre of Egyptian eschatology, but is rather, it follows the sun through the lower world, "going forward by day". In this sense, the ascent of a soul-aither to heaven is closer to the Iranian paradigm. Transmigration, which is linked to Pythagoras and "Orpheus" and wrongly attributed to the Egyptians by Herodotus, must in the final analysis originate from India - which was also part of the Persian Empire from Darius onwards; we find ourselves and are lost in a mixture of influences.

Herodotus states that the Persians do not worship images in temples but sacrifice on "the highest mountains, and give the name of 'Zeus' to the whole circumference of the sky" (1.131.2). The testimony of Herodotus fits in suspiciously with the pre-Socratic theories on enlightenment, in particular those of Diogenes of Apollonia and Democritus (133). In the Avesta, Ahura Mazda is clearly distinct from heaven, even though it dwells in the house of praise in eternal light. There may have been a convergence of religious speculation between East and West (134).

More interesting is the principle of dualism. It is clear from the Gathas that Zarathustra, as a radical reformer, was fighting against older forms of worship, such as cattle sacrifice and soma consumption, and that he reversed the traditional terminology so that the old Indo-European term, "worship", would be replaced by "worship".

European for god, *deivos*, became the designation for evil demons, *daevas*. To his supreme god, Ahura Mazda, he opposed a spirit of evil, Angra Mainyu, and involved all humans in the struggle between the two. An elaborate account of this is found in the Pehlevi Bundahishn - and much earlier in modified form in Manichaeism - but it is in Greek texts of the fourth century BC that we find the first traces of it, Theopompus, Aristoxenus and Eudemus (135). The question of the influence of Iranian dualism on Greek philosophy has focused on the problem of whether

Plato's concept of an evil soul of the world in the *Laws* is dependent on Zarathustra (136). As for the pre-Socratics, it is Empedocles who develops a kind of dualism when he explains what happens in nature by the antagonism of two principles or gods, *Philia* and *Neikos*, one positive and sympathetic, the other absolutely negative, disastrous and hateful. And Empedocles makes the conflict a struggle, regulated by predestined time, with *Neikos* who "arises" to realise his prerogatives "in the fulfilment of time" (B30). This is a piece of mythology that doesn't seem to be necessary to the system; modern interpreters would prefer there to be a continuous interaction between the two principles, rather than the phases of a cycle and a sudden rise to power. Was this motivated by the myth of Zarathustra, Angra Mainyu's attack on Ahura Mazda? There are no contemporary Iranian texts or reliable Greek testimonies to prove this. positive (137). How much this would help in interpreting Empedocles is another question.

Yet classicists are probably inclined to underestimate the presence of Persia in the Greek horizon, and to exclude an Eastern heritage by ignoring it. They should seize the opportunity to consider the evolution of Greek thought from the rich perspective of its intercultural background.

Walter Burkert, "Prehistory of Presocratic Philosophy in an Orientalizing Context", in *The Oxford Handbook of Presocratic Philosophy*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 55-85, translated from the English by J. B.

(1) *Geographi Graeci Minores* I.1-14.

(2) Hdt. 1.74=11A5.

(3) D.L. 2.2=Apollodorus FGrH 244F29=12A1.

(4) For details, see Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*.

(5) See Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*; Heubeck, *Archaeologia Homerica* Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 25-33; Woodard, *Greek Writing from Knossos to Homer*. There are a few documents of alphabetic writing dating back to 1200 BC, and a few from the following centuries; widespread use seems to have occurred from the tenth century onwards. The alphabet, along with the language the Assyrian Empire and came to dominate the administration of the Persian Empire.

(6) Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 26.

(7) The oldest document to date, from around 770 BC, comes from Osteria dell'Osa near Gabies: Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale di Osteria dell'Osa*, 209-12; Peruzzi, *Civiltà greca nel Lazio preromano*; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 48, 1266.

(8) Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des Vorderen Orients*.

(9) Amphora from Dipylon: IG I2 919; Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 76, no. 1; Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* I, no. 432; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 48, 89; Nestor cup: Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 239, no. 1; Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* I, no. 454 (wrong date; read 725-720); *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 46, 1327.

(10) These are not necessarily the texts of "Homer" that we have, but rather versions or relating to Hesiod. Some oracles adopt the form of hexameters as a common Greek medium.

(11) 12A7.

(12) D.L. 9.6=22A1.

- (13) DK 11B1-2.
- (14) *Geographi Graeci Minores* I.15-96; see von Fritz, *Griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1 .52-54.
- (15) FGrH 1; his card: 1T12=Anaximand. A6 DK.
- (16) FGrH 2; 3.
- (17) Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, 114-18.
- (18) D.L. 9.25=29A1.
- (19) Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 41- 46.
- (20) Lloyd, "On the 'Origins' of Science."
- (21) See notes 31; 90.
- (22) Arist. *Peri philosophias* fr. 6 Rose; fr. 35=D.L. 1.1, see 1.6-11=Sotion fr. 36 Wehrli; Thphr. fr. 584a Fortenbaugh=Porph. *Abst.* 2.26.3; Clearchus fr. 6 Wehrli.
- (23) Hdt. 2.81.2; Isoc. *Bus.* 28.
- (24) D.L. 9.34=68A1; Suid. s.v.=68A2; Philostr. *VS* 10=68A9; Ael. *VH* 4.20=68A16; Hippol. 1.13=68A40 ; *VA Philostr.* 1.2.
- (25) *Dam. Pr.* 123-25, 1.316-24 Ruelle=Eudem. fr. 150 Wehrli.
- (26) *Tatian* 31; 40; *Clem.Al. Strom.* 1.101; 1.165-82; 5.89.
- (27) *Numen.* fr. 8 Des Places; see Aristobulus in *Clem.Al. Strom* 1.150.1.
- (28) Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen I*, 21-52.
- (29) Hopfner, *Orient und griechische Philosophie* ; Mondolfo and Zeller, *La filosofia dei greci nel suo sviluppo storico*, 63-99.
- (30) Anquetil-Duperron, *Zend-Avesta*.
- (31) Gladstone, *Landmarks of Homeric Studies*, app.
- (32) Cornford, "A Ritual Basis for Hesiod's *Theogony*."
- (33) Hölscher, "Anaximander und die Anfänge der Philosophie"; Hölscher, *Anfängliches Fragen*; Schwabl, "Die griechischen Theogonien und der Orient", 39-56; West, *Hesiod, Theogony*; West, *Hesiod, Works and Days*; Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East*.

- (34) Reinhardt, *Parmenides und die Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie*; M. Heidegger, "Der Spruch des Anaximandros", in Heidegger, *Holzwege*, 296-343; Gadamer, *Um die Begriffswelt der Vorsokratiker*.
- (35) See oriental sources in the list of references.
- (36) Bernal, *Black Athena*; see Lefkowitz and Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*; Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*.
- (37) See Gnoli, 1-26.
- (38) See the oriental sources in the list of references. Democrit. B299 (wrong ?)=Clem.Al. Strom. 1.69; Thphr. D.L. 5.50, lists of works no. 273, p. 40, Fortenbaugh. See also Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 32-33, and note 30; Luzzato, "Grecia e vicino oriente: tracce della 'Storia di Ahikar'"; Luzzato, "Ancora sulla 'Storia di Ahikar'".
- (39) Call. fr. 191.54 f., see 11B1 DK.
- (40) See van der Waerden, *Science Awakening*, and in particular Neugebauer, "Zur Geschichte des pythagoräischen Lehrsatzes."
- (41) Hypsicles, *Greek Authors' Edition*, ed. V. de Falco, M. Krause, O. Neugebauer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1966), 36/47.
- (42) See van der Waerden, *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*; Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*; Pettinato, *La Scrittura Celeste*.
- (43) Ibyc. fr. 331 *Poetae Melici Graeci*; Pythagoras or Parmenides: D.L. 9.23; see Burkert, *Early Pythagoreanism*, 307.
- (44) Reiner and Pingree, *Enuma Anu Enlil Tablet 63*; see Eastern sources in the list of references.
- (45) See Panchenko, "Who Found the Zodiac?"
- (46) Rochberg-Halton, "Babylonian Horoscopes and Their Sources."
- (47) Burkert, *Ancient Pythagoreanism*, 299-301. Cronos/Saturn versus the Babylonian Ninurta, also known as the "Sun Star", is a special case.
- (48) Pl. Ti. 39d; Arist. fr. 5; Bérose FGrH 680F3, p. 374 f. Jacoby; van der Waerden, "Das grosse Jahr und die ewige Wiederkehr"; Panaino, "Riflessioni sul concetto di anno cosmico", 87-101.
- (49) West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, pl. 5.
- (50) See West, *Hesiod, Works and Days*; Uehlinger, "Qohelet im Horizont mesopotamischer, levantinischer und ägyptischer Weisheitsliteratur der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit", 155-247. La

Hourrite sapiential literature became accessible with the "Song of Liberation" (Neu, Das hurritische Epos von der Freilassung).

(51) See note 73.

(52) D.L. 2.2=12A1=FGrH 244F29. KRS 100.

(53) Fables are also present in the "Song of Liberation"; Neu, Das hurritische Epos von der Freilassung, see the oriental sources in the list of references.

(54) Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature, 1:135, see oriental sources in the list of references.

(55) Schmid, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, 1:287-88.

(56) See note 39.

(57) Prov. 31:10; the "Babylonian theodicy": BWL (see Eastern sources) 70-89.

(58) Bias 10.3, DK sec. 6.1; "A man is money", Aristodemus to Alcaeus fr. 360 Voigt.

(59) BWL 74 f.

(60) Assmann, Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten, 88; the teachings of Amenemope, Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature, 2:152.

(61) Cléobule 10.3, DK sec. 1.

(62) Od. 18.136-37; BWL 40 f., 43, with an Akkadian commentary; Burkert, The Orientalizing Revolution, 118.

(63) Archil. fr. 196a West; Moran, "An Assyriological Gloss", 17-19; Burkert, The Orientalizing Revolution, 122-23.

(64) Burkert, The Orientalizing Revolution, 120-24; West, The East Face of Helicon, 82-83, 502-5.

(65) Assmann, Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten.

(66) Heraclitus. B94.

(67) Anaximand. B1.

(68) Parm. B1.11-14.

(69) Heraclit. B30.

(70) Prov. 1:1-5.

(71) Heraclit. B1.

(72) See oriental sources in the list of references.

(73) Study in AA.vv., *Sources Orientales: La naissance du monde*, see sources orientales in the list of references.

(74) See note 36.

(75) Gen. 1 and 2.4: "book of births" (toledoth) can be understood as a second title.

(76) *Just So Stories for Little Children* is the title of a book by Rudyard Kipling (London, 1902); it was taken as a polemical concept by Ribichini, Rocchi, and Xella, *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione Greca*, 42, with a reference to Sigmund Freud's *Totem and Taboo*.

(77) Anaxag. B1.

(78) Simp. in Ph. 24.15=12A9; Hippol. Haer. 1.6.2=12A11; for the controversial interpretation, see KRS 108-9.

(79) Enuma Elish 1.1-8.

(80) Pyramid text 1040 a-d, see also 1466 b-d, AA. vv., *Eastern Sources: The Birth of the World* 46 (see Eastern sources in the list of references).

(81) Gen. 1:2.

(82) Hés. Th. 116; the meaning of chaos was already very controversial in Antiquity.

(83) Ouranos Euphronides, Pap. Derveni col. 14; Arist. Metaph. 1071b27; Eudemus fr. 150 Wehrli.

(84) Anaxag. B1.

(85) Tedlock, *Popol Vuh*, 64.

(86) Arist. Metaph. 983b20=11A12.

(87) Hölscher, *Anfängliches Fragen*.

(88) Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 91-93.

(89) Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde*.

(90) ANET 120, Hoffner-Beckman 40 (see Eastern sources in the list of references); see West, *Hesiod, Theogony*, 20-22, 211-13; and see ANET 125, Hoffner-Beckman 59 for Ullikummi.

(91) AA.vv., *Sources Orientales: La naissance du monde* (see Sources Orientales in the list of references), 47 sec. 9.

(92) Anaximand. A10; see also Leucippus A1 sec. 32.

- (93) 67A1.
- (94) See Steiner, "Der Sukzessionsmythos in Hesiods Theogonie und ihren orientalischen Parallelen."
- (95) Hippol. Haer. 1.16=38A1.
- (96) Several inscriptions from Xerxes praise Ahura Mazda "who created the heavens, who created the Earth, who created man".
- (97) Enuma Elish IV-V, pp. 254-55 Dalley (see Eastern sources in the list of references).
- (98) Gen. 1:14.
- (99) Hés. Th. 371-82.
- (100) Parm. B12-13.
- (101) Democr. A1=D.L. 9.35.
- (102) But see discussions in Buxton, *From Myth to Reason*.
- (103) Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, 78-91; see Burkert, "Orientalische und griechische Weltmodelle von Assur bis Anaximandros."
- (104) Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, 71. See Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros*, 133, on Pherecydes: "Pherecydes, in short, wanted to provide an alternative version to the Theogony; he probably felt that his own version explained more coherently and accurately the origin of the world and of the gods of the myth".
- (105) Burkert, "Iranisches bei Anaximandros", 103.
- (106) Eudém. fr. 146 Wehrli; Burkert, *Ancient Pythagoreanism*, 308-10.
- (107) Burkert, "Iranisches bei Anaximandros"; West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*.
- (108) Ezekiel 6; see West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, 88-89; Kingsley, "Ezekiel by the Grand Canal."
- (109) See Kingsley, "Ezekiel by the Grand Canal."
- (110) Pl. Epin. 984a; Kingsley, "Meetings with Magi."
- (111) Anaximand. A1=D.L. 2.2=Apollodorus FGh 244F29.
- (112) See Burkert, "'Königs-Ellen' bei Alkaios."
- (113) D.L. 1.8, see 1.1, Arist. fr. 32-36; Sotion fr. 36 Wehrli. Magoi as rite experts appear in the Derveni Papyrus Col. 6, see Tsantsanoglou, "The First Columns of the Derveni Papyrus."

(114) S. OT 387; E. Hel. 1396; see also Gorg. Hel. 10-11, 14; Pl. Plt. 280d.

(115) B14; the term *magoi* has been removed as an interpolation by Marcovich and other editors.

(116) Not covered in de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*.

(117) Inscription of Behistun (see oriental sources in the list of references), secs. 11; 13; 14; 16; 52; 68; the term is preserved in Old Persian and transcribed into Akkadian (*magusu*) and Elamite. (*makuis*). The term also appears for certain priests on the Persepolis tablets from the time of Darius: Koch, "Iranische Religion im achaimenidischen Zeitalter" 23-24. For Greek evidence For further information on the *magoi* see Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*. There is a bilingual inscription from Cappadocia from the first century AD of a man who was *magos* for Mithras, KAI 265.

(118) Duchesne-Guillemin, "Persische Weisheit in griechischem Gewande?" Duchesne-Guillemin, "D'Anaximandre à Empédocle," 47; see Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, 128-29.

(119) Mansfeld, *The Pseudo-Hippocratic Tract Peri Hebdomadon* Ch. 1-11 and *Greek Philosophy*, dated it to the time of Posidonios, with the approval of W. Theiler; Mansfeld has changed his opinion and now believes it to be a Judeo-Hellenic forgery, *Mnemosyne* 42 (1989): 184-185.

(120) Hesiod (*Op.* 106-7) seems to indicate that this is not his own invention. The next problem is whether the four metal ages in Daniel 7 ultimately derive from Hesiod or from Hesiod's source, perhaps an Aramaic text from the early Iron Age; see Burkert, "Apokalyptik im frühen Griechentum."

(121) See Zaehner, *Zurvan*; West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, 30-33.

(122) Junker, "Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung"; review in Nock, *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World*, 377-96; Brisson, "La figure de chronos dans la théogonie orphique et ses antécédents iraniens"; Zuntz, *Aion*, Gott Des Römerreichs, who tried to make Augustus the main "inventor" of Aion.

(123) See Duchesne-Guillemin, "Heraclitus and Iran", 34-49; West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, 165-202.

(124) The most pertinent question is to what extent these ideas have influenced Judaism; for a critical position, see G. Ahn, in Kratz, *Religion*, 191-209.

(125) Texts from the Gathas (see oriental sources in the list of references): Yasna 31.7: "dwelling of bliss, filled with light", when the god grants immortality (21); 43.3: passage "45.11: "salvation and the absence of death in his kingdom"; 51.15: "the house of praise, where the god first went, is promised to you".

(126) Piras, *Hâdoxt Nask* (see Eastern sources in the list of references). The passage is also described in the Pehlevi texts of the *Bundahishn* and in the *Book of Arda Viraz*.

(127) See note 101.

(128) See Burkert, *Ancient Pythagoreanism*, 358-60. The main passages are Epich. 23B9, B22=frs. 213, 254 Kassel-Austin; E. Erechtheus fr. 65.72 Austin; E. Supp. 532.

(129) IG I3 1179.6=Hansen no. 10: either men psuchas hupedexato...

(130) Diog.Apoll. A19, 42: the soul as "part of god".

(131) A relevant passage in Euripides was considered a reflection of Anaxagoras by the Ancients, E. fr. 839=Anaxag. A112.

(132) The mention of Heracles' "sojourn among the gods" Od. 11.602-3 was denounced as an interpolation by ancient critics; Hebe depicted as his wife is now attested in iconography around 600 BC, see LIMC, s.v. Herakles no. 3331; Hyacinth and Polybaeus on their way to heaven on the throne of Amyclae, Paus. 3.19.4.

(133) 64A8; 68B30.

(134) Frahm, "Zwischen Tradition und Neuerung", 84-99, shows that Achaemenid Uruk priests established a pre-eminent role for the god "Heaven" (Anu). Artaxerxes' decree to Ezra (Ezra 7:12; authentic?) calls the god of the Jews "God of Heaven".

(135) Theopompus 115F65 in Plu. Is. 46-47, 369d-370c; Aristox. fr.13 Wehrli in Hippol. Haer. 1.2.12 (see Kingsley, "The Greek Origin of the Sixth-Century Dating of Zoroaster", 245-56); Eudēm. fr. 150 Wehrli; a passing allusion in Arist. Metaph. 1091b10.

(136) Pl. Lg. 896 d-e, 906a; see Plu. Procr. 1014d; Is. 370e-f; see Kerschensteiner, *Plato und der Orient*, who disputes this.

(137) Philostratus has Empedocles, among others, meet the magoi, VA 1.2; Gorgias claims to have seen Empedocles practise magic, 82A3=Emp. A1 sec. 59=D.L. 8.59; see also Kingsley, "Meetings with Magi."

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The last (political) man standing?

enoch

The only non-white ethnic group ever to be driven out of Britain was the (unconverted) Jews in 1290.

Towards the middle of the 16th century, Britain had a few blacks, most of them from Africa, who were entertainers or servants at court or, towards the end of the century, independent traders (1).

When commercial lines were opened between London and West Africa, Africans

A contemporary described them as "big, strong men, [who] could not cope with our food and drink, [and] were somewhat discomforted by the cold and damp air" (2). "There were Blacks on the English ships that encountered new peoples and new lands. Sir

Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the globe in 1577 was accomplished with a crew that we would describe today as interracial. Drake was - intermittently - a slave trader, like his cousin Sir John Hawkins, the infamous pioneer of the English slave trade. But, incredible as it may seem to us, he was capable of enslaving black people, while considering other black people as his comrades in arms. Drake's crew in 1577 included four Africans. During a previous expedition to Panama, Drake had formed an alliance with the

Cimaroons', mixed-race Africans who had escaped from the Spanish and intermarried with the local population. Their knowledge of the region was invaluable and helped 'El Draco' to capture a fleet of Spanish ships carrying silver to Spain" (3). When war broke out with Spain in 1588, Elizabeth I, in search of allies, entered into correspondence and exchanged arms with the Moroccan ruler Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur. "In all sorts of ways, relations with Africa and Africans seemed essential to England's survival in its existential struggle against the Catholic superpower that was the Spain of Philip II" (4). In this context, the exchange of arms between Elizabeth and al-Mansur pales symbolically in comparison to the gift, known as the "Drake jewel", that Elizabeth gave to Drake in 1588: "It shows the head of a black African man, carved in ivory and superimposed on that of a white European woman. Inside is a miniature of Queen Elizabeth herself" (5).

During the war with Spain (1588-1604), the English freed a large number of slaves of mixed Spanish and African origin who had been on board the Spanish ships they had seized; transplanted to Great Britain, they became interpreters or sailors (6). Others worked in the ports (7), but above all they became "black Englishmen" (8). Their

offspring, provided they were born on British soil, too: anyone born in the British Isles was then considered a British subject.

They were "mostly free... [and] both men and women married native Englishmen" (9). They intrigued. George Best explained in 1578, apparently in response to the growing number of half-breeds he saw around him, that the black colour of their skin was not due to the heat of the sun, but to the curse Noah had given to Ham, while twenty years earlier William Cunningham had judged the blacks to be "savage, monstrous and uncouth" (10). Reginald Scot associated black skin with witchcraft, describing the devil in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) as having "horns on his head, fire in his mouth, a tail, the eyes of a buffalo, the fangs of a dog, the claws of a bear, the skin of a negro and the voice of a roaring lion". In Titus

In *Andronicus* (1594), Tamora, Queen of the Goths, falls in love with a Moor who is guilty of "murder, rape and massacre" and bears her a child. In *Othello* (1604), mixed marriages are equated with bestiality. All the better to ridicule those who considered them as such at the time? What is certain is that "(t)o call someone Black in Shakespeare's England was to insult him, not to insult him, but to insult him.

racially, but because the colour itself was charged with negative [religious] symbolism" (11).

In 1596, Queen Elizabeth I, under whose reign it had become fashionable among the British aristocracy to employ black Africans as servants, entertainers and musicians - the Queen of England herself had several in her service (12) - sent a letter to the mayors of the major cities, urging them to "take the necessary steps to ensure that the black Africans were employed as servants, entertainers and musicians. inform them that "recently, various black people have been introduced into this kingdom and that there are already many of these people here [...]" and tell them that "this type of person must be expelled from the country" (13). Consequently, it issued a royal warrant to a German merchant from Lübeck by the name of Van Senden, granting him the right to deport the "Blackamoors" (including his own musicians, servants and entertainers?) living in England to Portugal or Spain (presumably in order to sell them there). The warrant stipulated that the 'Blackamoors' of the kingdom from England, most of whom were servants, could only be expelled with the prior permission of their masters and, as no compensation was to be offered for the loss of their servants, none gave their permission (14).

In 1601, Elizabeth issued a declaration stating that "the Queen's Majesty, anxious for the good and welfare of her own natural subjects, who are greatly afflicted in these difficult times of dearth, is much displeased with the large number of negroes and blacks who (according to her information) are transported to this kingdom". To solve this problem, the queen "sent a special order that the said species of persons be avoided and expelled from her majesty's realms with all possible speed and, to this end, she has instructed Casper van Senden, merchant of Lubeck, to

to expel them quickly" (15). Not only was their expulsion not "as swift as possible" "But, once again, it did not happen (16).

The increased involvement of British merchants in the transatlantic slave trade during the 18th century was the most important factor in the development of the Black British community. These communities formed and grew rapidly in port cities such as Liverpool and Bristol (17), to the point where, in 1710, the German traveller Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach noted that "there are, in fact, so many Moors of both sexes in England that I have never seen so many before" (18). The first black settlers were sailors, mixed-race children of colonial merchants, sent to England for education, emancipated slaves, young men and women. slaves (although slavery was illegal in Great Britain, the custom was established of tacitly authorising the captains of slave ships to bring back a handful of slaves to sell for their personal profit, and of allowing planters, merchants, soldiers, naval officers and civil servants to bring back their domestic slaves) (19). However, "in the 1780s, the majority of Blacks were not slaves or servants in rich households, but free men and independent owners or tenants, even if poor" (20); their number is estimated at around fifteen thousand.

As early as 1764, a long article published under the pseudonym 'Anglicanus' in the London Chronicle argued that blacks were 'taking the employment of so many of our fellow citizens' and that, as a result, 'we are depriving by this means a great many of the means of earning their livelihood'. In his view, "the principal object to be considered" was how the "evil policy" of importing black servants into the kingdom could be stopped: "It is high time to apply a remedy to cure so great an evil, which may be done by prohibiting the importation of more of them altogether, or by imposing a tax on their importation, which may prove effectual in discouraging them".

(21). The riots in 1768 in support of John Wilkes, a journalist and member of the Westminster Parliament imprisoned for writing an inflammatory article about George III, worried the British upper classes doubly, the second reason being that they suspected blacks of being part of "the furious and lawless rabble", in the words of the Reverend Christopher

Wyvill, the Tory reformer from Yorkshire (22), called working-class whites and blacks "comrades in arms" (23). In London, a contemporary observer noted that "miserable, underpaid and overworked men of bastard descent... immediate sons of Jamaica or Black Africans" (24) had helped white dockworkers dismantle ships during a

strike. Some blamed black Londoners for a significant proportion of crime in the capital, and whenever a black person committed a crime, the newspapers of the day were quick to point it out (25). James Tobin, a member of the pro-slavery lobby, drew attention to the fact that "three black men [convicted of capital offences were executed] at Newgate on the same day" (26). It was mainly domesticity that was at the heart of these concerns. In the early 1770s, Julius Soubise, the Duchess of Queensbury's free black servant, was the object of

allegations that he had raped one of the duchess's white servants (27). The eminent London magistrate Sir John Fielding, to whom many slave owners appealed to regain possession of one of their runaway black slaves, addressed this problem in his work *Penal Laws* (1768), in which he wrote that "[t]he immense confusion which reigns in the families of merchants and other gentlemen who have property in the West Indies, as a result of the great

The number of Negro slaves they have introduced into this kingdom also deserves the most serious attention; many of these gentlemen have had some of these Negroes instructed at great expense in the qualities necessary for a servant, or they have bought them after they have been instructed in these qualities.

They then bring them to England as cheap servants, with no right to a salary; as soon as they arrive here, they put themselves on the same footing as the other servants, get drunk on freedom, become resistant, either through the persuasion of others or through their own inclination, begin to expect a salary commensurate with the opinion they form of their merits : and, as there are already a large number of blacks who have made themselves so troublesome and dangerous to the families who brought them in, they get themselves dismissed; they enter into societies and make it their business to corrupt and discontent the minds of all new black servants who come into England; first, by having them baptized or married, which they say makes them free (though our ablest lawyers have held that neither of these circumstances alters the master's ownership of a slave). However, this serves their purpose so well that it puts the mob on their side and makes it not only difficult, but dangerous, for the owner of these slaves, to repossess them when they mysteriously disappear; and, indeed, it is the lesser of two evils to let them go about their business, for there is great reason to fear that the Blacks who have been sent back to the plantations, after having lived for some time in a country of freedom, where they learned to write and read, where they learned to use weapons and where they were entrusted with their custody, were at the origin of the insurrections which have recently caused and threaten to cause so much misfortune and danger to the inhabitants and planters of the islands of the West Indies" (28). He ended his speech by expressing the hope that "these gentlemen" would think twice before bringing black people to England. The British colonial administrator and historian Edward Long (1734 - 1813) not only warned, but also called for measures to be taken, observing that if slave owners brought them to Great Britain "for reasons of absolute necessity" for "the public good of the realm... some restraint ought to be imposed on the abnormal increase of Negroes brought into the country" (29).

The "societies" Fielding refers to deserve to be called "secret": their names themselves are not known. All that is known is that "the Blacks of Great Britain [of the time] showed cohesion, solidarity and mutual aid. They had developed a lively social life. And they found ways to express their political aspirations. Black self-awareness took literary form in autobiography, political protest, journalism and other writings published by Africans who lived in or visited England and wrote in English. "In London at least, black servants were able to meet informally from time to time in small groups, presumably to exchange information and discuss matters of common interest" (30). The

London's black community organised much larger and more elaborate events in various taverns. Not the least of the fashionable clubs in town is that of the blacks or negro servants", reported a newspaper in 1764, which also described how black servants of both sexes "dined, drank and entertained themselves by dancing and playing music", with fiddles, horns and other instruments, in a pub in Fleet-street, until four in the morning. No white people were allowed to be there, all the performers were black" (31).

The first black company to be established was Sons of Africa, founded in London in 1787 by twelve educated blacks, including Equiano (32) and Ottobah Cugoana, who, born around 1757 in what is now Ghana, was kidnapped and sold into slavery in 1770, first in Grenada and then in various other parts of the West Indies in the 18th century.

in the service of Alexander Campbell, had arrived in England in 1772, where, employed as a servant by the artists Richard Cosway and his wife, he had attracted the attention of political and business figures.

the poet William Blake and the Prince of Wales. Sons of Africa sought to unite and politically organise their "suffering compatriots and brothers", to whom Equiano dedicated his *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of Human Beings*.

Species (1787), the first abolitionist and political work published in Britain by a black man.

The group's main activities were to write to the newspapers of the day and to give lectures on the subject. conferences throughout Great Britain to raise awareness of abolitionism among the natives. In this respect, he can be considered "an ancestor of British black radicalism" (33).

Shortly after Equiano's arrival in London, a judgment of the Court of King's Bench had ruled in the Somerset case (1772), a black man whose master had claimed him two years after throwing him out on the street because he thought he was dying and who had recovered in the meantime, that no person found

The judge did not rule that Somerset was free and that, if he returned to the colonies, his former master could not claim him, but this is what public opinion, including and especially black opinion, understood. "When the Lord Chief Justice uttered the fateful words 'The man must be set free', [the blacks] bowed their heads.

before the judges, then shook hands in joy and relief. A few days later, this partial victory was celebrated by a gathering of about two hundred blacks, 'accompanied by their ladies', in a Westminster pub. Tickets cost 5s., so they were either

They were made up either of better-off servants, whose masters paid them a salary, or of delegates, each of whom represented several other people. A toast was made to Lord Mansfield [the Lord Chief Justice] 'throughout the room' and the evening ended with a dance" (34). Members of the pro-slavery lobby feared that the ruling would lead to a massive influx of black people into Britain and that white English servants would not be deprived of their jobs.

Their jobs, even their wives. "In the middle of the eighteenth century, there was a strict ban, not on blacks marrying whites, but on Irish Catholics marrying Irish women.

English Protestants" (35). Marriages between poor blacks and poor whites were tolerated, as were unions between blacks and middle-class whites; on the other hand, members of the upper classes who had sexual relations with black people were ostracised and ridiculed in public, if this became known and was known, for example, to the Duchess of Queensberry, Catherine Hyde, who, unlike many of his peers, had not taken the precaution of indulging his proclivities in the many London brothels that employed black men and women. But contemporary satire and literature preferred to refer to the black man's popularity with lower-class white women, which was also emphasised in secondary sources. In 1772, Edward

Long didn't beat about the bush: "Lower-class women in England like to have a good time. They would bond with horses and donkeys if the laws allowed them to. With these ladies they generally have numerous offspring. Thus, a few more generations and English blood will be so contaminated by this

By mixing and by the hazards, the ups and downs of life, this alloy will be able to spread so widely that it will reach even the middle classes, then the upper classes of the people, until the whole nation resembles the Portuguese and the Moriscos in the complexion of their skin and the baseness of their spirit. It is a venomous and dangerous ulcer, which threatens to spread its malignancy until every family is infected with it" (36). Long, a keen observer of the mores of his black slaves (37), went on to argue that interracial marriages in England would be a financial burden on the state, as black men "would have no scruples about abandoning their new wives and their mulatto offspring to the care of the parish" after "the prospect of being able to live quickly on their help had vanished" (38).

In 1778, the English author Philip Thicknesse (1719 - 1792) remarked that "London abounds in a In every country town and even in almost every village, you can see a small race of mulattoes, as mischievous as monkeys and infinitely more dangerous" (39). The English lawyer William Davy (d. 1780), who became Serjeant-at-Law on 11 February

1754, did not intend to limit himself to noting the damage, if we can put it that way; he asked for "an act of Parliament to prevent the abominable number of negroes brought here by these West Indian planters...

because if such a law is not passed, I don't know what our offspring will be, I mean of what colour - an inhabitant of this country may, in time, be the grandfather of half a d o z e n slaves, for all we know" (40).

The anti-Catholic riots of 1780, in which more than 450 people were killed and injured in London, seventy-two houses (including Fielding's) were burnt down and the inmates of four prisons set free ('The whole metropolis was in a state of terror for six days') (41), resurrected the spectre of an alliance between poor blacks and poor whites, which Fielding had identified with at the time of the Wilkesite riots as "[n]ombre de porteurs de chaise, porteurs, ouvriers et mécaniciens ivrées de cette ville [...]" (42). Nevertheless, the riots had been fomented and led by the politician Lord George Gordon (1751 - 1793) (43), founder and leader of the

the Protestant Association, which not only wanted to petition the Houses of Parliament against the (partial) emancipation of Catholics, but also asked them to follow the example of the National Assembly of revolutionary France and abolish slavery as an institution. At least three of the 326 rioters subsequently tried are described in court records as "black" (44).

In the mid-1780s, the ranks of the black community in Great Britain swelled further with the influx into the country of a small proportion (a few hundred) of the fourteen thousand blacks who had come to the United Kingdom.

had served in the British Army as infantrymen, cavalrymen, guides, labourers, coastal and river pilots, sailors, canoeists, miners, lumberjacks, carpenters, blacksmiths and tailors,

During the War of Independence, they were used as forage men, nurses, officers' servants, soldiers' servants, orderlies, drummers, fifers, recruiters, informers and even spies (45). Nicknamed "Black Loyalists", very few of them received a pension from the British government (46), not even the British.

not only because "they should consider themselves very fortunate to be in a country where they could never again be enslaved" (47), but also because a black man had to prove that he was free before the war to have any chance of getting a penny (48). They had to look for work. Unemployment was rife in Great Britain at the time and, moreover, since the Lord Mayor of London had decreed in 1731 that "no Negro shall be bound as an apprentice to any merchant or craftsman in this city", there were practically only two trades open to them: sailor (49) and servant (50); the fact that most Negro servants were unpaid made them de facto slaves (51), the "slave labourers" of the time.

slaves "surrounded by care" (52) compared to the newcomers. Most of them fell into poverty and were reduced to begging in the streets, mainly in London, in company of "starving Indians, abandoned by Nababs back in India, all miserable in a foreign land, 'sweaty, hungry, naked, friendless'" (53); they were regularly joined by runaway black slaves (54). Londoners, who referred to them as "St. Giles' blackbirds", were reputed to be more generous with them than with white beggars (55).

As the disease had become so widespread, a Committee was formed in the early months of 1786 to help the poor blacks. John Pugh wrote in 1787 in *The Remarkable Occurrences in the Life of Jonas Hanway* (1798) that the purpose of the Committee, which became known as the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor, was "to relieve the misery of these poor people and to prevent relations against the Blacks.

nature between blacks and whites, the unpleasant consequences of which are all too frequently felt on our streets" (56). Many British people disagreed. "As the majority of poor blacks were men, a significant proportion of them sought and found wives among the native white population" (57). Conversely, "[t]he East India Company had long encouraged its white employees to marry Indian women, partly to avoid the expense of shipping potential partners from England." (58).

The Committee collected funds by appealing to the public's generosity, funds which initially enabled it to distribute broth, a piece of meat and a two-penny loaf of bread to more than two hundred indigent blacks every day, which was sent to those who were too ill to leave their homes.

home. For the most serious cases, he opened a hospital ("Sickhouse") in Warren Street. Clothing was also distributed to them (59). The initiative immediately aroused the sympathy of a section of the English public, for two reasons: the first was the moral duty it felt to give charity to people who, before falling into need, had fought for Great Britain; the second was the fact that it was the only way to ensure the survival of the British people.

was the moral duty that white abolitionists felt to give charity to people who, although not slaves, belonged to a race of which many members were. The number of "black

With the number of "poors" increasing month by month and the generosity of individuals reaching its limits, funds ran out. In April 1786, a handful of ministers and officials close to the Committee persuaded their colleagues and Parliament to agree to the provision of regular assistance to poor blacks (normally at 6d a day). The number of recipients, initially 75, soon rose to 327 and, when it was decided that payment would be conditional on acceptance of resettlement to

Abroad, it probably reached 1,000 (60). Planter James Tobin (1736/7 - 1817), slave-owner Gilbert Fracklyn (1733 - 1799) and Gordon Turnbull, author of *An Apology for Negro Slavery* (1786), the anti-slavery activists, and therefore implicitly the Committee, were responsible for the

increasing numbers of poor black people sleeping on the streets of London (61). One London newspaper predicted that, if no action was taken, "London would, in another century, look like an Ethiopian colony" (62).

Some even claimed that black Londoners were making their fortunes by begging and accused aid workers of being more concerned about black Africans than their own "suffering countrymen" (63). Once again, it was not just for social reasons that some people were sounding the alarm. Tobin was concerned about "the strange partiality shown towards them by the women of the lower classes and the rapid increase of a dark and contaminated race", while believing that "such a union was often the only possible choice" because, he explained in the following way absurd, "the numerical preponderance of black men over black women was considerable".

(64). Some newspapers were concerned about the possibility of England becoming a "mongrel race".

(65). It "[...] was necessary to send them somewhere and to stop letting them infest the streets of London" (66), said Carl Bernhard Wadström (1746 - 1799), a leading figure in the British abolitionist movement. On 29 December 1786, the *Morning Post* published an article along these lines, arguing that "[w]hen so many of our young men and women are unemployed... it is abominable that foreigners, and more particularly black foreigners, be allowed to eat the bread of idleness in gentlemen's houses" (67).

However, the idea of resettling them abroad did not come from whites, but from the blacks themselves (68).

In 1786, a certain Henry Smeathman, a member of the Committee, published a *Plan of a Settlement* to be made near Sierra Leone, on the Grain Coast, which, as its name suggests, aimed to resettle blacks and women in Sierra Leone.

people of colour, as free men, under the direction of the Committee and the protection of the British government, in this British colony, "created, a s an English philanthropist wrote to Talleyrand, for the purpose of promoting the arts and the benefits of civilisation among the people of France". natives of Africa" (69). The original plan was to resettle them in Nova Scotia, where many "Black Loyalists" had settled at the end of the War of Independence, and it is not clear why the Committee preferred Smeathman's plan. "But it was certainly not because either party had in mind repatriating black people 'to Africa'. Few of the poor blacks had been born in Africa and most of them regarded themselves and were regarded as loyal British subjects.

originating from America, the thirteen former Colonies or the British West Indies. Those Blacks who asked to be sent 'home' meant New York, Charleston, Jamaica or other parts of the West Indies and, indeed, it was there that some Blacks were repatriated by the Committee. However, Blacks who returned to the United States or even to the West Indies risked being enslaved again, and the climate in Nova Scotia was generally considered to be even less favourable to Blacks than that in Great Britain" (70). The fact remains that, initially reluctant to the idea of emigrating to Sierra Leone, mainly, it seems, because they knew that this

In return, Smeathman undertook to guarantee the settler's permanent freedom. Although the legal value of the document was debatable, the eight men representing the black poors declared unambiguously that they "considered it the fairest and most equitable agreement ever concluded between whites and blacks" (71).

Around one thousand two hundred black poors had signed the agreement (and received their allowance) (72), but on 9 April 1787 only four hundred and fifty or so of them boarded a ship chartered by the government, with provisions, weapons and agricultural tools, bound for Sierra Leone and, once on board, caused all kinds of trouble on board ships (73). These included 317 black men, 117 black women and 25 black children, as well as around 60 whites, most of whom were 'debauched' women 'weakened by disease'. The vast majority of the blacks had eventually refused to leave Britain (unless it was for the United States) and, according to one newspaper, had reversed their decision largely on Gordon's advice. (74). They clearly preferred to die assisted "on the pavements" of London than to try their luck on the streets. chance in Sierra Leone (75). Unsurprisingly, the British government's threats to arrest those who refused to embark for vagrancy and to stop paying them an allowance were never acted upon (76).

In 1805, two years before Great Britain banned the black slave trade, an American visiting England in Liverpool went down "into the hold and examined the cells where human beings were locked up in conditions that offend decency and shock

You will sometimes meet in the streets of London well-bred young girls, walking with their half-brothers or more often with their nephews, born in India, who have the black hair, the small features, the delicate form and the brown complexion of the Hindu natives. These young men are accepted into society and take their fathers' place. I confess that this fact struck me as rather unpleasant. It would seem that the prejudice against colour is less

in England than in America; for the condition of the few negroes to be found in this country is far superior to that of their countrymen anywhere else. A black footman is considered a great acquisition, and consequently negro servants are sought after and appreciated. One never sees in England a negro badly dressed or starving, and in some cases unions (alliances) are even formed between them and white girls of the lower classes of society. A few days ago I met in Oxford Street a well-dressed, flushed and even attractive white girl, walking arm in arm and conversing very affably with a negro, as well-dressed as herself and so black that his skin had a sort of ebony lustre. As there are no slaves in England, perhaps the English have not learned to regard negroes as a degraded class of men, as we do in the United States, where we have never seen them in any other condition" (77). At the same time, William Cobbett, "not only the most widely read and influential popular journalist of the first three decades of the

(78), wrote: "The first care of any statesman and of any wise legislator will be to prevent the people, the little people, from being,

by any means whatsoever, degraded in spirit and character, and there are no means of national degradation against which he will be more anxious to guard, because there are none more fatal and more lasting than those connected with the introduction of debased foreigners, by whom the very nature of the population must in the long run be appreciably affected. [...] [W]ho, among those with a little common sense or decency, would not be shocked by the familiar relations that have progressively gained ground and were finally established between blacks and women in England

? In this gentle country, no black man has to hang himself out of despair. No one cares whether he is a pagan or a Christian; if he is not downright crippled, he will always find, if he so desires, a woman, not only to give in to his filthy embraces, which, among the notoriously polluted and debauched part of the female sex, would be less shocking, but also to accompany him to the altar, to become his wife, to sire English mulattoes, to imprint the mark of Cain on his family and country! In white women, this contempt for decency, this defiance of the dictates of nature, this foul inclination, this bestial propensity, is, I say with sorrow and shame, peculiar to English women. It is known in no other country" (79). Contemporary sources

noted that a black man could walk down Oxford Street arm in arm with a well-dressed white woman, unmolested and virtually unnoticed (80). Unlike America, for example, no law has ever prohibited interracial marriages in Britain "and it is clear that many white Britons, especially women,

were not opposed to the idea of moving in with people of another race and saw no problem in others doing so" (81).

The Poors Laws system, which was established during the reign of Elizabeth I, was based on the idea that a person was "settled" in a parish and that the parish was responsible for providing assistance to all those legally recognised as poor who needed it. This aid was financed by taxes levied on the parish's taxpayers. People who had not 'settled' in a parish could, by order of the local magistrates, be physically removed to the parish responsible for assisting them. Under an Act of 1662, magistrates could order the removal of any newcomer to a parish, if the parish officers (stewards or overseers) so requested, even if they had not asked for any assistance.

Many parish officials applied the law harshly and brutally; for example, they sometimes sent people who had lived in their parish for a long time back to their parish of origin, where they were often unknown and often before they had asked for help; sometimes families were even separated. Under the Poor Law Amendment Act

Under the Poor Law Act of 1834, there were two types of relief: internal and external. Internal relief was reserved for claimants attached to a workhouse, an official establishment that housed and provided food for the poor.

In principle, external aid, mainly in the form of food, clothing or money, was discouraged, but in fact it was widespread. In principle, external relief, which was mainly in the form of food, clothing or money, was discouraged, but in fact it was widespread.

Often, paid work was provided for the needy by the parish. You can immediately see the disadvantages of this law for the black poor, who, not being 'established', were not entitled to the social assistance it introduced, but also the advantages: not only were they not 'established', they could not be moved, let alone legally expelled from the country.

Nor did the Irish-born enjoy the right of settlement in England, where they flocked at harvest time to help out the local workforce. What's more, these itinerant workers couldn't ask for help in an English parish without risking themselves,

As they worked seasonally in England, the 1846 Act, which stipulated that an Irishman could obtain the status of "irremovable" if he could prove that he had lived in a parish for five years without interruption, could only apply to an infirm minority of them. None of the five hundred thousand Irish who fled to England following the famine of 1845 (82). Although they were not legally entitled to it, in practice they were able to benefit from assistance under the Poor Laws. But not for long. In June 1847, amendments to the Removal and Settlement Act (1827) simplified the procedure for repatriation, which had the immediate effect of dissuading Irish paupers from applying for aid. "Some 63,000 of them were sent back from Liverpool in 1846-1853 (most were dumped manu militari on the docks in Dublin - they were left to fend for themselves), along with a smaller number from other English cities" (83). Admittedly, the Removal and Settlement Act was often applied "with cruelty" (84).

Another exemplary case of governmental and bureaucratic criminal laxity towards people of colour in Great Britain came to light at the end of the 1910s. In January 1919, three

decades after the British shipping companies realised that it was more profitable for them to employ sailors and dockworkers from all over the world instead of the British, riots broke out between the latter and the "Arabs" (in fact, mostly Somalis and Yemenis) (85) in Hull, then Glasgow, Cardiff, London, Liverpool and South Shields, which lasted until August, before resuming sporadically in 1920 and 1921. An Inter-departmental Repatriation Committee was set up in towns with large black communities,

particularly in the latter. To put it simply, a repatriation package with a resettlement allowance, ranging from £2 to £5 depending on the distance, as well as an allowance for landing fee of £5. 4, was made to Arab and Black sailors, then to South Asians, at least to those who had a valid identity card and national insurance card. Most declined. The attitude of the Home Office was then clearly expressed in an internal memorandum dated 17 June 1919: "Although it is not possible to forcibly expel the men of

All coloured men should be encouraged to return to their country as quickly as possible (86).

Following the recommendation of the Inter-

departmental Repatriation Committee, and in keeping with the tendency of both bureaucracy and cancer cells to duplicate, local repatriation committees were established in Glasgow, South Shields, Salford, Hull, London, Liverpool and Cardiff, under the joint auspices of the Board of Trade, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of the Navy and the Colonial Office. The aims of these new, umpteenth committees were as follows:

"1. gather information on the number, nationality and country of origin of coloured men in the port, as well as information on the nature of their employment and the number of those who wish to be repatriated.

2. Ensure that publicity is given to all the government's repatriation programmes; explain these projects to the representatives and other local people and bodies concerned, in the interests of good government and of the coloured men themselves.

3. To endeavour to ensure that all coloured men who have the right to reside in this country have a reasonable opportunity of finding work.

4. Talk to the men individually, make them understand that it was appropriate for them to accept repatriation and point out the difficulties they are likely to have in finding work if they remain in this country (87)".

Among other measures, the Committee allowed the white wife of a coloured man who had agreed to be repatriated to accompany him, provided that he could provide a "proof of identity". proof that he was originally from the colony to which he wished to go and that he was (could this be racial discrimination?) a black West Indian or Canadian (88). The dependants of black seamen who were born in Great Britain were also eligible for repatriation assistance, but - apart from Arabs (is this racial discrimination?) - "Coloured men married to white women should not be repatriated for obvious reasons" (89). They were so "

It was so obvious to the Committee that it changed its mind several times over the following months.

On 30 July 1919, the Inter-departmental Repatriation Committee declared that some six hundred men had been repatriated and that "the project was considered a success" (90). Strangely, "the exact number of people repatriated following the riots in the seaports does not appear in the government's files" (91). Nor is the number of new arrivals or those who, after receiving the repatriation grant, returned to Britain, possibly to receive it a second time under a new identity.

Fewer gloves were pulled with the German community in Britain during the First World War. In 1914, it numbered 57,500 people: by the end of the conflict, 35,000 of them, including the Germans, were living in Germany.

including their British spouses, if they had any, were deported to Germany (92), without being asked their opinion and even less offered financial compensation.

By way of comparison, in 1950, according to West German government figures, 14.6 million Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche had been expelled (or, going one step further, had fled) from Central and Eastern Europe to Germany and Austria (93) - without any compensation.

Before British nationality legislation existed, there was a system of "Allegiance". Feudal lords demanded allegiance from their local communities and these lords, in turn, swore allegiance to the monarch. As the powers of the monarchy increased, the concept of allegiance broadened to become a general allegiance to the Crown. All those who

owed allegiance to the Crown were subjects of the Crown, and the Common Law conferred generally granted subject status to those born in the Crown territories. Over time, this concept proved inadequate and statutory remedies were sought to address issues such as the status of foreign-born children of English subjects and the desirability of allowing 'aliens' to acquire subject status. After the Act of Union of 1707, which united England and

In Scotland, "English subject" became synonymous with "British subject". Those who were not British subjects were 'aliens'. Under the Common Law, subject status was acquired by birth in the "dominions and allegiance" (94) of the Crown. The term "dominions" included British ships and referred to all the territories of the British Empire, with the exception of places

protected. Under the Common Law, certain people, although born in the Dominions, did not have to pay allegiance. These included children of foreign ambassadors on official business and children born to members of hostile foreign armed forces on British soil. The position

was that children born in foreign countries were foreigners, whatever the nationality of their parents. People who had not acquired subject status at birth were not foreigners.

could only acquire it later, by means of a special Act of Parliament. At the beginning of the 19th century, the expansion of British trade led to the search for a simplification of the procedure.

of obtaining British subject status for foreign merchants and others who settled in Britain. The 1844 Act introduced naturalisation by administrative grant. The applicant was deemed to be a British subject by birth from the date of naturalisation... The grant of British nationality to a foreigner gave the right to occupy a place of business in Great Britain. any office except that of Privy Councillor or Member of Parliament. Prior to the 1844 Act, the Common Law held that marriage had no effect on the nationality status of the parties. However, the 1844 Act provided that a foreign woman who married a British subject automatically acquired British subject status on marriage. There was no provision provided for the naturalisation of children. The 1847 Act provided that the 1844 Act would not apply to the colonies. Naturalisation in the United Kingdom conferred British subject status throughout the Empire. Naturalisation in a colony conferred British subject status in that colony only. The years 1870-1914 were a period of great expansion for the British Empire. The former colonies grew in size and population. The fact that nationality law was still governed by the Westminster Parliament caused considerable dissatisfaction in the Dominions and it was decided that the time had come to attempt a codification. of British nationality law which would recognise the place and status of the Dominions. The basis of this codification was to be the recognition of a common status of British subject throughout the Commonwealth and this status was to be governed by a common code in all Commonwealth countries. Status was based on allegiance and acquisition was mainly by birth in the Dominions. National consciousness developed within each of the Dominions. In 1946, the Dominion of Canada created a "Canadian citizenship" distinct from British subject status. Consequently, in 1947, an Imperial (or Commonwealth) Conference was convened by all the self-governing Dominions (Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa) to resolve the growing confusion. General agreement was reached on a new system to reconcile the citizenships of the different countries of the Commonwealth with the general status of British subject. It forms the basis of the British Nationality Act 1948.

Until the adoption of this Act, "the fact that, of all these Dominions, the United Kingdom alone could not distinguish, in its internal law, between British subjects who were administratively subject to it and those who had no other connection with it than that of also being British subjects - even if the reality of the distinct character of the United Kingdom itself was not recognised - did not cause a n y practical inconvenience, as it had little practical effect", but "[t]he definition was abolished of British citizenship] and replaced it with an entirely new definition " (95). The 1948 Act, which introduced the status of CUKC ("citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies"), while retaining the term "British subject" to designate any citizen of a country in the Commonwealth, including the United Kingdom and the colonies, stated that any CUKC or citizen of an independent Commonwealth country was a British subject and that "British subject" and "Commonwealth citizen" were to be interpreted as "British subject". Commonwealth citizen' were synonymous. But, as Powell noted, the CUKC was "a category to which no specific function was assigned in the law of the United Kingdom, which

continued to distinguish only between British and non-British subjects. Thus It recognised a citizenship to which no nation, not even the most obscure, corresponded. However, the unreality of the law took its revenge, as massive immigration to the United Kingdom took place. "However, the unreality of the law took its revenge, as there was mass immigration to the United Kingdom. United Kingdom of persons who in no way belonged to it, except by the unreal assertion of the law that they were British subjects" (96).

The 1958 Royal Commission on Population stated: "Large-scale immigration into a fully established society such as ours would only be wholeheartedly welcomed if immigrants were of good stock and their religion or race did not prevent them from marrying into and blending with the host population" (97). One might be tempted to think that the members of the Royal Commission were living on a different planet, for it had been at least five decades since mixed marriages had been introduced in France. far from rare in Great Britain (98); one would be tempted to think so, and even wish it were not a metaphor, but, anticipating a UN report published in 2000 according to which Europe would have to import 701 million migrants, including 94 million in France, 188 million in Germany, 59 million in the United Kingdom and 120 million in Italy, to cope with the decline in its working population (99), they advocated, under the same pretext, the importation of 140,000 immigrants into Great Britain. as soon as possible (100), and this is precisely what happened: the Indians, Caribbeans and Pakistanis who had begun to emigrate to Great Britain in the late 1940s, now found themselves in the United Kingdom. arrived in the early 1960s (101); but, unlike their predecessors, they were not guest workers and therefore did not receive any help from British social services, either to find a job or to find accommodation. While they had no problem finding the former, the landlords' doors were closed to them. "Blacks.... Negroes are not welcome here....". (102), they would say. signs read. The British government was going to do something about it.

The British authorities were privately expressing their concern about the long-term implications of this "uncontrolled" immigration. They were expressing it in private. As early as 1950, the Labour government had convened a secret committee to discuss the growing black population. Five years later, With the Conservatives back in power, Prime Minister Anthony Eden asked his officials to explore legislative means of curbing immigration (103). For their part, many white voters made no secret of their fear of the dangers posed by the presence of a large community of people of colour enjoying the same rights as themselves. "White women who formed relationships with black men provoked strong reactions, even from race relations 'experts' who sought to dispel stereotypes about black men's sexuality in the 1950s. They described these women as sexual and cultural 'outlaws', calling them 'unstable', 'deviant' and even 'sociopaths'. One of these The authors saw them as women who had 'failed to find a satisfying role in English society', and as women for whom the ordinary constraints of family and home were 'an obstacle to their development'.

society were not exercised. Like the white homosexuals who 'frequented the cafés and public houses of the coloured quarter, in search of coloured friends', these women literally overstepped the bounds of conventional norms and values and were, in fact, 'the only ones who knew how to live'.

Consequently, they are excluded from white society. We find,' wrote this sociologist in 1955, 'that many whites who wish to associate with coloured people are themselves neurotic or unrepresentative of the white population'" (104). "Would you let your daughter marry a black man?" was a question that more and more white Britons of all classes and all religious and political persuasions were asking themselves.

In August 1958 in Nottingham, young whites spotted a Jamaican man having a conversation with a white woman in a pub and started a riot. Between 1,500 and 4,000 whites took to the streets, burning and looting. A month later, a riot broke out in Notting Hill, West London, to protest against the settlement of blacks in the area. In August 1961, hundreds of Teddy Boys (105) demonstrated in Middlesbrough, chanting "Let's get a wog". Two years later, after a customer was killed in a fight in a Chinese restaurant in St Helen's, Chinese-owned properties were burnt and ransacked in the city, leading to further white demonstrations in Birmingham (106). "Inevitably [...] the macabre events in Nottingham and Notting Hill came as a considerable shock to activists. Ten years after Windrush and with non-white Commonwealth immigration rising to over 40,000 a year (up from 2,000 in 1953 and 11,000 in 1954), the question naturally arose as to whether emigration of people of colour to this country should be limited'. This was the first question asked [...] in the first programme of Any Questions? after the summer break. The guests all replied in the negative. Conservative MP Ted Leather said there was 'no excuse possible for intolerance and mob violence of any kind'; Labour MP Anthony Greenwood insisted that it would be 'morally wrong' to impose such a limit. Future Liberal MP Jeremy Thorpe said that, 'if the brotherhood of man means anything, then let's share what we've got' [including your MP's allowance?]; farmer-writer A.G. Street was also against restrictions ('stopping immigration would ruin the Commonwealth'), a l t h o u g h he observed that 'this colour business is very complicated, it all boils down to physical repulsion, sexual jealousy so to speak'. The last word went to the President, Freddie

Grisewood who added that 'as a corollary to what has been said, it would not be inappropriate to pay tribute to the police for the way they handled these shocking riots'. That was all very well and good and liberal, but for the two main political parties, the realities of that autumn were more complex. In the immediate aftermath of the unrest, only The Times, of all the Labour-supporting national dailies, came out unequivocally against immigration control, by arguing, in an editorial entitled 'A Family of Nations', that such a policy would 'almost certainly have unforeseen and harmful effects', was 'an expression of desperation' and 'should not be approved'. With an election a year away, Macmillan did not want a controversy to divide the party and on 8 September - two days after Butler, the Home Secretary, had said in a speech in Maldon that it would take 'considerable force of argument' to change the 'law of the

British citizenship to enter and leave the mother country at will' - the Cabinet was in full agreement that it was 'important to avoid, if possible, any statement on Commonwealth immigration'. In the weeks that followed, most Tories adopted a measured tone - Peter Griffiths (107), future Tory candidate for Smethwick, sought a compromise, before letting slip that 'it would seem reasonable to limit immigration to this country to healthy people in employment' - but it was becoming increasingly clear that there was a gulf between the party leadership on the one hand and some backbenchers on the other.

have no official position in the government or in the shadow cabinet. They sit in the back rows of the House of Commons, the front rows being reserved for individual ministers] and the majority of party members. In October, the party conference was held in Blackpool, where (despite Butler's insistence that 'we maintain the long and respectful tradition of allowing the Commonwealth citizens to come here'), delegates overwhelmingly approved a motion calling for immigration controls. No MP was more enthusiastic about these restrictions than Cyril Osborne who, later that month, told the Commons that 'it is time someone spoke for this country and the white man who lives in it' and insisted that coloured people were bringing idleness, disease and crime into the country. However, few other Conservative backbenchers supported him openly and, at a meeting of the 1922 Committee, he was humiliated to the point of tears. One of the backbenchers who listened wordlessly was Wolverhampton South West MP Enoch Powell. Three years later, he told his biographer Simon Heffer that he had been ashamed ever since to have remained silent while Osborne was

attacked" (108). The same was more or less true in the ranks of Labour and its supporters, where in early September there were four major interventions. "The government must quickly introduce legislation to stop the huge influx of coloured people from the Commonwealth... Overcrowding has encouraged vice, drugs, prostitution and the use of knives. For years the whites were tolerant. Now they are angry" (109).

George Rogers, MP for North Kensington, the Notting Hill constituency, told the right-wing Daily Sketch. Another usually liberal-minded Labour MP, Maurice Edelman, published a fairly balanced, but ultimately pro-control, article in the Daily Mail; entitled "Should we let them keep pouring in?", which was praised for its "courage" by the Daily Mirror, which not only stated that Commonwealth citizens should only be allowed to come to Britain if they already had a job and a home in sight, but also

also called for stronger deportation powers: "Some of the people of colour who have settled here are good for nothing. As Commonwealth citizens, they can't be deported. It's absurd" (110). Finally, the TUC (Trades Union Congress), meeting in Bournemouth, came out in favour of immigration control. However, just before its conference, the party issued a statement unambiguously rejecting immigration controls and promising that the next Labour government would "introduce legislation to make the public practice of discrimination illegal" (111).

Meanwhile, the Notting Hill riots have given the issue of immigration a new dimension.

It was a national issue of unprecedented importance, generating television debates, editorials, pulpit sermons and opinion polls. A Gallup poll conducted while the rioters were still licking their wounds revealed that 27% of those questioned made the

Whites were responsible for the riots, 9% for blacks and 35% for both whites and blacks; 71% said they were opposed to mixed marriages, 85% were in favour of controlling the immigration of people of colour (112), 44% said they did not want "people of colour from the Commonwealth" to be "admitted to social housing lists on the same terms as people born in Great Britain" and 61% "probably or "perhaps" intended to move, "if people of colour came to live in large numbers" in their neighbourhood; 9% "probably" and 21% "perhaps".

"7% said they were against the presence of "coloured children in the same classes as their own children" (113). The main lesson to be drawn from the survey, insofar as it was representative, was that 7% of English people were logical with themselves.

In 1960, the Home Secretary, Richard "Rab" Butler, insisted on the need to legislate on and the Cabinet appointed a committee. Butler oversaw the drafting of the Bill, which would become the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962. The idea that the British Empire was a single territory and that all British subjects

were free to enter the UK evaporated. The right to enter the UK was restricted, except for "Commonwealth citizens" (including CUKCs) who were born in the UK or held British passports (as opposed to those who held a British passport issued by a colonial authority). Following the introduction of this legislation, citizens of

Commonwealth and certain CUKCs were subject to immigration controls. Prospective immigrants now had to apply for a work permit, of which there were several types, in based on the applicant's employment prospects. "You feel yourself falling asleep. You let yourself go, let yourself go gently into this very pleasant sensation that envelops you; you no longer resist, now you're asleep...". (114).

"The Conservative Party under Macmillan was united in its support [for the legislation], but the Labour Party was divided. The 'intellectual and anti-colonial element of the party' disapproved of anything that might be racially prejudiced and vehemently opposed the legislation, while the Labour wing was increasingly sceptical about large-scale immigration and the potential for integration" (115). Be that as it may, the measures taken to implement the law were so effective that,

In 1963 and 1964, with Labour back in power, over fifty thousand people from the new Commonwealth - according to Home Office figures - arrived on British soil, a large percentage of them from India and Pakistan. Home Secretary Frank Soskice and other Labour leaders stressed the need for tighter border controls (combined with measures to integrate immigrants settled in the UK). It has to be said that the

Conservative Peter Griffiths, accused of being behind election posters bearing the slogan: "If you want a Negro neighbour, vote Liberal or Labour" (116), had just beaten the Labour MP Patrick Gordon at the 1964 elections in Smethwick, Midlands. Asked by the media (before the election) about the slogan, Griffiths replied: "I'm not condemning anyone who says that. I would say that's how people see the situation in Smethwick... (117) "

The hypnotist has the power to put (apparently consenting) people to sleep by saying "go to sleep".
". The 1965 Government White Paper on "Commonwealth Immigration" told them: "[I]t must be recognised that the presence in this country of nearly a million immigrants from the Commonwealth of different social and cultural backgrounds raises a number of problems and creates various social tensions in the regions where they are concentrated. If we wish to avoid the scourge of racial conflict and if we wish to develop harmonious relations between the races which now form our community, these problems and tensions must be resolved and eliminated" (118). In order to create "harmonious relations", the White Paper proposed a programme for the integration of immigrants, which would include measures whose nature the reader will never guess: the aim was to combat discrimination. The Junior Home Office Minister, Roy Hattersley, whose name would undoubtedly feature in the Black Book of immigrationism, solemnly assured us: "Integration without control is impossible, but control without integration is indefensible (119)". The bill prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race and ethnic origin in public places (hotels, pubs, restaurants, places of entertainment or leisure) and incitement to racial hatred. The Race Relations Act was the first law of its kind in Europe.

In response to the Race Relations Act, which had received royal assent on 25 October 1968, the Conservative Party, in its 1966 manifesto signed by its leader, Edward Heath, included the next section, entitled "THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM", contained the following five propositions:

"To ensure that all immigrants living in Great Britain are treated in all respects as equal citizens without discrimination.

"Introduce a conditional entry system that will control the initial period during which a new immigrant can stay, until they are granted authorisation, either on a temporary basis or on a permanent basis.
permanently, or for an additional limited period.

"Strengthen provisions relating to health checks on immigrants.

"Require all immigrants to declare the names of dependants who may wish to join them at any time, so that their number is known. In the case of new immigrants, the
The number of dependants will be an important factor in deciding whether to authorise entry.

"Help immigrants who are already here to rejoin their families in their country of origin or to return with their families, if they so wish.

"Combine stricter entry controls with special assistance, where necessary, to areas where immigrants are concentrated."

The manifesto was entitled "Action not Words". A few days later, Enoch Powell came up with a much more appropriate title: "Words not Action" (120).

In 1967, Asians from Kenya and Uganda, victims of the Kenyan government's policy of Africanisation, which for several years had been aimed at driving them out of key positions in the economy, began to flock to Great Britain. They had retained their British citizenship after independence and were therefore not subject to the Race Relations Act. Enoch Powell and his comrades campaigned for stricter controls. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (1964-1967), Leonard James Callaghan, Baron Callaghan of Cardiff, did indeed advocate "stricter" controls (121), but not for the same reasons as them: "In the face of a potential flood of Asian immigrants from Kenya - they were now arriving at the rate of 200 to 300 a day - Callaghan explained to the Cabinet in February 1968 that the government needed to legislate immediately to restrict their entry and deprive them of their citizenship rights. His argument was that immigration on this scale would put impossible pressure on the provision of social services and housing in Britain. If no action was taken, he said, there was 'a very real risk that our efforts to create a multi-racial society in this country will fail'", while other ministers, notably Thomson at the Commonwealth Office, who had a better appreciation than Callaghan of the depth of the Danaides' barrel of 'welfare' for immigrants, "argued that passing a law stripping Asians in Kenya of their British citizenship would be 'wrong in principle, clearly discriminatory on grounds of colour and contrary to everything we stand for'. The Attorney General reminded ministers of Britain's international obligations. Pending further consultations with President Kenyatta through Malcolm MacDonald and an appeal to the Indian and Pakistani governments, the decision to legislate was taken at the end of the year.

was delayed. When it became clear that the other governments were not prepared to collaborate, the Cabinet accepted, despite Thomson's continued protests, that legislation was the only British option" (122). The Commonwealth Immigration Act 1968 extended the immigration control to people who had no parent or grandparent who was born in the UK or was a UK citizen - unless the citizen or one of their parents :

(a) was born in the United Kingdom, or

(b) is or has been naturalised in the United Kingdom, or

(c) become a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies by adoption, or

(d) became a citizen of the United Kingdom by registration under the British Nationality Acts in the United Kingdom or in a specified Commonwealth country (123). "The party which a year earlier had claimed that the Commonwealth was 'the greatest multiracial association the world has ever known' was now depriving British subjects holding only British citizenship of the fundamental right of that citizenship in response to public opposition to the entry of non-whites into Great Britain", (124) a political scientist and historian declares in dismay. contemporary. He should put away his handkerchief: "The number of people affected by this measure is probably not very large in relation to the population of the United Kingdom. Mr Callaghan, the Secretary of State, presenting the second reading of the bill in the House of Commons, said said it probably affected around 200,000 people in East Africa and a million in other parts of the Commonwealth, most of whom were also citizens of their own country of origin. However, there is no automatic refusal of admission for the people concerned; instead, a quota system has been created which, although 'flexible', allows 1,500 entry certificates to be issued to heads of family per year by the British High Commissioners in the territories concerned; they are issued to applicants on the basis of their personal circumstances their legal status and the law of the territory concerned. It is a purely administrative and extra-legal system" (125).

Unsurprisingly, the Labour government was accused, both inside and outside Parliament, not only of trampling on human rights and violating international law, but also of practising racialism. There is nothing like such accusations, bombarded by the media, to reinforce the illusory hope of the section of the public opposed to non-European immigration that a government which has passed a law against immigration, even one as soft and flexible as this, is determined to enforce it. In any case, the Minister for the Interior, during the parliamentary proceedings on the bill, had declared: "I have been asked what we would do with a man who was put out of work and threatened with unemployment to be expelled from the country. We will have to take care of him. There's nothing else we can do in these circumstances" (126); "[w]e're not telling these people that they can never come. I agree [...] that at the end of the day, if they want to, we have to find them homes in this country. They are our citizens. But we don't tell them 'You mustn't come here'" (127). As one British lawyer put it with a kind of Zen irony, "[...] it is

is clear that if they refuse to form a queue, they should be allowed in, even if there are 200,000 of them, in case all the East Asian countries deport them. In other words, if the worst came to the worst the law would be ineffective. This is a surprising conclusion for an English barrister, trained in the law, to come to. as he has been since the beginning of his studies, to believe that when Parliament says something, we must presume that it meant something and that it meant that its words will be followed by deeds".

The Race Relations Act was followed by the Local Government Act, which stated: "[...] the Secretary of State may make grants to local authorities which, in his opinion, are required to make special provision in the exercise of any of their functions by reason of the presence within their area of a significant number of Commonwealth immigrants whose language or customs differ from those of the community, of such amount as he may determine, with the consent of the Treasury, to meet expenditure of such a nature as he may determine (namely expenditure in connection with the employment of staff). " With this legal provision, Great Britain became the first European country to provide for the systematic granting of subsidies to immigrants. In the 19th century, the British government had offered money to a category of immigrant workers to encourage them to return to their country of origin.

He was now offering money to all immigrants to stay in Britain, and would soon be offering money to all potential immigrants to colonise Britain.

The Local Government Act bill had divided the Conservatives deeply. "Within the Shadow Cabinet, 'One Nation' Liberals such as Quintin Hogg and Iain Macleod supported the Bill, while more right-wing figures, notably Powell, opposed it. At a meeting on 10 April, Heath and Hogg reached a compromise: the Tories would vote against the second reading of the Bill, tabling a 'reasoned amendment' that would highlight its specific weaknesses rather than oppose its general principle. The meeting ended very cordially and the Conservative high command welcomed the compromise. Powell was silent

During the discussion, he had remained in the background, frowning. His colleagues knew that he had spoken out with increasing vehemence against immigration, but they assumed that his silence meant that he agreed with the party line. They were wrong. Powell thought they 'simply didn't understand' the issues and, instead of resting over the Easter holidays, began writing a speech that he hoped would change the debate for good. At lunchtime on Saturday 20 April 1968, Powell entered the Midland Hotel in Birmingham, to address the annual meeting of the West Midlands Conservative political centre. His speech had been carefully prepared, but instead of releasing it to the press through Conservative Central Office, as was the norm, he did so. circulate among the West Midlands group. [...] A few days earlier he had told his friend Clem Jones, editor of the Express and Star, that the speech would 'fizzle'... like a rocket; but, while all rockets fall back to earth, this one will stay up in the air!... (128)"

The following Tuesday, "23,000 letters arrived at Powell's home [...] and the Post Office had to provide a van just for Powell's mail. Over the next 10 days, he received 700 telegrams and 100,000 letters. Only 800 disagreed [with his speech]" (129). In the meantime, he had been dismissed from his Shadow Cabinet post by Heath, under the grounds that the speech was "racially offensive and likely to exacerbate racial tensions". A thousand dockers went on strike to protest against his dismissal and marched to Westminster with placards bearing the slogan "Back Britain, not Black Britain", while the other European working classes, already facing the same mortal danger, were bending over backwards and starting to leave.

At a time when, for the first time in British history, no white man will occupy one of the four "great offices of state" in government (Prime Minister, Treasury, Foreign and Home Affairs), there has never been a better time to publish a French translation. (130) in his speech in Birmingham, which, like many other English cities, is now a city in name only. The political upheaval that has just occurred in England reflects the growing integration of people of colour not into the national community, which their growing numbers are gradually disintegrating, but into public institutions and administrative structures (central, territorial, regional, municipal, etc.), long monopolised by mushos like Heath and company.

The supreme function of the statesman is to prevent avoidable evils. When he tries to do this, he comes up against obstacles that are deeply rooted in human nature. One of them is that, in the very scheme of things, such evils can only be demonstrated once they have occurred: at every stage of their appearance, it can be doubted and disputed whether they are real or imaginary. Nor do they attract much attention in relation to current problems, which are both indisputable and pressing. Hence the usual temptation of any policy to concern itself with the present at the expense of the future. Above all, people are inclined to confuse predicting problems with causing them, and even wishing for them: "if only," they like to say, "I'd like to see it happen. If only people didn't talk about it, it probably wouldn't happen. Perhaps this habit goes back to the primitive belief that word and thing, noun and object, are identical. In any case, talking about future evils, serious but avoidable thanks to efforts made today, is the politician's most unpopular and at the same time most necessary occupation. Those who knowingly fail to do so deserve to be cursed by their successors.

A week or two ago I got into a conversation with a constituent, an ordinary, middle-aged worker in one of our nationalised industries. After a sentence or two about the weather, he suddenly said to me, "If I had the money to leave, I wouldn't stay in this country." I replied disapprovingly that even this government wouldn't last forever,

I have three children, all of whom have gone to secondary school and two of whom are now married with families. I won't be satisfied until I've seen them all move overseas. In this country, within fifteen or twenty years, the black man will have the upper hand over the white man.

I can already hear the cries of outrage. How dare you say such a horrible thing? How dare you stir up trouble and excite passions by repeating such a conversation? The answer is that I have no right not to. Here is a respectable and ordinary Englishman who, in broad daylight, in my his own town, tells me, his Member of Parliament, that this country will have nothing to offer its children. I have nothing just not allowed to shrug their shoulders and think about anything else. What he says, thousands and hundreds of thousands of people say and think - not all over Britain, perhaps, but in regions that are already undergoing a total transformation unprecedented in a thousand years of English history.

In fifteen or twenty years, on current trends, there will be 3½ million Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants in this country. This is not my figure. It is the official figure given to Parliament by the spokesman for the Office of the Registrar General. There is no comparable official figure for the year 2000, but it must be in the region of five to seven million, about a tenth of the total population and close to the number of inhabitants of Greater London. Of course, they will not be spread evenly from Margate to Aberystwyth and from Penzance to Aberdeen. Whole areas, towns and neighbourhoods across England will be occupied by different sections of the population immigrants and people of immigrant background.

Over time, the proportion of this total made up of descendants of immigrants, i.e. people born in England who arrived here by exactly the same route as the rest of us, will increase rapidly. By 1985, those born here will constitute the majority. It is above all this fact which makes it extremely urgent to act now, to take the kind of measures which are the most difficult for politicians to take, measures which, while relating to difficulties which exist at the present time, are intended to prevent or minimise evils which will confront Members of Parliament several generations hence.

The first natural and rational question for any nation faced with such an eventuality is: "How can we reduce its scale? If it cannot be avoided altogether, it can be limited, bearing in mind that numbers are everything. The importance and consequences of the introduction of a foreign element into a country or population are profoundly different depending on whether that element represents one per cent or ten per cent. The answers to this question

simple and rational are just as simple and rational: by preventing or virtually preventing any new entry and favouring exits as much as possible. These two responses form part of the official policy of the Conservative Party.

It is almost impossible to believe that, at the moment, twenty or thirty immigrant children more arrive from overseas in Wolverhampton alone every week - that's fifteen or twenty more families in a decade or two. Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first drive mad. We have to be mad, literally mad, as a nation to allow the annual influx of some fifty thousand dependents, most of whom will contribute to

the future increase in the immigrant population. It's like a nation building its own funeral pyre. We are so mad that we allow single people to immigrate in order to start a family with people they have never met. Don't think that the flow of dependants will automatically dry up. On the contrary, even at the current admission rate of just five thousand work permit holders a year, there is enough room for a further twenty-five thousand dependants a year ad infinitum, not to mention the huge pool of relatives they have in this country - and I'm not taking fraudulent entries into account at all. Under these conditions, the only solution is to immediately reduce to negligible proportions the total number of people who have left their country to come and settle here, and to take immediate legislative and administrative measures to prevent this from happening.

necessary for this purpose. I emphasise the words "to settle". It has nothing to do with the entry i n t o this country of Commonwealth citizens, any more than of foreigners, for t h e purpose of studying or improving their qualifications, such as (for example) the Commonwealth doctors who, for the benefit of their own country, have enabled our hospital service to develop more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible. They are not and never have been immigrants.

Now to re-emigration. If all immigration ceased tomorrow, the rate of increase in the immigrant and immigrant-origin population would be significantly reduced, but the potential size of this element of the population would not alter the fundamental nature of the danger it represents to the nation. This problem can only be solved as long as a considerable proportion of the total population still comprises people who entered this country during the last ten years.

years or so. Hence the urgency of implementing the second element of the Conservative Party's policy now: encouraging re-emigration. No one can estimate the number of people who, if given generous subsidies and aid, would choose either to return to their country of origin, or to go to countries willing to welcome t h e workforce they represent and the skills they have. Nobody knows, because no such policy has yet been tried. I can only say that, even now, immigrants from my own constituency come to me from time to time to ask if I can find some help f o r them to return home. If such a policy were adopted and pursued with the

A determination that the seriousness of the alternative justifies, the resulting exodus could significantly alter future prospects.

There can be no question, as a matter of policy, of keeping existing families divided; but there are two ways of reuniting families, and if our past and present immigration laws have led to the division of families, even if it is voluntary or semi-voluntary, we should be prepared to make arrangements for them to be reunited in their country of origin. In short, the suspension of immigration and encouraging re-emigration are logically and humanely two aspects of the same approach.

The third element of the Conservative Party's policy is that everyone in this country should be equal before the law and that no discrimination or difference should be made between them by public authorities. As Mr Heath said, we will not have a "first-class citizens" and "second-class citizens". This does not mean that the immigrant and his descendants should be elevated to a privileged or special class, nor that the citizen should be deprived of his right to distinguish between one fellow citizen and another in the management of his own affairs, nor that he should be subjected to an enquiry into his reasons and motives for behaving in one way rather than another, so long as he does so within the law.

There can be no greater ignorance of reality than that maintained by those who vehemently call for legislation, as they call it, "against discrimination", whether they be leading writers from the same seraglio or sometimes from the same newspapers that, year after year in the 1930s, the French government tried to blind this country to the growing peril it was facing, or to archbishops who live in palaces, eat delicacies and sleep with their heads under sheets. They got it all wrong, completely wrong. Discrimination and deprivation, concern and resentment are not prevalent among the immigrant population, but among those among which it has taken root and is still taking root. That's why enacting legislation of the kind currently before Parliament risks adding fuel to the fire. The kindest thing that can be said about those who propose and support it is that they don't know what they're doing.

Nothing is more misleading than the comparison between the Commonwealth immigrant in Britain and the black American. The black population of the United States, which already existed before the United States became a nation, was first literally a slave population and later obtained the right to vote and other citizenship rights, which they were only able to exercise gradually and still incompletely. Immigrants from the Commonwealth arrived in Great Britain as

full citizen, in a country that did not discriminate between one citizen and another, and instantly obtained the rights of every citizen, from the right to vote to free medical care under the National Health Service. Any disadvantages the immigrants faced - disadvantages which did not and still do not make them abandon their intention to be admitted to Britain at all costs - were not the result of law, public policy or administration, but of those personal circumstances and accidents which make and always will make one man's destiny and experiences different from those of another.

But while the mere fact of entering this country enabled the immigrant to obtain the privileges and opportunities he coveted, the existing population paid the price. For reasons they could not understand, and in application of a default decision on which they were never consulted, the British found themselves strangers in their own country. They found that their wives couldn't get a hospital bed to give birth in, that their children couldn't get a place at school, that their homes and neighbourhoods had changed to the point of being

In the workplace, they found that employers were reluctant to apply to immigrant workers the standards of discipline and competence demanded of native-born workers; over time, they began to hear more and more voices telling them that they were now undesirable. What's more, they now learn that an exclusive privilege is to be established by an Act of Parliament: a law, which cannot and is not intended to protect them or redress their grievances, is to be enacted to give the foreigner, the native-born worker or the immigrant worker the same standards of discipline and competence as the native-born worker.

and the agent provocateur the power to pillory them for their actions.

In the hundreds and hundreds of letters I received the last time I spoke on this subject two or three months ago, there was one striking feature which was largely new and which I find disturbing. All Members of Parliament are accustomed to receiving anonymous letters; but what surprised and alarmed me was the high proportion of letters which showed a thought of

I have received from ordinary, respectable, sensible people, who did not think it necessary to give their address because it was dangerous to write to a person who was not their own.

Member of Parliament to endorse the views he had expressed on the subject and that they risked sanctions or reprisals if it came to light that they had done so. The sense of being a persecuted minority that develops among ordinary English people in the affected parts of the country is something that those without direct experience can hardly imagine. I will let just one of those hundreds of people speak for me. She mentioned her name and address, which I have removed from the letter I am about to read. She was writing from Northumberland about a case that is going on right now in my own constituency.

Eight years ago, on a respectable street in Wolverhampton, a house was sold to a black man. Today, only one white person (an elderly woman) lives there. This is her story. She lost her husband and two

son during the war. So she turned her seven-room house, her only asset, into a boarding house. She worked hard and did well, paid off her loan and started saving for her old age. Then the immigrants arrived. It was with growing fear that she watched house after house change hands. The quiet street became noisy and chaotic. Reluctantly, her white tenants moved out.

The day after the last one left, she was woken up at 7am by two black men who wanted to use her phone to contact their employer. She refused to let them use it, as she would have done for any stranger at such an hour, she was manhandled and afraid of being attacked. She would have been, had her door not been fitted with a chain. Immigrant families tried to rent her rooms, but she always refused. Her meagre savings have dwindled and, after paying utilities, she has less than £2 a week left. She went to apply for tax relief and was met by a young woman who, on learning that she had a seven-room house, suggested that she rent out part of it. When she told her that the only people interested were black people, the girl replied that racial prejudice would get her nowhere in this country. So she went home.

The telephone is his only link with the outside world. His family pays the bill and helps him as best they can.

that she can. Immigrants have offered to buy her house - for a sum that, by renting it out, the potential owner could recoup in a few weeks or a few months at most. She is beginning to fear going out. The windows are broken. She finds excrement in her letterbox. When she goes shopping, she is followed by children, charming young black children, all smiles. They don't speak English, but they know one word. "Racist", they chant. When the new race relations law is passed, this woman is convinced she will go to prison. And is she really wrong? I'm beginning to wonder.

The other dangerous illusion from which those who are wilfully or unwittingly blind to reality suffer can be summed up in the word "integration". To integrate into a population is to become, so to speak indistinguishable from its other members. When there are marked physical differences, particularly those of colour, integration is always difficult, although, over a period of time, not impossible. Among the Commonwealth immigrants who have come to live here in the last fifteen years or so, there are many thousands whose wish and aim is to be integrated and whose every thought and effort is directed towards that end. But to imagine that such a thing enters into the The idea that a large and growing majority of immigrants and their descendants should be a part of our society is false, ridiculous and, what's more, dangerous.

We are on the eve of a change. Until now, it has been the force of circumstance and context that has made the very idea of integration inaccessible to the majority of the immigrant population - they have never conceived of or wanted such a thing and, because of their numbers and the fact that they are very few in number, they have never been able to integrate.

physical concentration, the pressure for integration, which is normally exerted on a small minority, has not been exerted on it. Today, we are seeing the development of positive forces that will help to bring about this integration.

act against integration, vested interests that aim to preserve and accentuate racial and religious differences, with a view to exercising real domination, first over immigrants, then over the rest of the population. The cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, which can so quickly cover the sky, was recently seen in Wolverhampton, where everything indicates that it is going to get bigger.

quickly. The words I am going to quote verbatim, from an article in the local press of 17 February [1968], are not my own, but those of a Labour MP and minister. "The campaign by Sikh communities to maintain inappropriate customs in Britain is very regrettable. Working in Britain, particularly in the public services, they must be prepared to accept the stipulations set out in their contracts of employment. The demand for special community rights (or should we say rituals?) leads to a dangerous fragmentation of society. This communitarianism is a canker; whether it is practised by one race (colour) or another, it must be firmly condemned". It is to John Stonehouse's credit that he had the insight to see this and the courage to say so.

For these dangerous and divisive elements, the legislation proposed in the Race Relations Bill is the pabulum they need to thrive. It is the means to show that immigrant communities can organise to strengthen their members, to campaign against their fellow citizens and to crush and dominate others with the legal weapons that the ignorant

and misinformed people have given them. When I look to the future, foreboding comes over me.

Like the Roman, I seem to see "the Tiber foaming under streams of blood". This

a tragic and intractable phenomenon that we observe with horror on the other side of the Atlantic, but which is intimately linked to the history and existence of States themselves, has fallen upon us here through our own will and our own negligence. In fact, it's already here. Numerically speaking, it will reach the proportions it has reached in the United States well before the end of the century. Only resolute and

can help to avoid it now. I don't know whether the public will have the will

to demand and obtain that such measures be taken. All I know is that seeing it and not talking about it would be the greatest betrayal.

Excluded from the Shadow Cabinet, Powell never again held an important political post, without being. However, he was expelled from the Conservative Party. The reason for this was probably given in 1969, when Powell was still England's favourite politician (131), by one of the members of the party's national office: "OK," he confided to Labour MP Brian Walden, "Powell is wrong on ethnic relations. But he is a great disruptive force. We need that. We need really distinct politics and glamour. Enoch has both" (132). Powell left

the Conservative party in February 1974, after announcing, considering that Heath's decision to hold early parliamentary elections was "essentially fraudulent" (133) and that he would not stand for re-election, and to have recommended that voters give their support to the party (the party Labour) who had pledged to renegotiate the Treaty of Rome and put it to the British people. During the 1970-74 parliamentary term, he was the main Conservative critic of the Heath government, voting against it on one hundred and fifteen occasions. In particular, he opposed the 1972 European Communities Bill, which he saw as a betrayal of British sovereignty, and the 1972 Immigration Act. 1971, which provided for the replacement of employment vouchers by work permits, the granting of a (Once an immigrant had obtained a work permit, it was subject to annual renewal. It was only after four years of working in the UK, during which time they had temporary resident status, that they would be allowed to settle in the UK. which gov.uk defines, to put it mildly, as "those with close links to the United Kingdom". UK, were exempt from this law), the strengthening of the administration of immigration control and measures to assist voluntary repatriation. The results were not wait. In 1972, Idi Amin expelled a large number of Asians from Uganda and the government authorised the immigration of 27,000 Asians through a specially constituted Uganda Resettlement Board. Words not Action? Or, rather, yes, but systematically to the detriment of British people worthy of the name.

Before going into more detail about the relentless fight he continued to wage against immigration after his Birmingham speech, one point cannot be stressed enough: while he was obviously also fighting against illegal immigration, it was essentially legal immigration that he had in his sights.

"According to statistics provided by the Registrar General, Powell predicted that in twenty-five years (1985) there would be 3,500,000 migrants and their dependants and descendants in Britain. By the Subsequently, his estimates varied. Partly because the official statistician predicted that the population of Great Britain in 2000 would be seventy million, Powell predicted that 6% of the population would be would be made up of immigrants, i.e. between five and seven million. On other occasions he has predicted 4.5 million immigrants. David Ennals, Home Secretary, described Powell's projections for increased immigration as 'pure fantasy'. The government thought there would be 2.5 million immigrants in 1988, a million less than Powell predicted. Two academics respected by Labour, Bill Smithies and Peter Fiddick, assured that '3.5 million would not arrive'. Mark Bonham Carter, chairman of the Race Relations Board, predicted that only 4% of the UK population would be immigrants in 2000. [...] [A] study by the University of Sussex concluded that there would be three million immigrants by 2000, while the Conservative Party Research Department estimated that there would be between 1.4 million and 2.1 million and 'at most' 2.5 million. Conservative party leaders were told by their own researcher that Powell was wrong in believing that immigration was not declining. We can expect a decline spectacular rise in immigration', the researcher apparently asserted. Dubious about the statistics,

Powell based his estimate on empirical evidence. The birth rate in Wolverhampton, he told Eastbourne on 16 November 1968, illustrated his point. The population of the town was 267,000. Of these, 5.13% were immigrants, but they were responsible for 23% of births. At that time, he predicted that the total number of immigrants to the UK in 2002 would be 4.5 million. But in 1969, Powell realised there was a flaw in the statistics. The

The number of immigrants and their dependants did not include their UK-born children. Its estimate therefore rose from 5 to 7 million immigrants in 2000. [...]. [On 11 November [1969], he told the House of Commons that within twenty-five years, in central London, 'there will be whole districts entirely occupied by foreigners.... I must say to the House that, in my opinion, and I take full responsibility for it, such a prospect involves the gravest danger of internecine violence'" (134). Two months later, he told the youth conference

Conservatives in Scarborough that positive measures in favour of immigrants should only be accepted as part of a programme of "voluntary and assisted" repatriation; otherwise, "they will encourage all concerned to deceive themselves more and more as to the real extent and nature of the contingency and to waste the few precious years remaining before it is no longer possible to avert disaster" (135).

The 2001 census showed just over fifty-three million white people out of a total population of almost fifty-nine million, making about six million people of colour. The 2011 census reported just over forty-eight million white people out of a total population of fifty-six million, making eight million people of colour. "Enoch was right" (136).

Number", he kept hammering on, was essential. The number of immigrants, but not the immigration statistics, especially as he was well aware that they were rigged (137). "

People," he pointed out in a speech given shortly before the adoption of the bill on

The people who live here and in many other parts of urban England don't need statistics to know this; they know it because they see it and they think it. Yet, if statistics were needed, they are there. It is strange to recall that only three years ago, statements that were far from consistent with what we know today were greeted with horrified ridicule everywhere except in the regions concerned. I find it hard to believe that so little time has passed since I was releasing one figure after another and had to endure these stupid debates with academics and self-proclaimed experts who explained to me that it was just a momentary scare. The babble has died down, but the silence is more sinister than the noise. Now that it has been proven, impossible to refute, that a fifth, a quarter, a third of an entire generation is already coloured

In places like Smethwick, Wolverhampton and Birmingham, people know what this means for the future. It inevitably means a higher proportion of people of colour, because even without taking into account external addition (which is ongoing) and some

Whatever the difference in the birth rate, the fact remains that the indigenous population is tending to emigrate. Those who contemplate this eventuality, which only a few years ago would have seemed unbelievably monstrous, are almost all silent. It is not that they are unaware of the significance, or the importance, of this eventuality" (138)...

But "[h]ow is the Home Office's propaganda fabricated? Very simply: it only takes into account the figures for people who have obtained permanent resident status and, even within those figures, it does not include Asians from East Africa. Yet the men who make these statements know perfectly well that many of those who have not obtained permanent resident status are in fact settling permanently. They also know perfectly well that net immigration ('inflows' minus 'outflows') is the only relevant figure, and that for this reason it is used exclusively by the Registrar-General himself in all the calculations and forecasts about the coloured population. One wonders who these men are who are so determined to present a false picture and what their motives may be" (139). One wonders.

An election speech given by Powell in Northfield, Birmingham, on 1 June 1970, entitled "Muddle and Malice in the Media", which began with the words: "Great Britain is at the moment under the influence of the media.

The "enemy" is not named, however. It refers to the student movement that was rampant in Western countries at the time; to the "West Indians, Africans and Asians"; of the State, which, in response to "the threat of organised disorder" posed by the student demonstrations, exercised its authority "not in favour of the peaceful citizen, but against him", but neither of them were "the enemy"; neither the former, since it was described as a "weapon" of "the enemy" and not as "the enemy", nor the latter, since it was emphasised that "the enemies of Great Britain must not have been sorry to see the "enemy" of the United States. the number [of them] concentrated in its major cities is approaching the two million mark, with no decrease in their growth yet in sight", or the third, since it is stated that "disorder (...) has come close to destroying the authority of civil government" and that "[t]he party leaders, hypnotised, take up from the enemy such clichés as 'racist' and 'unchristian' and apply them to lifelong political colleagues". Yet who "[denounces] as 'controversial', 'extremist', 'explosive', 'scandalous' and [attacks] with a violence and hatred unheard of in debates on simple political issues opinions that the majority of people quite naturally share [...], if they dare to express them publicly?" Who is this "attacker"? whose "entire power [...] depends on its ability to prevent people from seeing what is happening and saying what they see" (141). Who "tells the people of this country that they should neither be alarmed nor oppose the introduction into this country of a Caribbean, African and Asian population that will number several million in this country [and that], [if] they do, they are 'prejudiced', 'racist', 'anti

Christians' and 'not setting an example to the rest of the world'?" Who leads "literally [the] public to say that black is white", if not "civil government" and "party leaders"? In this they

are assisted by the "manipulators", namely the media, who "criticise those who say that a child born of English parents in Peking is not Chinese, but English, or that a child born of Indian parents in Birmingham is not English, but Indian. It is even heresy to assert the obvious fact that the English are a white nation. Whether those involved know it or not, this process of brainwashing through the repetition of manifest nonsense is a sinister and deadly weapon. Ultimately, it renders the majority of people, who are designated to be the victims of violence, revolution or tyranny, incapable of defending themselves, by depriving them of their intelligence and convincing them that what they thought was right is wrong". Powell simply believed that the "enemy" had been "infiltrated The people of this country," he declared in a speech on June 11, 1970, "have been "the most important force in the history of this country. deceived, cruelly and persistently, to the extent that one begins to wonder whether the Foreign Office is the only State Department in which this country's enemies have been infiltrated" (142).

While Powell did not, as we have just done, name the enemy (whose ranks also include senior civil servants and business leaders), he did clearly state the following indicated the objective: "there are people who want a racial problem in order to destabilise society"; "[t]here are people whose intention is to destroy society as we know it and 'race' or the colour' is one of the crowbars they intend to use for this demolition job (143). "

In 1972, David Lane, the Conservative Minister for Race Relations, declared that Britain was an overpopulated island and should take no more immigrants; Leicester City Council claimed that "Leicester is full" and urged immigrants to go elsewhere. In the same year, the Heath government had granted entry to 27,000 British Asian passport holders expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin (144), at least according to figures released by the Home Office, which Powell had repeatedly accused of lying to the British public about the real number of Ugandan and Asian immigrants arriving in Britain between September and November 1972 (145). Powell had tabled a motion on the subject of the at the Conservative Party's annual conference in October of the same year: it was rejected (146).

A staunch Unionist, he was adopted as the Ulster Unionist candidate for the South Down constituency and elected at the October 1974 general election (he held the seat until 1987). On 24 May 1976, he gave a speech in which he quoted extensively from a report, as yet unpublished, by a senior Foreign Office official which claimed that India and Pakistan were largely beyond the reach of immigration control and that a number of unskilled immigrants were obtaining documents fraudulently and used them to enter Britain. Moreover, Powell drew an explicit comparison between contemporary Belfast and British cities in a near future (147). In 1975, after winning the election to lead the Conservative Party, Thatcher

refused to offer Powell a seat in the Shadow Cabinet because, she dared to say, "he had turned his back on his own people" by leaving the party (148). In June 1975, following the failure of Powell's campaign in favour of the 'no' vote in the referendum on membership of the European Community, one of his long-time supporters, Bee Carthew, wrote to him: "It seems only right and proper that I should write to you on the day of the Patron Saint of Lost Causes, as Pam told me that you had said it was 'terrible' that I had joined the National Front... Pam told me that you had referred to 'democracy' and that you had told her that the Front was 'dangerous' (damn, I wish that were the case!). Well, on the subject of democracy, has any party since the war included in an election manifesto the proposal to turn the UK into a multi-racial society? No way! The She added: "Well, in my early teens I was a member of the Fascist League and a member of the Croix Feu. She added: "Well, in my early teens I was a member of the Fascist League and a member of the Croix de Feu. I suppose it's a bit like malaria, once you've got it in your blood you can't get rid of it." Powell replied that she had done nothing "terrible" by joining the NF, then explained that he had little chance of "influencing those who form or might form a majority in the House of Commons [...] by joining an organisation which has no present representation [...]. I am stubbornly - perhaps even stupidly - parliamentary" (149).

On 28 March 1981, in a speech to young Conservatives in Ashton-under-Lyne (150), he denounced the existence of a "conspiracy of silence" between the government and the opposition over the increase in births among the immigrant population. We haven't seen anything yet", he said, "is a phrase we would do well to repeat to ourselves every time we try to make up our minds". of that future". He criticised those who thought it was "too late to do anything" and said he was convinced of the inevitability of "violence on such a scale that it can only be described as civil war". He said that "re-emigration on at least the same scale as immigration" was necessary. Interviewed by ITN shortly after the Brixton riots (10-12 April 1981) on Powell's remark that "we haven't seen anything yet", "langue de bois", better known by the pseudonym "Iron Lady", replied: "I heard Enoch Powell make it and I thought it was a very alarming remark. And I hope with all my heart that it's not true. I hope it's not true. get more confidence and try to solve these problems better than we have done" (151).

In July 1981, a riot broke out in an area of Liverpool. On the 16th, Powell told the House of Commons that the riots could only be understood by taking into account considered the fact that, in some large cities, between a quarter and a half of the under-25s were immigrants or descendants of immigrants, and then read this extract from a letter he had received from a member of the public: "What the riots in England fundamentally mean is that areas of immigration are not static basins... but expanding entities. It follows that as they expand house by house, street by street, area by area, the native population must As they continue to multiply and we cannot retreat any further, there must be a conflict". "That is a National Front speech", he cried.

Labour MP Flannery (152). Powell replied: "I have been an MP for Wolverhampton for a quarter of a century. What I saw in those early years of the development of this problem in Wolverhampton made it impossible for me to dissociate myself from this huge and tragic problem". He criticised the view that the causes of the riots were economic: "Are you seriously saying that, as long as there is poverty, unemployment and deprivation, our cities will be ransacked, the police who work in them will be attacked and we will destroy our own environment? Of course not. Dame Judith Hart, with her viper's tongue, then launched into a sophism that would become one of the clichés of the enemy's immigrationist rhetoric in the years to come: "

Perhaps this gentleman will take account of the fact that the vast majority of MPs regard what he says as evil incitement to riot (153)." On 10 December, in a speech to the House of Commons following the publication of the Scarman Report, which had been commissioned by the British government following the 1981 Brixton riots and which had concluded that the black community was alienated because it was economically disadvantaged, Powell, taking the opposite view, declared that the black community was alienated simply because it was foreign and added that tensions would increase because the non-white population was growing (154).

In 1984, Powell attacked HM Queen because her televised Christmas greetings in 1983 contained footage of her trip to India for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. This, he said, "would suggest that she has the affairs and interests of other continents as much, if not more, at heart than those of her own people", especially as "even here in the UK she is more concerned with the sensitivities and prejudices of a vociferous minority of newcomers than with the great mass of her subjects" (155). The fiftieth anniversary of the Birmingham speech coincided with the first meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in London for a generation, shortly followed by the marriage of a British Crown Prince to a mixed-race actress (156).

In 1985, further race riots broke out in England, in both cases following an altercation between a black driver and a white policeman. In a debate in the House of Commons on 23 October 1985, Powell reiterated what he had said about the 1981 riots, namely that they were confirmed the warnings he had been issuing since 1968 on the subject of immigration, that they were closely linked to the size and concentration of the black population in certain localities and that the only solution was repatriation. On 20 September," he said (he had already addressed in the same terms to the Birkenhead Conservative Women's Association in September 1985), immediately after the events at Handsworth, I addressed two questions to the Prime Minister. These are questions which she has not yet answered, but which will have to be answered. In that speech, I again referred to the projection, which I think is irrefutable, that in the foreseeable future, as much as a third of the population of central London will be from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, and the same will be true of major cities across England. I have asked the Prime Minister if she would accept this projection. If she accepted or replaced it

by one she considered more accurate, what kind of Britain and what kind of London did she think there would be?" "I'm not complaining that I didn't get an instant answer. At the time the Prime Minister was in Amman trying to bring peace to another troubled part of the world. I took it as a mark of courtesy - and perhaps also a mark of wisdom on her part - the fact that she didn't try to answer out of the blue. But the answer is still pending. What I can't believe is that when a challenge like this is issued to the Prime Minister, the civil servants concerned are not asking for advice on how to respond. Nor can I believe that, if the advice obtained was contrary to the proposal I made to the Prime Minister, that response would not have been given promptly and with maximum publicity. Indeed, there are all sorts of people aware of the relevant facts who, had they been willing or able to challenge my projection, would have been only too happy to do so." So, after suggesting that troubles on the other side of the world are always decidedly timely

Named for those theoretically responsible for finding a solution to those occurring in Western Europe, Powell went on to say: "I suspect that the response that the answer the Prime Minister got was not just that she could not challenge my projection. The answer she more likely received was that the true projection was higher than the one that I had presented to her and that, consequently, it was wise for her to act as if nothing had happened." (157). "The hon. Member for Birmingham, Selly Oak (Mr Beaumont-Dark) drew attention to the profound change that has taken place in the composition of the population of inner London, of his city and mine, and of other cities. He did not draw attention to the fact that this phenomenon is not static, but dynamic. It is ongoing. The transformation of the population that we we've seen so far, like the urban violence we've witnessed so far, is nothing compared to what we know is to come. The ordinary people who live in these places know this. know perfectly well and the knowledge they have of it casts a shadow over these cities and central London". "What is to be done?" asked Powell. Something that the members of the government can't do: "The members of the government have to recognise the facts. They have to come forward in front of the citizens of this country and say to them: 'You are not only faced [...] with the situation You are faced with a new transformation of which the present has given you only a faint idea'. That said, the government must answer the second question I put to the Prime Minister We don't need judicial enquiries. We need truth and honesty from those in power. That's what the people of this country want. He has He's been fooled so far, but he'll get it in the end...". The Home Secretary concluded the debate, to great applause, with this grandiloquent pirouette: "In Britain, discipline is now a dirty word. It has long since disappeared from millions of homes and thousands of schools. The police are the main bastion of discipline and responsibility in our society. Our main task is to restore in the affected areas that confidence enjoyed by all law-abiding citizens in Britain - peace under the rule of law. Our police will be at the service of this endeavour (158)." "You feel yourself falling asleep. You let yourself go, let yourself go gently into this very pleasant sensation that envelops you; you no longer resist, now you are asleep..."

Following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990, Powell declared that, like the UK was not "formally" an ally of Kuwait and that the balance of power in the Middle East had ceased to be a British concern after the end of the British Empire, the UK should not go to war. "Saddam Hussein still has a long way to go before his troops come in.

to wash up on the beaches of Kent or Sussex" (159). On 21 October, he wrote: "The world is full of evil men who do evil. That does not make us policemen who must stop them, nor does it make us men who must stop them.

judges who must find them guilty and condemn them. What is so special about the Iraqi leader that we suddenly discover that we have to be his jailers and judges?

nation, we have no interest in the existence or non-existence of Kuwait or, for that matter, of Saudi Arabia as an independent state. I sometimes wonder whether, when we lost

we have failed to lose our arrogance" (160). Powell rejected out of hand "the [UN] theory of the indivisibility of peace, the proposition that war in one part of the world necessarily exposes nations in other parts of the world to an increased risk of war" (161). This is why, consistent with himself, he declared in 1991: "The State called Yugoslavia has ceased to include inhabitants who accept being governed as such [by that State]. What will be the consequences of this situation, and who are we to decide? The war, called war

civil war, is one way of ensuring this, perhaps the only one available. If we say there will be no civil war - and even more, if we take it upon ourselves to try to prevent civil war - we are usurping the decision of who should govern whom, how where and within what limits. Who gave us given that right? Who said it was our business... It would be our business, if either outcome were dangerous to our own safety, although in that case the danger would have to be distinct and palpable, without there being any question of any interest beyond safety, such as, for example, a contingent economic advantage or disadvantage...". (162). On the subject of the balance of power, Powell argued that, "by delaying the achievement of that balance, the so-called 'humanitarian' efforts of interventionists prolong the suffering of those they are supposed to be trying to help: by intervening in what does not concern us, we are doing harm, not good" (163). He could have added that every war on the other side of the world results in an additional influx of immigrants into the countries of Western Europe run by a government in favour of intervention or outright belligerence. As early as 1992, he had developed a total critique of the emerging concept of a new world order.

Within hours of being admitted to London's King Edward VII Hospital on 8 February 1998, Powell asked where his food was. When told that he was being fed intravenously, he said:

"I don't call it lunch". These are the last words reported from him (164).

Dressed in a brigadier's uniform, his body was laid to rest in his regimental plot at Warwick Cemetery, Warwickshire, ten days after a family funeral service at the abbey of

Westminster and public services at St. Margaret's, Westminster and the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick. The cream of British immigrationism dared to go to his funeral and eulogise him.

B. K., September 2022.

(1) Fay Blake and Kim Blake, *Black Presence in Britain Through the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Austin Macauley Publishers Limited, 2020, p. 18; Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story*. OneWorld, p. 121; Bidisha, *Tudor, English and black - and not a slave in sight*, 30 October 2017,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/29/tudor-english-black-not-slave-in-sight-miranda-kaufmann-history>; The prosperous silk weaver, BBC History Magazine, November 2017,

<https://www.pressreader.com/uk/bbc-history-magazine/20171109/2821750613754119>.

(2) Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yere 1554. The Captain whereof was M. John Lok. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1554, p. 522.

(3) David Olusoga, *Black and British. A Forgotten History*, Macmillan, 2017, p. 15.

(4) Ibid, p. 17.

(5) Ibid.

(6) See Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street*, Penguin Books Limited, 2008.

(7) See Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England*. International Edition, 2013, p. 120.

(8) David Olusoga, op. cit. p. 17.

(9) Britain's first black community in Elizabethan London, 20 July 2012, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-18903391>.

(10) See Ian Mortimer, op. cit.

(11) David Olusoga, op. cit. p. 65.

(12) Ian Mortimer, op. cit, p. 119; Liza Picard, *Elizabeth's London: Everyday Life in Elizabethan London*, Phoenix, 2013; Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*, Cornell University Press, 1996, p. 128.

(13) Luke McBratney, Nicola Onyett and Andrew Ward, *AQA English Literature A: A Level and AS* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 20.

(14) David Olusoga, *op. cit.* p. 62.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 63. She also stated that the blackamoors were "maintained and fed here, to the great displeasure of [the Queen's] people, who covet the help that these people consume and that most of them are infidels, who understand neither Christ nor his Gospel [...]" (quoted in Carole Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2017, pp. 120-121).

(16) "Yet for decades these two documents, unearthed from the archives and seemingly unambiguous in their content, were (understandably) regarded by historians as solid evidence that a policy of forced deportation of blacks had been officially approved and that such a policy reflected widespread antipathy towards Africans. In reality, Van Senden's project was a lucrative venture [...] proposed by a foreign merchant rather than an African. irrefutable proof of racism against black people in Elizabethan England" (*ibid.*); "and this is understandable"?

(17) Ray Costello, *Black Liverpool: The Early History of Britain's Oldest Black Community 1730-1918*. Liverpool, Picton Press, 2001.

(18) David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987, p. 18.

(19) David Olusoga, *op. cit.* p. 83.

(20) Stephen J. Braidwood, *Initiatives and Organisation of the Black Poor, 1786-1787*, *Slavery and Abolition*, n° 3, 1984 [pp. 211-227], p. 212.

(21) Quoted in J. David Kemp, *Musk-Cats and Monkeys: Africans and Domestic Slavery, the Judicial Process, and Somerset's Case in Eighteenth-Century England*. A Thesis, Lehigh University, August 2001, p. 29.

(22) Quoted in Rob Sewell, *Chartist Revolution*, Wellred Books, 2020.

(23) Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, Pluto Press, 1984, p. 72.

(24) Quoted in Peter Linbaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, Boston. 2000; see also W. Jeffery Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*, Cambridge, Ms., Harvard University Press, 1997, p. 27, 148-149; Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, Cambridge, Ms., Harvard University Press, 1987, p. 80, 250.

(25) *General Evening Post*, 15 December 1787, p. 1; *Old Bailey, The World*, 18 July 1787, p. 3.

(26) James Tobin, *Cursory Remarks upon the Reverend Mr. Ramsay's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, London, G. and T. Wilkie, 1785, p. 118

(27) *Morning Post*, 22 July 1777, p. 2.

(28) Quoted in *The Retrospective Review, and Historical and Antiquarian Magazine*, vol. 12, Part I, London, 1825, pp. 221-222. Long amply confirmed Fielding's words: 'On arriving in London, these servants soon become acquainted with a group of blacks who, having fled from their respective owners at different times, rest here in ease and indolence and endeavour to strengthen their party by attracting as many of these foreigners as possible into the association to be used for their purposes. It is not uncommon for them to fall in with vicious white servants and They are thus quickly debauched in their morals, instructed in the science of domestic knavery, stripped of their money and driven to commit some theft or crime, which makes them ashamed or afraid to return to their master. But once they have left their masters, they do not remain unemployed for long; the same zealous friends and petty dealers who took them from their former masters find ways, through the offices of This is where the main grievance lies. Many people of rank and fortune maintain these fugitives in the same way as other servants and often in preference to them, to the great detriment of the the owner; having paid a sum to the State for his negro, his services are as much the (quoted in F. O. Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1833*, Institute of Race Relations Institute of Race Relations, 1977, p. 98).

(29) Edward Long, *Candid Reflections Upon the Judgment Lately Awarded by the Court of King's Bench, in Westminster-Hall, on What Is Commonly Called the Negroe-Cause by a Planter*, 1772, p. 46.

(30) Peter Fryer, *op. cit.* p. 67, 69.

(31) *Ibid*, p. 69.

(32) In a letter to Lord Hawkesbury 1789, shortly after being dismissed for protesting against the financial mismanagement of the colony, from the post of Commissioner of Supplies and Stores for the Poor Blacks going to Sierra Leone, to which he had been appointed in 1786, Olaudah Equiano, an Igbo kidnapped as a child and taken to the West Indies to be enslaved, shows that, long before most white abolitionists, he had grasped the benefits of the abolition of slavery. for trade: "Once a system of trade is established in Africa, the demand for manufactured goods will increase very rapidly, as the natives will insensibly adopt our fashions, manners, customs, etc. etc.". Consumption of British manufactured goods will be proportional to civilisation. "The abolition of diabolical slavery will give a very rapid and permanent extension to manufactures, contrary to what some people assert. The the nature and reason of things, must have and will have a job in the country. by supplying African markets. The people, the bowels and the surface of Africa abound in valuable and useful products; the hidden treasures of these countries will be brought to light and into circulation. Industry, enterprise and mining will reach their full potential, proportional to their civilising effect. In a word, it opens up an infinite field to the British manufacturer and merchant adventurer" (Paul Edwards and James Walvin, *Black Personalities In The Era Of The Slave Trade*, The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1983, p. 141). Equiano's mercantilist thinking was in line with that of

of Paul Cuffe (1759 - 1817), a wealthy Métis Quaker and close friend of James Madison, who resettled African-American Bostonians in Sierra Leone in 1815 (Mavis C. Campbell, *Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons: from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone*, Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press, 1993, p. xi).

(33) Ryan Hanley, *Beyond Slavery and Abolition. Black British Writing, c1770-1830*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 175.

(34) Peter Fryer, *op. cit.* p. 69.

(35) Norma Myers, *In search of the invisible: British black family and community, 1780-1830*, vol. 13, n° 3 [pp. 156-180], p. 163.

(36) Edward Long, *op. cit.* pp. 48-49, quoted in *ibid.* p. 32.

(37) Raymond T. Smith, *The Caribbean Family: Continuity and Transformation*, P. C. Emmer, Bridget Brereton and B. W. Higman (eds.), *General History of the Caribbean: The Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*, UNESCO, 2004, p. 510.

(38) Quoted in J. David Kemp, *op. cit.* p. 32.

(39) Peter Fryer, *op. cit.* p. 162

(40) Quoted in David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 495. See also Katherine Paugh, *The Politics of Reproduction: Race, Medicine, and Fertility in the Age of Abolition*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 75.

(41) Geoffrey Tillotson, Paul Fussell and Marshall Waingrow, *Eighteenth-century English Literature*, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969, p. 7. Quoted in Carver Wendell Waters, *Voice in the Slave Narratives of Olaudah Equiano*, Edwin Mellen Press, 2002, p. 67.

(42) John Fielding, *A Plan for a Preservatory and Reformatory for the Benefit of Deserted Girls and Prostitutes London 1758*, p. 5; they were "[a]pprentis, journeymen, labourers, servants, waiters, craftsmen, shopkeepers, petty traders, weavers from Spitalfields, East L o n d o n coalmen, tanners, brewers, dockers and sailors" (Peter Fryer, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

(43) Accused of high treason, he was comfortably imprisoned in the Tower of London and allowed visitors (Percy Livingstone Parker [ed.], *The Journal of John Wesley Chicago*, Moody Press, 1951, p. 371).

(44) Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past. Blacks in Britain, C. 1780-1830* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 68; Marika Sherwood, *Blacks in the Gordon Riots*, *History Today*, vol. 47, n° 12, 1997 [pp. 4-28], p. 25.

(45) On November 7, 1775, the Royal Governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, had the brilliant idea of issuing the following proclamation: "I hereby invite... all the servants under

contract (indentured), negroes or other free persons who are able and willing to bear arms to join His Majesty's troops as soon as possible, in order to bring the colony more speedily to a proper sense of its duty to the crown and dignity of His Majesty" (quoted in William E. Alt and Betty L. Alt, *Black Soldiers, White Wars: Black Warriors from Antiquity to the Present*, Westport, CT and London, Praeger, 2002, p. 19); at the end of the war, they left Charleston, Savannah and New York with the British, most of them going to Halifax, Jamaica, St Lucia or Nassau. Hundreds more were sent to Nova Scotia, where they hoped to receive land and funds from the British government, but their applications were rejected (Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation*, Rutgers University Press, 1995. p. 136).

(46) Those who got one did so with the support of leading white loyalists (Peter Fryer, *op. cit.* p. 194; not all white loyalists got one).

(47) Quoted in Julia Bibko, *The American Revolution and the Black Loyalist Exodus*, *History: A Journal of Student Research*. vol. 1, n° 1, 2016, p. 63.

(48) Julie Winch, *Between Slavery and Freedom: Free People of Color in America From Settlement*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014, p. 28.

(49) On black sailors in the British Navy at the time, see Sukhdev Sandhu, *The First Black Britons*, BBC, 17 February 2011, https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower/black_britons_01.shtml.

(50) There were around 20,000 black servants in England in 1764 (Anthony H. Tibbles [ed.], *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1994, p. 81).

(51) Michael Sivapragasam, *Why Did Black Londoners not join the Sierra Leone Resettlement Scheme 1783-1815?* (London: Open University, 2013), p. 3 (this article, as is evident from its title, does not take into account the sources that are cited here in support of the fact that the majority of black poors had agreed to be resettled in Sierra Leone).

(52) Quoted in Stephen J. Braidwood, *op. cit.* p. 214.

(53) Mavis C. Campbell, *op. cit.* p. iv.

(54) Michael Sivapragasam, *op. cit.* p. 27.

(55) Stephen J. Braidwood, *op. cit.* p. 214.

(56) Quoted in *ibid*, p. 73.

(57) *Ibid*.

(58) *Ibid*.

(59) Peter Fryer, *op. cit.* p. 194.

(60) "[T]he total expenditure on poor blacks in 1786-1787 cannot have been less than £20,000 - something in the order of half a million pounds in 1984 values", plus the cost of their resettlement in Sierra Leone, which amounted to some £14,700 (Stephen J. Braidwood, *op. cit.*, p. 216).

(61) James Tobin, *Cursory Remarks upon the Reverend Mr. Ramsay's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, 1785, pp. 117-118; Gordon Turnbull, *An Apology for Negro Slavery: or the West-India Planters vindicated from the charges of Inhumanity* London, J. Stevenson, 1786, p. 32; Gilbert Francklyn, *An Answer to the Rev. Mr Clarkson's Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African*, London, J. Walter, 1789, p. 165.

(62) *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 22 December 1786, p. 2.

(63) James Grant, *Sketches in London*, London, William Tegg, 1838, p. 26-27; John Thomas Smith, *Vagabondiana: or, Anecdotes of Mendicant Wanderers Through the streets of London*, Londrs, J. & A. Arch, 1817, pp. 33-35; *General Evening Post*, 26-28 August 1773, p. 3.

(64) Quoted in Adele Logan Alexander, *Homelands and Waterways: The American Journey of the Bond Family, 1846-1926*, Vintage Books, 2000, p. 33.

(65) *To the Conductor of the World, The World*, 9 May 1789, p. 2.

(66) Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization*, vol. 1, London, 1794, p. 220.

(67) Quoted in Ryan Hanley, *op. cit.* p. 190.

(68) Stephen J. Braidwood, *op. cit.* p. 217.

(69) Quoted in Mavis C. Campbell, *op. cit.* p. vii; but also, as he did not specify, with the aim of serving as a bridgehead for Britain's commercial interests in Africa (see *supra*, note 32).

(70) Stephen J Braidwood, *op. cit.* p. 218.

(71) Quoted in *ibid*, p. 218.

(72) Ryan Hanley, *op. cit.* p. 194.

(73) Carl Bernhard Wadström, *op. cit.* p. 220.

(74) *Morning Herald*, 29 December 1786, 2 January 1787, p. 3; *Bath Intelligence Extraordinary, Public Advertiser*, 18 December 1786, p. 4.

(75) See *Public Advertiser*, 18 December 1786, 1 January 1787, p. 4.

(76) Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1994, p. 138 ff.

(77) Benjamin Silliman, *Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland, and of Two Passages over the Atlantic, in the Years 1805 and 1806*, New Haven, S. Converse, 1820, p. 67, 271-272.

(78) Marcus Wood, William Cobbett, John Thelwall, *Radicalism, Racism and Slavery: A Study in Burkean Parodics, Romanticism on the Net*, n° 15, August 1999, <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/1999/v/n15/005873ar.html>. Edmund Burke, the first, 'associates the French Revolution with the spectre of the Black Revolution, but above all he associates miscegenation with Jacobin atrocities' (ibid.). In 1793, the Earl of Abingdon expressed the views of the English philosopher and Cobbett before Parliament as follows: "All being equal, blacks and whites, Frenchmen and English, wolves and lambs, "happy companions of one another", will all fornicate together They will engender.... a new species of man as a product of this philosophy [the Enlightenment]. "(quoted in ibid.)

(79) Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, vol. 5, 1804, London, p. 935.

(80) Peter Fryer, op. cit. p. 235.

(81) Chamion Caballero and Peter J. Aspinall, *Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 3.

(82) Frank Neal, Lancashire, *The Famine Irish and the Poor Laws: A Study in Crisis Management*, Irish Economic and Social History, vol. 22, 1995, pp. 26-48, p. 3.

(83) See N.C. Fleming and Alan O'Day (eds.), *Ireland and Anglo-Irish Relations since 1800: Critical Essays*, vol. 1, Routledge, 2018 [2008].

(84) Frank Neal, *The English Poor Law, The Irish Migrant and The Laws of Removal and Settlement, 1819- 1879*, in George Boyce and Roger Swift (eds), *Problems and Perspectives in Irish History since 1800*, Dublin and Portland, OR, Four Courts, p. 115.

(85) See Hakim Adi, *African and Caribbean People in Britain: A History*, Allen Lane, 2022.

(86) Quoted in Jacqueline Jenkinson *Black 1919 Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2009, p. 158.

(87) Quoted in ibid, p. 161.

(88) Ibid, p. 170.

(89) Quoted in ibid.

(90) Ibid, p. 165.

(91) Ibid, p. 166.

(92) Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945*, p. 106.

(93) Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims. Facts concerning the problem of the German expellees and refugees, Bonn, 1967.

(94) The term "dominions" should not be confused with "Dominions", which referred to the forerunners of today's independent Commonwealth countries.

(95) Enoch Powell, Immigration, in John Wood, Still to Decide, Batsford, 1972, p. 191

(96) Ibid.

(97) Quoted in Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea, White Man's Country: Racism in British Politics, Pluto Press, 1984.

(98) Chamion Caballero, Interraciality in Early Twentieth Century Britain: Challenging Traditional Conceptualisations through Accounts of 'Ordinariness', Genealogy, 2019, vol. 3, n° 2; 'miscegenation is documented in Britain as early as the sixteenth century: in 1578, for example, Captain George Best declared that he had 'seen an Ethiopian as black as coal brought into England, who, taking for married a beautiful Englishwoman and fathered a son who was as black as his father in every way' (ibid.).

(99) United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Population Division. Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations? U.N. Doc. ST/ESA/SER.A/206, 2001.

(100) See David Willetts. The Pinch: How the Baby Boomers Took Their Children's Future, Atlantic Books, 2009.

(101) Enda Delaney, The Irish in Post-War Britain, OUP Oxford, 2007, p. 95; some 240,650 Caribbeans between 1953 and 1961 (Rita Chin, The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe. A History, Princeton University Press, 2017, p. 85).

(102) Quoted in Ibid, p. 84.

(103) Ibid, p. 85.

(104) Susan Kingsley Kent, Gender and Power in Britain 1640-1990, Routledge, 2002, p. 331.

(105) Thomas Kingsley, Black history in West London: The ruthless Teddy Boys gang who went hunting for black people in Notting Hill. Britain's youth culture was once led by a movement known as the Teddy Boys, 11 July 2020, <https://www.mylondon.news/news/west-london-news/black-history-west-london-ruthless-18575183>.

(106) Dominic Sandbrook, White Heat. A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties, Little, Brown Book Group, 2006, pp. 664-665.

(107) See note 114 below.

(108) David Kynaston, Modernity Britain: Book One: Opening the Box, 1957-1959, Bloomsbury, 2013, pp. 175-176.

(109) Quoted in Susan Kingsley Kent, *op. cit.* p. 332.

(110) Quoted in David Kynaston, *op. cit.* p. 177.

(111) *Ibid.*

(112) Susan Kingsley Kent, *op. cit.* p. 332.

(113) David Kynaston, *op. cit.* p. 178.

(114) They "must have a type A, B or C work order. Holders of a Category A vouchers have a contract of employment sent by the British employer; to benefit from a Category B voucher, you have to prove to the British representative in the "colonial" territory that you have a specific qualification: for example doctor, nurse, schoolteacher, shorthand typist; Category C voucher holders had neither a work contract nor a well-defined qualification, but hoped to find a job after arriving in Great Britain; the British Ministry of Labour issued these vouchers more or less sparingly, depending on the volume of the job offer and the national unemployment rate" (Claude Moindrot, *L'immigration de couleur en Grande-Bretagne, Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, vol. 66, vol. 17, 1964 [p. 231-232], p. 231); "... the work order operates only at the port of entry. Once the Commonwealth citizen has passed the immigration officer, he is completely free to take any job he wishes. There is no obligation to work in a specific job, or to keep a job or profession. In a free society, the freedom to seek and change employment can be regarded as fundamental and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, while imposing new controls on the entry of Commonwealth citizens wishing to seek employment in Great Britain, in no way alters their status from that which prevailed prior to the passage of the Act. law, once they have arrived in the United Kingdom" (R. B. Davison, *A Note on Commonwealth Migration to Britain in 1965, Social and Economic Studies* Social and Economic Studies, vol. 15, n° 3, 1966 [p. 275-277], p. 275).

(115) Rita Chin , *op. cit.* p. 87.

(116) Quoted in *ibid.* p. 89.

(117) Quoted in *ibid.*

(118) Quoted in *ibid.*

(119) Quoted in *ibid.* p. 90.

(120) See Dominic Sandbrook, *op. cit.* p. 672.

(121) "Stricter"... In the rhetorical arsenal of the political huckster...

At the present time, readers will no doubt have noticed the frequent, almost compulsive use of the adverb 'plus', which implies greater intensity, before a whole series of adjectives, including 'effective' and, precisely, 'strict'.

(122) S. R. Ashton and William Roger Louis, *East of Suez and the Commonwealth 1964-1971: East of Suez*, London, TSO, p. cxxiii.

(123) J. G. Collier, *The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968. A British Opinion, Verfassung und Recht in Übersee / Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, vol. 2, n° 4, 1969 [pp. 457-468], p. 461.

(124) Randall Hansen, *The Kenyan Asians, British Politics, and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968*, *The Historical Journal*, vol. 42, n° 3, 1999 [pp. 809-834], p. 811.

(125) J. G. Collier, *op. cit.* p. 462.

(126) Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 465.

(127) Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 465-466.

(128) Dominic Sandbrook, *op. cit.* p. 677.

(129) Sarfraz Manzoor, *Black Britain's darkest hour*, 24 February 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2008/feb/24/race> ("Never before in British history, but also in the history of a Western democracy, has a local councillor and former health minister (1960-63) received so many letters of support in such a short space of time "n Olivier Esteves, " Stigmatising the BBC in letters of support to Enoch Powell (1968)", *Memory(s), Identity(ies), Marginality(ies) in the Contemporary Western World* [Online], n° 27n 2022, online 24 January 2022, accessed 29 September 2022. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/mimmoc/10150> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/mimmoc.10150>).

(130) A French translation of the speech was published by *Libertas* in 2009, and another is available online, but both contain unfortunate mispronunciations. For example, "[a]s time goes on, the proportion of this total who are immigrant descendants, those born in England, who arrived here by exactly the same route as the rest of us, will rapidly increase" by "[o]ver time, the proportion of descendants of immigrants born in England, and therefore here in the same way as the rest of us, will rapidly increase".

us, will increase rapidly". The correct translation is as follows: "Over time, the proportion of this total made up of descendants of immigrants, i.e. people born in England, who In other words, whether native or non-native, all men are born of a woman; "by the same route as the rest of us" is a gently ironic reference to the uterine canal.

(131) John Dumbrell, *A Special Relationship: Anglo-American Relations in the Cold War and After*, Macmillan, 2001, p. 34-35.

(132) Spearhead,. Quoted in Stéphane Porion, *Le National Front et Enoch Powell*, in Philippe Vervaecke (ed.), *À droite de la droite: Droites radicales en France et en Grande-Bretagne au xxe siècle*, Villeneuve d'Ascq, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2012, p. 343.

(133) Enoch Powell to Speak For Pro-Labor Group Give this article, 21 February 1974, <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/02/21/archives/enoch-powell-to-speak-for-prolabor-group-special-to-the-new-york.html>.

(134) Lord Howard, Enoch at 100: A Re-evaluation of the life, politics and Philosophy of noch Powell, 2nd edn, Biteback, 2012.

(135) Randall Hansen, Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 189-190, 2000.

(136) On one point, namely the inevitability of a civil war between people of colour and whites on European soil, he was wrong, as are those who have been predicting its outbreak ever since. There are three very simple reasons for this: the first is that civil war is an armed struggle between The second is that civil war is an armed struggle and that the vast majority of whites in Europe are unarmed and do not know how to handle a weapon. widespread violence, which would force the Republic's forces of law and order to intervene, when they can gradually take over the countries of Western Europe by infiltrating their own populations. This is increasingly the case at national, regional and municipal level, with the blessing of the foreigners who run them, Sporadic in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, race riots are becoming less and less frequent, while assaults of all kinds are multiplying across the country. There is also much to be said about the background to the riots. To take an example that must be just the tip of the iceberg and dates back to the early 2010s, we know from the publication of their telephone conversations (apparently by a member of the municipal council) shortly after the arson attack on one of the gymnasiums in the Paris region town where he was (still is?) mayor, that he had employed "young people" to commit this act of vandalism d u r i n g a riot. Now, once the people of colour have taken control of the country institutionally, which is only a matter of decades away, it's not certain that everything will go smoothly. for local people, including employees.

(137) Every month, the Ministry of the Interior's propaganda machine raises its voice and announces a new drop in immigration, faithfully relayed by the headlines in newspapers that are content to "The number of immigrants is falling". to print the press release without thinking. It is not true. Immigration is not falling, it's rising" (Enoch Powell, Immigration, in John Wood [ed.], op. cit. p. 184 p. 186).

(138) Ibid. p. 184.

(139) Ibid. p. 185.

(140) Indeed," he continued, "in some other countries, they have made more progress than in our country. However, just as it is not comforting to be told by the Prime Minister that

other nations also have inflation, so it is not because several nations face the same peril that they will escape. A plague is no less deadly because it is not confined to one country" (Enoch Powell, *Muddle and Malice in the Media*, in *ibid.*, p. 27).

(141) *Ibid.* p. 29.

(142) David Butler and Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, *The British General Election of 1970*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1971, pp. 160-161. On February 1976 he returned to this momentous issue, stating in a speech that 'The public has a right to know why and by whom this major and continuing change in the population structure of their country's population is being allowed - or encouraged' (quoted in James Hampshire, *The Measure of a Nation*, *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 89, n° 3, 2018 [pp. 370-376], pp. 375).

(143) Quoted in Tom Stacey, *Immigration and Enoch Powell*, T. Stacey, 1970, p. 132, 133.

(144) Sally Tomlinson, *Race And Education: Policy And Politics In Britain*, Open University Press, 2008, p. 44.

(145) Olivier Esteves and Stéphane Porion, *The Lives and Afterlives of Enoch Powell: The Undying Political Animal*, -Routledge, 2019.

(146) *Ibid.*

(147) Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, Macmillan, 1982, p. 48: "The response of the Home Office was predictable. He managed to declare that Hawley had been wrong, while assuring that the actual number of people entering the country or waiting to enter was not that great. Two months after Powell's speech, Home Secretary Roy Jenkins announced that a special committee chaired by Lord Franks would examine the feasibility and usefulness of a register of dependants of those settled in this country, who are entitled or may claim, under the laws on
(Paul Gordon, *Policing Immigration: Britain's Internal Controls*, Pluto Press, 1985, p. 38).

(148) Camilla Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 310.

(149) Quoted in Stéphane Porion, 'Enoch was right' - the Powell effect on the National Front in the 1970s, in Olivier Esteves and Stéphane Porion, *op. cit.* p. 157. Emphasis added.

(150) See <http://enochpowell.info/wp-content/uploads/Speeches/Jan-July%201981.pdf>.

(151) Margaret Thatcher, TV Interview for ITN, 13 April 1981, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104617>.

(152) Quoted in <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/1981-07-16/debates/70b4c9b8-918f-405e-b55d-51d7cf4a91c3/CivilDisturbances>.

(153) Ibid.

(154) See Simon Heffer, *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell*. London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998.

(155) Quoted in Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, Routledge, 2002.

(156) Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who married King George III in 1761, was also of African descent.

(157) In the file on the Scarman Report and the Handsworth riots in 1985, recently published by the National Archives, there is a series of documents concerning Powell's challenge to Thatcher to clarify her position on immigration, one of which, a memo written for Thatcher by her chief press officer, Bernard Ingham, fully confirms Powell's suspicion: "It seems likely," writes Ingham, "that the press will ask you to react, but there are dangers in doing so on such a thin basis. I would refuse to be drawn into this."

(158) Enoch Powell and the immigration 'challenge' to Thatcher (1985), *New Historical Express*, 31 December 2014, <https://hatfulofhistory.wordpress.com/2014/12/31/enoch-powell-and-the-immigration-challenge-to-thatcher-1985>.

(159) Paul Corthorn, *Enoch Powell: Politics and Ideas in Modern Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022, p. 45.

(160) Simon Heffer, *The life of Enoch Powell*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998, p. 933.

(161) Quoted in Paul Corthorn, *op. cit.* p. 46.

(162) Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 47: "Whether Yugoslavia dissolves into two states or half a dozen states or not at all makes no difference to the security and well-being of the United Kingdom" (Simon Heffer, *op. cit.*, p. 936).

(163) Ibid.

(164) Hayley Pearce, *Hove's Tory MP Martin Maddan and friends in the spotlight*, *The Argus*, 23 April 2018.

On bovarianism

The fate of France as the "eldest daughter of the Church" presents a number of challenges.

There are striking similarities between her life and that of the heroine of a novel who, brought up in a posh convent where she learnt to dream her life by dint of reading the rosewater romances that an old maid distributed to the young girls from good families who boarded there, Once married to a man who was not the kind-hearted knight in shining armour to whom she had become accustomed through her reading, she took lovers to cheat her husband and boredom, and in order to be able to take lovers and live out her dreams, she went into debt to a merchant until, over-indebted, she committed suicide, the daughter of a rich farmer.

Published in 1857, it would be over forty years before the psychological type hidden in the literary type of Romantic woman portrayed in Gustave Flaubert's novel was isolated.

(i). Although the psychological significance of "Madame Bovary" had already been pointed out by some of its contemporaries, the philosopher Jules de Gaultier de Laguionnie (1858-1942), one of the first authors to introduce Nietzsche's philosophy to France, was the first to study it.

In "Le Bovarysme, la psychologie dans l'œuvre de Flaubert" (1892, Léopold Cerf, Paris, p. 11), he points out that "the writer's vision brought out in his work an indestructible and fundamental principle of the human soul and laid it bare in its unhealthy manifestations, which the appearance of Madame Bovary did not put an end to, because there are illnesses whose underlying causes persist irremediably even though they are pointed out and known". He asserted that this condition manifests itself with particular acuity in modern man. For him, as for Charles Baudelaire, Joris-Karl Huysmans and a good number of writers of the late nineteenth century, modern man is an unbalanced being - unbalanced and cerebral. To describe this condition, de Gaultier took the term 'bovarysm' from the writer and professor Gustave Merlet (1828-1891) - one of Paul Bourget's (1852-1935) teachers - who had coined it only to turn it into a simple synonym for 'bad realism' as opposed to 'good realism' (ii).

Far more perceptive than this little professor from Louis-le-Grand, de Gaultier, ten years later, in a work that explores (iii) the concept of bovarysm from a philosophical point of view, defined it as follows: "the faculty given to man to conceive of himself as other than he is insofar as man is powerless to conceive of himself as other than he is. to achieve this different conception of himself".

In the years following the publication of Jules de Gaultier's second study on bovarysm, psychiatry began to appropriate the concept (iv) in its psychological form, having observed the convergence of his results with the philosopher's analyses. In 1906, a psychiatrist, Philibert de Lastic,

even published a thesis on "Mental pathology in the works of Gustave Flaubert" (v), which concurred with de Gaultier's diagnosis, recognising Emma Bovary as a "degenerate".

"(vi) "Pathological bovarianism" is defined purely and simply as "the inability to adapt to reality".

The latest editor of "Bovarysme: la psychologie dans l'œuvre de Flaubert" deplores the fact that "the most famous texts are not necessarily the most widely read". Not only did Jules de Gaultier's work never achieve fame, but it was read even less than the most famous texts. He

It is certainly deplorable that the considerations he develops with remarkable loftiness and insignificant acuity on the ideological form of bovarianism as it affects communities have not been read (vii).

In the chapter that precedes the one published below, de Gaultier notes that the "Renaissance" in France saw the emergence of "phenomena of bovarianism that mark a break in continuity in the development of the group and introduce into its composition, with heterogeneous elements that cannot be assimilated, a principle of weakening and disorganisation" (p. 100). The first of these heterogeneous elements was the rediscovery of Greco-Latin antiquity, which was never anything other than the cult of nature, which was neither Greek nor Roman, having on the contrary everything to do with the oriental cults that had been introduced into Greece and Rome at that time - in short, it was the

The second was the discovery of Italian culture, which was itself the product of the rediscovery of pseudo-Greek-Roman antiquity. The second was the discovery of Italian culture, which was itself the product of the rediscovery of pseudo-Greek-Roman antiquity. In any case, "in all orders of mental activity, the influence" of a parody of

Greco-Roman culture" forced the French mind, in the sixteenth century, to conceive of itself as somewhat different from itself..." (p. 107) (viii)

I. Introduction to the chapter. - II The general idea as a means of Bovarian collectivism. - III.

Bovarysm of the foreign model: the Christian idea and its derivatives. - IV. The idea distorted by the physiology of the group. - V. The physiology of the group deformed by the idea: The humanitarian idea. - The cosmopolitan idea.

With the Renaissance, the French race of the sixteenth century, at the same time as it grew prodigiously, conceived of itself, as we have just seen, in some ways as something other than it was: it conceived of itself as destined for modes of activity differing in certain nuances from those which its antecedents had set for it. But this false conception of itself relates only to a few parts of its luxurious activity, to a few parts of that superabundant activity in which, along with literature and the arts, the final effects of civilisation are manifested.

For social groups, there are other forms of Bovarianism which force them to conceive of themselves as different from themselves in their deepest activity, and which entail consequences of an altogether different gravity: for the social plant, modified right down to its roots, is also forced to flower differently. In a study published in the *Mercure de France* (1), we considered, following M. Barrés, the danger for a group of men of conceiving themselves, in the essential parts of their energy, in the image of a model developed by a different group. With *Les Déracinés*, with *Le Voyage dans la vallée de la Moselle*, which forms one of the most important chapters of *L'Appel au soldat*, with his latest book (2), M. Barrés, as he had already done in a symbolic form *Le Jardin de Bérénice* dealt with the ways in which communities are formed and dissolved. All This part of his work is marvellously suited to highlighting, in its most harmful light, the threat posed to an old and already constituted society by the fascination of the foreign model.

The general question we are dealing with here requires us to consider this fact of fascination in all its aspects: for it plays a predominant role in the life of communities, and, if not a more important one, at least a more easily verifiable one, than it does in the life of individuals. In historical terms, there is no society in whose formation it does not play a part to some degree, and in many cases, far from having unfavourable consequences, we shall see that it is one of the constitutive elements of reality. It is a social phenomenon, or one of the tricks by which it is strengthened. We are therefore going to share in the benefits that sometimes result from this phenomenon of suggestion, at the risk of somewhat destroying the order of this study, according to which we should deal here strictly only with the pathology of Bovaryism. It seemed that an interest in symmetry had to be sacrificed to a concern for accuracy, and that it was preferable to damage the frame rather than distort the objects we had set out to include.

First of all, we will insist on showing that the means by which social collectivities can This fact, once brought to light, must in turn illuminate and dominate all subsequent developments, in which we shall endeavour to show under what conditions and in what proportions the general idea must be accepted by a society. It will also be seen, and this distinction will govern the two subdivisions (3) which will mark the remainder of this chapter, that a social group can be conceived of as something other than it is, in response to one or other of these factors. It will also be seen, and this distinction will govern the two subdivisions (3) which will mark the rest of this chapter, that a social group can conceive of itself as other than it is, solicited by one or other of these two different sources of fascination: the foreign model and the ancestral model.

The most apparent way in which a social group is forced to give up its own

Following an invasion, the vanquished must submit to the law of the victor. But this obligation does not in fact constitute Bovaryism: Bovaryism is a psychological phenomenon; it only appears when the vanquished adheres to the ways of the victor, when they admire the victor: It is only then that, of his own free will, the vanquished, disdaining his hereditary custom, conceives of himself according to the model of the foreign custom; it is only then that the group to which he belongs, having conceived of itself as different from itself, disappears as a distinct social entity and merges into the victorious group. The artifice by which the victor persuades the vanquished to conceive of themselves as different from themselves is that which has been designated as the ordinary means of all Bovaryism: it is education that distributes the notion. But the notion, insofar as its mission is to influence morality, takes the form of a general idea. In this form, foreign influence succeeds in imposing itself on a society, without a victorious act of arms necessarily having preceded this new mode of conquest, whose field of action is thus much wider.

So we need to understand exactly what a general idea really is if we are to understand how it works and how persuasive it is. You have to be aware of the lies and the equivocation that this very name implies: for the general idea does not have the character of a "general idea".

It is only in these particular experiences that the reality of the idea lies, so that it is itself a reality only for the particular group of men to whom these experiences succeeded, or for a particular group of men to whom the idea was applied. It is in these particular experiences alone that the reality of the idea resides, so that it is itself a reality only for the particular group of men to whom these experiences succeeded, or for a particular group of men to whom these experiences succeeded.

similar group. A general idea is always an abstract idea, and there is no abstract idea that is not abstracted from a series of human experiences. No idea, religious, moral or rational, is not exempt from this precise genealogy. None of these ideas could have been formulated if they had not first been expressed in acts and beliefs, as the effect of the sensitivity of some particular human community.

Every general idea was therefore originally shaped with a specific being in mind. For this being - we are talking here about a social group - for this being to whose forms the idea was adapted, this summary of experience, enclosed in the statement of a transmissible notion, is properly an attitude of utility, i.e. a means of creating one's own reality through the discipline of a command that is repeated, and then of maintaining or increasing one's health and strength. And this is why, in order to increase the authority of the idea, and in consideration of its usefulness, the instinct of the group soon attributes to it, with a divine or rational origin, a universal value.

For as long as there have been human societies, a certain number of these attitudes of utility, presenting more or less strong similarities or differences between them, have been detached from the experimental stem on which they had flourished. Transformed into universal truths, they have been

They are claimed, according to the maturity of the human spirit, from God or from reason. This fictitious origin, in which their human character disappears, gives them access to the minds of all men. It thus happens that men of a given group accept, under the cover and command of the general idea, a set of attitudes and ways of being different from those suggested to them by their social heredity, and which they would have suffered impatiently to be forced upon them directly. This gives us the formula for an ideological Bovaryism, which can be said to consist of a social group adopting, by the persuasive virtue of a general idea, regardless of whether it claims to be dogma, commonplace or rational truth, an attitude of utility specific to a different social physiology.

This ideological Bovaryism enters in some way into the formation of all collective morality. But it behaves differently depending on whether the social energy that comes to grips with the idea is strong or weak, depending on whether it is endowed with a power of deformation, i.e. a power to reduce external forces to the law of its own mechanism, or whether it is flexible and malleable, subject to deviation as a result of extraneous impulses. In the first case, the social group accepts the idea only partially, and accepts its consequences only up to a certain limit, beyond which it pays it no more than nominal worship, confining itself to inscribing its name on different phenomena generated by its own activity. In this way, he exploits the prestige of the idea to his advantage, and, to make it coincide with his needs, distorts it, conceiving it as something other than it is. In the second case, dominated

by the idea, he conforms to the attitudes that it prescribes and that have been invented for the needs of a particular

If he does something else, he is forced to do things for which he is not suited. It is like a soldier who puts on armour made for someone else that paralyses his movements. Fooled by its false conception of itself, the group weakens itself by using feelings, ideas and beliefs that are not for its own use.

III

The Christian idea, with the many ways in which it has been borrowed by various social groups, offers examples of both, with a thousand nuances. But first of all, it shows a singularly typical case of an attitude of utility which, specific to a collective physiology

It is a determined idea, detached from its root, under the disguise of the general idea, as a truth, first religious, then rational.

It is worth noting here that nations are not the only communities that exist. A common desire unites in a homogeneous group men with the same needs who belong to different nationalities. This is how the proletariat of all countries today tends to unite its interests, independently of and sometimes above the national distinctions which classify its members in different national groups. In fact, the fact that most men belong to at least two communities at the same time, one of which is of national origin and the other of economic origin, is the cause which has thrown so much confusion and complexity into social relationships at almost every period of humanity. Now, the Christian idea prepared by reflection

This philosophical idea, expressed in the Gospels as a fact of sensibility, expresses one of those attitudes, other than national, which are nevertheless common to a large number of beings between whom this community establishes a link. At the time of its formation, the Christian idea was an attitude of utility. for all those who experienced life as suffering, for all those whom Nietzsche rightly called the weak, the sick or the disinherited, the herd of slaves.

The ancient world had been built on a sense of difference and inequality between men: it had thus developed a civilisation in which an extraordinary gap had opened up between a minority of privileged people and an immense majority of servants and oppressed. Against such a state of affairs, Stoicism, which demanded both "a rare intellectual culture and an exceptional virtue of pride, could only be a resource for an elite. Christianity, on the other hand, founded on the very fact of weakness, was accessible to the greatest number at a time when the struggle between individuals and the masters of power could only be disproportionate. In essence, Christianity, like Buddhism, is nothing more than an attitude of resignation and, if need be, of death.

Weak people, convinced of their weakness, give up the struggle for power; they give up playing a game that does not even offer a chance and in which they know they cannot win. So they rally around the Christian idea of renunciation. But by the very fact that they are grouping together, the idea is already beginning to contradict itself, because this herd of weaklings, united in an organism, becomes a force that will soon have to be reckoned with. Just as the ancient world was built on the basis of the Whereas the Christian world was founded on the principle of inequality, it is now founded on the principle of equality. The weak of yesteryear are tending to become the strong of today, and we can already fear that this new force, which has become tyrannical, will determine a new form of oppression and suppress individual freedom, which may have flourished for a short time thanks to the uncertainty of a still unequal struggle between two opposing principles.

IV

In the meantime, the Christian idea, accepted in the Western world, first as a divine truth, later as a truth of reason, has played and still plays a role in which many nuances and even contrasts must be distinguished. Generally speaking, it would appear that the idea which, in its purity, was going to deny

the world, concluded with the renunciation of earthly goods, proclaimed human brotherhood, the equality of all and the vanity of differences, held intellectual effort and scientific research in contempt, condemned attachment to the beauty of forms, words and sounds, gave birth, with the modern world it has created, to the organisation.

of property, to the development of wealth, to the constitution of hierarchies, to the unprecedented efforts of Western humanity to harness the forces of nature, to an increase in needs, to a scientific culture that the ancient world never came close to, and to new and equally beautiful forms of art. According to an essential Bovaryism, the idea was realised in an unforeseen way, the effect contradicting the cause that generated it.

This is the first case of a nominal Bovaryism: the idea here is deformed, conceived as something other than it is by the whole of humanity that has made up the modern Western world. This ironic phenomenon can be explained by the fact that Christian pessimism, which denies life, has collaborated

to found this modern society with a bundle of much more powerful forces and which will all the forces of life: individual egoism, the love of immediate possessions passion to dominate, to possess the best things, all the frenzy that sets goals for activity and develops energy through competition. The Christian idea, which concluded that we should give up and aspire to die, only intervened among these ferments of frenzied energy as a poison that could be used to destroy them.

numb and k attenuate them, and it so happened that, with regard to this energy of the barbaric world, too much

wild and too fiery, this poison was useful. It calmed a fever. By lowering the temperature of the environment, it allowed these energies, which were individually too strong, to become hierarchical. The Christian idea was at the origin, for all the groups indiscriminately of this society in formation, a Within this limit, it lowered individual egoism to the level that makes social life possible (4).

It should be noted that, at the time we have just been considering, when Western societies were taking shape, each of them had the power to distinguish the extent to which Christian poison was useful to it. The Catholic, Arian, Nestorian, Greek and Protestant forms bear witness to the secret action of distinct social physiologies assimilating the idea through different processes, in different quantities. and appropriate to their particular needs. In all these cases, each social physiology seems to want to model itself on a general idea, detached from an attitude of utility other than the Each of these societies, in conceiving of itself as Christian, conceives itself as something quite different from what it is, but it only succeeds in realising this false conception of itself to the extent that it benefits from it. Beyond this limit, it bends the idea. The idea, which sets itself up as an absolute goal, is relegated to being no more than a means to an end. In fact, it contributes to the triumph of its opposite. This form of Bovaryism therefore conceals an essentially vital utility.

Here, among the many avatars of the Christian idea, is an example of a Bovaryism of this kind. In the xvith century, while the nations of southern Europe, mellowed and civilised by Roman culture, were content with the Catholic brake, whose power was already diminished, the races of the north, closer to barbarian savagery and in need of major constraints in order to control themselves, composed Protestantism was a new religion: closer to the Christianity of the origins, requiring a constant exercise of individual conscience, it gave them a brake with a greater power of inhibition and better suited to their violence.

The English nation was one of those which resorted to this expedient. It offers, among all others, an admirable example of the advantage that a social group can derive from the religious idea, in this case from the idea of a "state".
as an instrument of reign.

Religion is, par excellence, the means by which people in the same group are brought to see themselves as similar to one another, despite individual distinctions. Combined with the ethnic factor and the habitat, it makes a powerful contribution to creating a state of cohesion between these people. When the empire of this religion has passed or has weakened, it gives way to moral custom, to a set of ways of being, of conceptions, of prejudices where the distinctive character of the group is marked even more strongly than in religion itself: for this moral custom is a compromise between religious dogma and the character of a particular human community based on its physiology, habitat and historical circumstances.

More than any other race, the English nation has borrowed from the religious form it has chosen the restraint it needs to moderate individual egoism. The moral custom here comes directly from the Protestant religion, from the biblical tradition and from the evangelical doctrine adapted and sanctioned, according to the claim of the Reformation, by the appearances of philosophical reasoning. It is expressed in the humanitarian ideal, a substitute for Christian fraternity, which presents itself as a truth of a general nature. However, we shall see that under the mask of a general idea, the humanitarian idea as conceived by the English nation conceals an attitude of purely English utility, which, applied in other countries as an absolute truth, is a cause of weakening for them, whereas here it is nothing more than a useful expedient. The humanitarian idea is in fact the brake which, by moderating Anglo-Saxon egoism, has enabled them to unite and work together for the greater strength of the nation. It does not go beyond this specific goal.

Built by the community at a time when its instinct for self-preservation and power was at its most lucid and most flourishing, the humanitarian brake was proportionate to the driving force of the energy of the

group. Having performed the function of moderating it as much as necessary so that it did not injure itself, its power of inhibition was entirely exhausted. It no longer had any power to curb the violence of the community towards those who are not part of it, towards foreigners (5).

At the same time as it was shaping, with the humanitarian idea, this brake intended to facilitate relations between nationals within the nation, the Anglo-Saxon, because this invention was personal to it and had no other purpose than its own utility, also invented other attitudes of utility, in which it knew, with regard to the outside world, how to exploit this same humanitarian idea for its own profit and enslave it to its own self-interested ends. The main and wisest of these attitudes is the inordinate and tutelary pride with which he convinces himself that the highest form of civilisation, the most human and the most moral, has been achieved by him. Equipped with this idea, he turns it into a weapon: logic demands that he impose this idea on the universe. civilisation, and this end will justify the worst aggressions in his eyes. The loads of Bibles standing alongside the Winchesters and bales of cotton in the decks will counterbalance them.

The army of shepherds will precede, with hymns and psalms, another army which, through the Maxims and Hotchkiss, will spread, not without profit, the superior civilisation.

By virtue of its pride, the Anglo-Saxon genius has thus immunised itself against the dangerous exaggerations of the Christian idea, and against its modern humanitarian incarnation, of which it has nevertheless arrogated to itself a monopoly. The idea, in this humanitarian form, is really for the English people a

An attitude of utility, because he has retained the power to deform it, to conceive of it as something other than it is, as soon as it ceases to serve him. An attitude of utility, it is even doubly so for him: in Within the group, insofar as it attenuates individual egoisms between nationals; outside the group, insofar as, propagated among other nations under its disguise of universal truth, it tends to weaken them, to disarm them and to make them prey.

V

The English nation thus offers a very typical example of this Bovarysme à rebours, where the general idea, in the face of powerful egoism, is reduced to being no more than a means to an end and sees itself, beyond its usefulness, denatured and scorned. The opposite case occurs when the general idea manages to take root in a social milieu that is less strongly egoistic, or whose power of reaction has weakened. So when a national group, naturally inclined to a certain gentleness of morals or whose native violence has already been mitigated by an earlier civilisation, adopts such a form of Christian morality developed by

a more violent group, which needed a stronger brake when it borrowed its discipline from Christianity. This brake, too strong for the already polite society that is persuaded to use it, will paralyse its energy instead of regulating it, and will place it in a position of inferiority in relation to other groups. Ignorance of oneself and one's true needs has its consequences here. The community is in danger of paying with its ruin for the error of judgement which leads it to take for a truth of universal application what was an attitude of utility for a determined group, different from it and of a more intense degree of brutality.

In fact, to illustrate the danger for a people of being fooled by a general idea, it is only necessary to say that it is not even necessary to include this coefficient of egoism. The idea of difference is enough to explain the threat of dissociation that the acceptance of a general idea shaped by another group entails for any organised and long-established social group.

This ancient group, by the very fact that it has managed to form and live, bears witness to the fact that it has been able, by means of its religion and then its moral customs, to invent the brakes needed to coordinate its energy. The fact that it has been in existence for so long also shows that these brakes, which were once dogmas, laws and punishments, now consist mainly of an instinctive disposition to do or not to do, a natural inclination common to all those in the group and bringing them to the centre of social life. The imperative formulas originally enacted to meet the first needs of morality have lost the power to coerce by terror, and it is good that this is so, since normal individuals in this society instinctively behave in the way that the interests of the community require. What will happen, then, if this old group adopts, under the guise of a general idea, the brakes manufactured by a foreign group? The principle of moderation which, emanating from its ancient religion, has constrained the energy of the group: this energy will be lowered below the level which enables a social group to maintain its integrity and its existence among other groups.

A concrete example will help us understand these developments. We will borrow it from the present time and from the social group that is our French group. Many people believe that the French community is currently in the grip of this Bovarysme, which consists of taking as a universal, indisputable and dogmatic truth an attitude of utility prepared by another nation with a view to its own needs. In fact, it seems that, under the guise of anti-clericalism, a new form of the morality, this humanitarian religion which was developed by the English nation, is working to insinuate itself into French consciences and to replace the belief of some and the scepticism of others. It is not Protestantism in its denominational aspect that is being proposed as a model for the energy of the French people.

French morality is not even Protestant morality, but an apparent rationalism that in reality finds its support only in this morality and this religious form.

Borrowed directly from the Christian idea, an element common to all Western civilisation, the humanitarian idea, of English origin, imported into France by the philosophers of the xviii^e century, as Nietzsche clearly saw, presents this obvious danger in this country: it is a dilution of the Christian poison prepared with a view to a physiology which is not ours, and which has different reactions. This dilution is added to the one we prepared for ourselves and which has already penetrated our blood. It thus risks introducing into our bloodstream, beyond its beneficial level, this Christian poison which, in its pure state, is lethal. In support of the preceding development, it is important to note here that, unlike the

In the Anglo-Saxon group, the French people have borrowed little from their religion to form their moral customs and to temper their energy: natural generosity and a sense of honour are the brakes here that oppose the exaggeration of individual or national egoism, and these virtues have their source, rather

than in Catholicism, in the pride of an energy eager to demonstrate itself and which wants to be sumptuous. We must therefore consider that a people who, with a sense of honour and generosity, have the necessary brakes to compress the excess of their energy, run the risk of seeing this energy shattered if they oppose it again, with the humanitarian idea, with a new brake.

An amalgam of evangelical renunciation and the modes of activity in which the Anglo-Saxon genius excels, the humanitarian ideal as it is slyly offered to us, under the mask of a truth of reason, can only exert its evangelical and depressing action on us. While it depreciates the motives that are capable of arousing our energy, it does not, in compensation for the new motives it proposes to us, provide the power to stimulate it. The humanitarian ideal, an attitude of Anglo-Saxon utility, strives to establish the superiority of economic and commercial goals over the aims of warlike supremacy, over the abstract taste to prevail, the natural stimulant of French energy. Thus it develops in us a peaceful ideal and risks making us unsuitable for war, while it fails to increase our commercial greed. It has already been shown that, on the contrary, this commercial greed remains so strong in the Anglo-Saxon that it stifles the logical and depressing consequences of the humanitarian ideal and raises his combativeness as soon as it is a question of ensuring the success of his economic plans, even if this means war. So the same idea that disarms us leaves him armed. By means of the general idea, it is suggested that we direct our efforts towards goals that only weakly stimulate us; we are forced to engage in the struggle for power on ground that is not favourable to us. By means of the same idea, we have first of all been deprived of the motives which have the power to exalt us and which, arousing all our strength, would enable us to compete with other nations by at the same time as developing personal forms of civilisation.

Having shown that the humanitarian ideal, as it is in fact practised, is a particular attitude of utility engendered by the instinct for power of the Anglo-Saxon races, we can take this further.

demonstrate and show how this same ideal, a substitute for Christianity, is still, under its religious and philosophical disguise, and coloured with a new nuance, a combative attitude, of attack and defence, to the benefit of certain groups, to the detriment of those who allow themselves to be taken in by the disguise of a particular interest as a general idea.

France today offers another strikingly clear example. As a result of various circumstances, chief among which are its wealth, the gentleness of its customs, and the decline of its population, France, of all the nations that have had a social personality for a very long time, is the one most open to foreign immigration. This state of affairs has given rise, as a result of the increasing number of naturalisations, to the formation of a group

There is no doubt that these newcomers have been attracted to their new homeland by considerations of personal interest and because they expected to find there a different heredity, traditions, customs and moral ideas from those which have developed here over the centuries. There can be no doubt, moreover, that these newcomers have been attracted to the new country they have chosen by considerations of personal interest and because they expect to find there facilities for improving their condition. A determined goal stimulates them and increases their energy. Often coming from less affluent countries, they bring with them less demanding requirements: workers, shopkeepers, industrialists, bankers, they make the competition for gain more arduous, and are an element that adds to the complications of the economic question. Has their education prepared them for liberal careers?

makes them covet, with a precise ardour, the best jobs in politics, in the private sector and in the public sector.

administration and teaching. They bring to these careers an activity which can be a gain for the community; but if they come to prevail in the various fields which touch the high direction of the country, the country will run a risk: that of seeing applied, in a more or less sensitive way, a set of measures which will betray a moral and political conception borrowed from another social heredity, or at least will betray ignorance of the national custom. Even if this foreign conception is superior to the hereditary custom, the group will nonetheless suffer the consequences of the hereditary custom. It's a pity to have ways of being imposed on him to which he is not suited. Becoming self-aware in the brains of newcomers, they can conceive of themselves as something other than they are, trying out gestures to which they are not suited and which are not appropriate to their anatomy.

Whether this danger is more or less threatening, more or less real, is a matter of judgement which does not need to be emphasised here: it is enough to note that it has been felt and that it has generated, at the same time, a sense of danger.

At the same time, a significant proportion of the nation developed an attitude of mistrust and suspicion towards the newcomers, and a defensive attitude on their part. However, this defensive attitude was concealed under the mask of the same general idea whose origin in the Christian principle adapted to the taste of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism has just been shown, the humanitarian idea which, under the influence of a more complex need, was enriched by a new inflection and became here the idea of "humanitarianism". cosmopolitan.

On the one hand, it is clear that all these newcomers, who have left their homeland for another, have a natural inclination to attach little importance to the national fact. On the other hand, it is obvious that they have a decided advantage in propagating this indifference, in denying the ethnic distinctions between men, those that come from living together for a long time in the same place, from a long time in the same place, from a long time in the same place, from a long time in the same place, from a long time in the same place, from a long time in the same place, from a long time in the same place, the same historical and moral tradition, of a common need to react against a set of problems. It is all too obvious that they have a major interest in denying these differences. It is all too obvious that they have a major interest in denying these differences, in order to enjoy immediately and fully a civilisation which has, however, been created over the centuries only by a long common effort. The humanitarian and cosmopolitan ideal is therefore an attitude of utility specific to the group of newcomers in any state.

organised: it is from this positive and particular interest that it draws its reality, that it hides and nourishes its roots to show only its ideological flower.

To designate in a more precise and concrete way the particular group for whom this general idea is, at all times and in all places, a useful attitude, in antagonism to the attitude of utility peculiar to any national group, we are led, from the point of view of positive observation, to name the Jewish people, newcomers to all the countries of the world.

It goes without saying that such an observation is not made in this study for polemical purposes. But it did not seem that such a striking example should be dismissed, because it touches on a topical subject that fascinates people. On the contrary, it seemed that, thanks to the various sensitivities in this respect, the idea we are presenting here would be more obvious. Nietzsche, in his *Antichrist*, pointed to Christianity as the supreme manoeuvre of the Jewish race, defeated as a political state and henceforth dispersed, to guarantee its security among the different countries in whose life its destiny called it to mingle. Needless to say, this was an unconscious calculation, dictated by the race's deepest instinct for self-preservation. But this view of philosophy seems quite profound if we consider that the Jew, whose national bond is purely ethnic and religious and is not fixed around any place in space, has everything to gain and nothing to lose with a doctrine which makes all men equal citizens of the universe, and the various nationalities, facts of secondary or obsolete importance. The force of things and the logic of instinct compel all men of the Israelite race to rally in all circumstances around a general idea which is profitable for them. Thus, on the one hand, the Kantian doctrine of the categorical imperative, the adaptation of Christianity to philosophy, the promulgation of a moral dogma. The egalitarian doctrine of the Gospel, drawn from reason, universal and without nuance, has found no more fervent adherents than Jewish academics. This is how the political forms that are closest to the egalitarian doctrine of the Gospel have had Israelites as their promoters and theorists, along with Karl Marx and Lasalle.

It is natural that this should be the case, and by making themselves the protagonists of a cosmopolitan religion, the newcomers, whether Jews or foreigners, use, knowingly or unknowingly, a general idea as it should be used, i.e. by distorting it for their own purposes. But it also follows that the national community will suffer if it is fooled by the ideological disguise under which a foreign interest tries to impose itself on its conscience. Believing that they are obeying the laws of universal reason, to which, in the field of practice

It will simply submit to the will to power of another collective. Fascinated by the idea, it will lose all sense of its vital needs and adopt

attitudes that are unfavourable to it. Everything that a community undertakes in the name of a general idea that it has not itself composed with a view to serving itself and that is not the ideological disguise of one of its interests, it undertakes against itself, because this general idea cannot be

other than the disguise of a foreign interest that it will favour in inestimable proportions.

Does this mean that the tolerance that seems to flow from the humanitarian and cosmopolitan conception should be condemned and replaced by intransigent exclusivism? No, but that the measures designed to resolve these vital issues must be debated, not in the light of some abstract idea whose artifice has been described, but in the name of the group's own interests.

The essential thing in such matters is not to be fooled; at a time when nations exist and are constituted more strongly than ever before, there is room for international conventions in which the law of nations, defined with greater precision and constantly improved, can, by means of reciprocal clauses, guarantee to the men of different nations a safeguard, a protection, a security, a guarantee of peace. freedom and convenience in all the countries of the world. But everything that is proposed under the mask of a cosmopolitan idea to which there is no answer in reality is in fact undertaken in the name of the utility of a particular group, that group of newcomers which, in any organised state, has its own interests.

interests to be discussed and settled with the national group.

Ideological Bovarianism, with all its harmful consequences, consists in a given group taking as a universally applicable truth an attitude of utility s p e c i f i c to another group. It is because of this diversions that a social group, conceiving itself in the image of a foreign model, weakens and ruins itself.

The fable itself can be used to underline this Bovaryism of the Idea. If we imagine, on the theme of La Fontaine's apologue, a people of storks being persuaded by the preaching of a horde of foxes that morality dictates that they should eat clear scrambled food on flat plates, here are the people of storks with pointed beaks and long necks, doomed to starvation.

to the great advantage of the foxes, who will quickly and easily lap up the best morsels with the back of their tongues. This will continue to be the case until the storks realise that a flat plate and a clear broth are not pure ideas, derived according to Kantian doctrine from some category of Reason. Then only they'll start again h. making deep, narrow-necked amphorae, adapted to the shape of their necks and which will keep a few good morsels for themselves, instead of these convenient dishes for foxes alone.

Jules de Gaultier, *Le bovarysme: la psychologie dans l'œuvre de Flaubert*, Mercure de France, Paris, 1902, pp. 109 - 140.

(i) For Jules de Gaultier, reading *Madame Bovary* was a trigger rather than a revelation, as he explains in the introduction to *Génie de Flaubert*, Mercure de France, Paris, 1918.

(ii) Jules de Gaultier, *Le bovarysme, suivi d'une étude de Per Buvik, le principe bovaryque*, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, 2006, p. 173.

(iii) Jules de Gaultier, *Le Bovarysme*, new edition, Mercure de France, Paris, 1921, p. 217 (1st edition: *Le Bovarysme, essai sur le pouvoir d'imaginer*, Mercure de France, Paris, 1902).

(iv) In 1978, a critical study of the concept of bovarysm in psychiatry (*Méd.*, Tours) was published by Anne Marie Milet.

(v) Philibert de Lastic, *La pathologie mentale dans les œuvres de Gustave Flaubert*, J.-B. Baillière, Paris, 1906.

(vi) Jules de Gaultier, *Le bovarysme : la psychologie dans l'œuvre de Flaubert*, Éditions du Sandre, Paris, 2007, p. 254. Today's passion for all things virtual and the resulting flight into a virtual reality is just one of the symptoms, albeit undoubtedly the most acute, of "the inability to adapt to reality".

(vii) Flaubertian academics in France pretend not to notice. Abroad, in On the contrary, the close correspondence between bovaryism and flight into the virtual is highlighted, as, for example, in Cuibus Miriam Simona, *Le Bovarysme. Les jeux de la fiction bovaryque en littérature and theatre*: "The omnipresence and omnipotence of the image in current affairs has led to the The Gutenberg civilisation put books in the hands of mankind. The Gutenberg civilisation put books in people's hands, and with them a means of education and spiritual uplift, but also a means of communication.

escape, dream, plunge into the unreal. The civilisation of the image has put the remote control and the mouse in people's hands, giving them rapid access to information and, of course, images.

In the past, bovarianism was "contagious" through reading, but nowadays the contamination has found a way of spreading with the greatest efficiency: bovarianism is spreading rapidly through digital technology. The Gutenberg civilisation has put the melodrama of the

In the wake of the soap opera, the civilisation of the image has put women in front of the television and in front of the melodramas of the television news. In line with Roger Filder's assessment in his study *Mediamorphosis. Understanding New Media* (1997), we are now at the frontiers of cyberspace, an etheric place for human encounters and communication. Television and the Internet quickly satisfy the need to escape from everyday life, and urgently respond to the needs of homo anxius.

Now the Bovarian rendezvous can also take place in cyberspace. This dream space can also become one of the conflict between seeing and knowing, and knowledge can easily be compromised by the invasion of images. This is the thesis of Giovanni Sartori's *Homo videns*.

Televisione e Post-Pensiero (1997), a theory that demonstrates the replacement of homo cogitans by homo videns. The disappearance of Emma Bovary did not mean the loss of Bovarianism. If 'classical' bovarianism belonged to the Gutenberg civilisation, modern bovarianism also belongs to the civilisation of the image. As an eternally human phenomenon, bovarianism has in the contemporary resources for enrichment and proliferation. Modernity has brought with it media culture and its great power to create and promote, primarily through images.

typologies and models. According to the new technologies, bovarianism can be consumed online. II "video-vivere", Sartori's concept, responds to *Erlebnishunger*, to a thirst for life.

The omnipresence of the image, the priority given to the image, the onslaught and even the tyranny of the image are all favourable conditions that encourage the Bovarian phenomenon in current affairs. The omnipresence of the image, the priority of the image, the onslaught and even the tyranny of the image constitute a favourable terrain that encourages the bovaric phenomenon in current affairs". The summary of the thesis

from which these lines are taken can be viewed at

http://doctorat.ubbcluj.ro/sustinerea_publica/rezumat/2010/teatru/CuibusMiriam_fr.pdf, accessed on 1 July 2016.

(viii) It is hardly necessary to point out that the concept of bovarianism was developed and enriched by the theory of mimetic desire expounded by René Girard in his famous "*Vérité romanesque et mensonge romantique*", which reveals and explores aspects of the "bovarianism of collectivities" that de Gaultier does not seem to have suspected. Once it has been stripped of its psycho-sociological gangue and its Judeo-Christian dross, it provides an effective method for analysing today's totemic society.

(1) *Le Bovarysme des Déracinés* (July 1900).

(2) Their figures (Juven).

(3) Only the first of these 'subdivisions' is published here. (Editor's note)

(4) The author is certainly thinking in terms of State Christianity, which dates back to the recognition of this cult.

Theodosius made the Christian community the official religion of the Roman Empire, because in the first centuries of its presence in Rome, the Christian community was, on the contrary, a source of unrest and revolt.

social or psychological. The apocalyptic atmosphere that the Christians of the first centuries of our ère fir faire régner à Rome is well described in Pierre Vial, *Les judéo-chrétiens ont-ils assassiné le monde*

antique ? <http://www.revue3emillenaire.com/blog/les-judeo%E2%80%93chretiens-ont-ils-assassine-le-monde-antique-par-pierre-vial/> (N.d.E.)

(5) Between 1870 and 1914, when the author was alive, more than 120,000 Russian Jews were killed, Polish, Romanian or German, settled in Britain, but he was no longer alive, when, between 1951 and 1962, nearly 300,000 West Indians emigrated there, to be immediately followed en masse by Indians and Pakistanis, Asians and Africans; see Claude Moindrot, "Les vagues d'immigration en Grande-Bretagne". In *Population*, 20, n° 4, 1965 [p. 633-50], p. 640. (Editor's note)

The Phoenician roots of democracy in Greece

"The Secret History of Democracy explores the idea that democracy is a much older concept than is generally acknowledged. Above all, it seeks to establish that democracy originated in Phoenicia and the Greek colonies of Asia before developing in Athens in the classical period. The thesis suffers from the same major flaw as almost all studies of the origin and development of democracy.

the history of this system of government: he assumes that *demokratia* has characteristics identical to those of democracy as it developed from the "Renaissance" onwards in Europe.

Europe, i.e. in both cases it is a political system in which power is exercised by the people, by all citizens, without (wanting to and having the intellectual honesty to) hold any power over them.

It should be borne in mind that, while *demokratia* and democracy can indeed be defined in the same way, the terms 'people' and 'citizen' do not have the same meaning in either case. To be a citizen of Athens, you had to be male, free, the son of an Athenian father (from the time of Pericles' reforms in 451 BC, the son of a father with Athenian citizenship and an Athenian mother, herself the daughter of an Athenian citizen, both of whom were married legitimately), and you had to have made it *ephebia*. Only the *politai* enjoyed political rights and were part of the body politic (*dèmos*). The *astoi*, i.e. women and those who were not *politai*, had civil rights as members of the same community of blood, could take part in the life of the polis, but had no decision-making power. As a result, the modern concept of "citizenship" is, like all representations born of democratic superstition, a vulgar, grotesque parody, and the same is true of the concept of "citizenship".

This is even true of the modern notion of 'the people', which refers to the pejorative sense of 'multitude' or 'little people' that the term '*demos*' took on in classical times, when assemblies were mainly composed of people of low extraction (see Marie-Joséphine Werlings, *Le *dèmos* avant la démocratie: Mots, concepts, réalités historiques*, 2010, PUP). However, originally, "*dèmos* To return to the thesis of the authors of "The Secret History of Democracy", i.e. the theory that Greek political institutions were formatively influenced by Phoenician institutional concepts, this is not the case. To return to the thesis of the authors of "The Secret History of Democracy", i.e. the theory that Greek political institutions were formatively influenced by the institutional concepts of the Phoenicians, it is as follows

would only be tenable if it were established that the "citizen" and the "people" were for the Phoenicians what they are for modern democrats. Now, even if the Jewish conception of the "chosen people" is

We do not know what the concept of 'citizen' and the notion of 'people' were among the Phoenicians and, more generally, among the Semitic peoples. We are publishing the second chapter of the first part of 'The Secret History of Democracy' in the event that further research is required.

would establish a correspondence between the 'citizen' and the 'people' as they were conceived by the Phoenicians and as they are conceived by modern democrats (*).

Most analyses of the origins of democracy accept that the democratic idea and democratic institutions came into being fully formed in Athens, following the reforms of Cleisthenes, at the end of the sixth century BC (Dunn, 1992). This chapter explores the political and cultural environment of the eastern Mediterranean cities immediately prior to the Athenian reforms. It responds to the concerns expressed by Simon Hornblower: "The Phoenicians [...] were the first to [...]

had something comparable to the self-regulating city-state, or polis, and the possibility [exists] that some of the Greek political organisations we most admire had Phoenician origins. Scientific study in this area, however, has barely begun". (Hornblower, 1992, p. 2) If the least that can be said is that work in this field (Bernal, 2001 [1990]) has not

This chapter aims to examine the available evidence on the deeper origins of democratic ideas and institutions. It examines whether the Phoenician cities

had their own form of democratic government before Athens, and if Phoenician trade in the Greek sphere of influence contributed to the formation of the intellectual milieu that gave rise to the Athenian model, particularly via the city-states that Eric Robinson has defined as "the first democracies" (Robinson, 1997).

Unfortunately, the Phoenicians had no talent for making paper. The papyri on which they wrote their economic, diplomatic and political history in their phonetic alphabet have mostly rotted away; the "archives of the Phoenicians" described by Flavius Josephus have long since been lost (Josephus, 75, 1). The sciences - genetic, forensic, archaeological and linguistic - still have a long way to go before we can form a precise and reliable idea of Phoenician political culture; but new works, like old ones, deserve rigorous examination. The time has come to synthesise all the evidence available on the constitutions of the Phoenician states and on the Phoenician contribution to the democratic experiments conducted by the Greeks before the invention of the word *demokratia* and the institutionalisation of democracy in Athens.

The eternal question of how to determine what is and what is not a democracy does not go away. cannot fail to arise in this examination. If Athenian practices are the ones used to define democracy, the systems of government that preceded them can hardly lay claim to the status of democracy.

status of democracy, simply because these systems are different from the Athenian system. In keeping with this distinction, some authors classify pre-Athenian models as primitive democracies, or proto-democracies, while Robinson distinguishes between democracy, which constitutes a "rigorously defined system" of participation and equality, and the system of

But then Athens can hardly be an ideal model of democracy from our point of view, as we live two and a half millennia later. (Robinson, 1997 p. 11-2) But then Athens can hardly be a model of ideal democracy from our point of view, as we live two and a half millennia later: it excluded women and slaves, while the latter's heavy workload gave male citizens time to participate in political life; it was militaristic, prone, because of its imperialist tendencies, to attack other city-states; it was authoritarian, quick to fall into the tyranny and capable of executing those who criticised him, even when, like Socrates, they had served the city well. But, for all its faults, the Athenian system was the government of the people: it was based on the sovereignty of the citizens, who, meeting in an assembly of equals, spoke and acted in the name of the people.

voted freely and made binding laws. In this chapter, we will seek to identify a

We will do this by examining the evidence we have for the existence of democratic mechanisms among the Phoenicians and analysing the impact they had on each of the city-states of archaic Greece that contributed to the development of democracy.

Phoenicia - a developing democracy

Phoenician civilisation was founded on city-states such as Sidon, Tyre, Arwad, Byblos, Beirut and Ugarit on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, around what is now Lebanon. Between 1550 and around 300 BC, the Phoenicians developed a maritime and trading civilisation.

The Phoenicians were an adventurous people, whose representatives may have reached the British Isles and even the Baltic, and probably circumnavigated Africa more than two millennia before Vasco da Gama (Herodotus, IV, 10). The Phoenicians certainly built up a trading network from the Far East to the Atlantic, and along the way they founded Carthage, which was to challenge the might of Rome. Their trade was based on wood, wine, olive oil, iron, glass and purple, which they produced themselves, as well as products from Damascus and other places along the caravan routes further east, or from Egypt and the West, on the other side of the Mediterranean (Ezekiel 27; Gore, 2004, pp. 34-6; Markoe, 2005, pp. 109-20).

The Phoenicians were present in the Levant as early as the third millennium BC. Genetically and linguistically, they were related to the Canaanites and, culturally, they had much in common with ancient Israel (Gore, 2004; p. 48). The alphabet that the Phoenicians introduced along their trade routes came from Sinai via Israel, with whom they were close partners.

trade: it was they who, in exchange for grain, supplied Solomon with the wood and craftsmen he needed to build the Temple (Logan, 2004, p. 36-42; I Kings, 5-7). More importantly, the Phoenicians were exposed to the change in politics that Israel had brought about: the state no longer depended on the king's relationship with God, but on the people's participation in the covenant. As explained in the previous chapter, the Mosaic law meant that the ruler was constrained as much as the people by God's law. The law demanded that the monarchy be limited, that the social structure be egalitarian, and that the people be involved in the covenant.

citizens could themselves choose magistrates capable of leading the people in times of unrest (Buber, 1967; Finer, 1997, p. 238-44; Wolf, 1947). So, while the Phoenicians were clearly innovators in the fields of manufacturing, trade and alphabetic writing, what is at issue here is the impact of Mosaic ideas on innovations in the political institutions of the Phoenicians.

Phoenicians.

The Phoenician contribution to the development of democracy has been a controversial issue for over twenty years. Their city-states were mainly monarchical and their kings had civic and commercial functions as well as ritual and religious responsibilities. The success of the Phoenicians can be gauged by the way in which their cities became cultural and political powers throughout the Mediterranean. The wealth and power of the Phoenician kings can be seen in the sarcophagi of Sidon, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The rise of the Phoenician cities depended to a large extent on the kings' ability to coordinate the activities of independent sailors, who needed to have a degree of autonomy to trade throughout the known world, far from the influence of their kings. These merchants were the biblical "merchant princes" and we will see below that they were officially responsible for assisting kings in the complex management of their cities and that, as a result, they acquired a certain amount of power (Isaiah 23.8). It is interesting to know whether the power they had by virtue of the advisory functions they exercised with a few oligarchs extended to assemblies of citizens who led the fierce debate that would enable certain Phoenician cities to apply for recognition as democracies.

The debate on the Phoenician contribution to democracy was fuelled by Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*, whose speculative linguistic approach led him to highlight the possible 'Afro-Asiatic' roots of classical Greek society (Bernal, 1991 [1987], 1991, 2006). His thesis, which sought to establish the contribution of Phoenician politics to the development of the Greek city-state, is based to a large extent on some of the most subtle arguments of Marxist theory: according to Bernal, it is in Phoenicia that the transition from the "Asiatic mode of production", led by the monarch, to an "Asiatic mode of production" led by the monarch-slave society where the overcapacity of slave production gave their citizen owners time to participate in democracy (Bernal, 2001 [1990]). But Bernal's evidence from primary sources is thin, so his arguments are far from convincing. Nonetheless, his work has prompted an almost endless stream of scholarly work linking Greece to the Roman Empire. (Aubert, 2001; Burkert, 1992; Goody, 1996; Morris, 1992; West, 1997). She drew attention to other primary sources relating to the constitutions of Phoenician cities and revealed that, while Phoenician cities were for the most part in the hands of powerful monarchs, there were periods when constitutional provisions were not monarchy. These periods deserve a closer look.

The oldest available documents concerning Phoenician politics are to be found among the Amarna letters - Egyptian clay tablets containing numerous diplomatic reports from the middle of the fourteenth century BC (Moran, 1992). The tablets were found on the site of the Egyptian capital built by Akhenaten, the heretic pharaoh who emphasised monotheism and sought to abolish the Egyptian pantheon. The Egyptian state was powerful in the Levant at this time, although its power was contested. The Amarna letters speak of the work of various Egyptian vassals

faced with the task of ensuring the cohesion of Phoenician cities in the face of Hittite attacks and insurrections inspired by the Hittites (Cohen and Westbrook, 2000).

Amarna's letters contain references to the advice of the elders, or magnates, whom the kings. These local councils consulted on important affairs of state and could even thwart the will of a king (Moran, 1992, p. 243). Moreover, these councils acted in their own right - for example, "Irquata and his elders" wrote to the pharaoh to pledge allegiance, without making any reference to the local ruler (ibid., p. 172). There are also examples of larger assemblies, where "the citizens of Tunip" and "the people of Gubla (Byblos)" address Egyptian officials directly - indicating that they had a more or less "republican" organisation and deliberative institutions that could represent the will of the people (ibid., pp. 130-1, p. 332). The most democratic period is clearly the one when "the men of Arwad" exchange oaths of rebellion with Zimredda of Sidon against the pharaoh (ibid., p. 236). Bernal is right to point out that these documents prove that "the people and not the king are sovereign" (Bernal, 2001 [1990], pp. 356-7). Furthermore, an Egyptian official reveals that deliberations within and between cities were frequent, when he expresses his concern about the concerted opposition he arouses: "my towns are threatening me (and) they have all banded together against me". (Moran, 1992, p. 138). All in all, Bernal's argument based on the Amarna letters is convincing, especially as Flinders Petrie asserted over a century ago that municipalities existed in Phoenicia in the fourteenth century BC (Petrie, 1898; p. 139). The Amarna letters therefore allow us to conclude that certain Phoenician municipalities were governed periodically by sovereign assemblies with deliberative functions and that citizen participation and therefore democratic activity is evident in the first period of Phoenician city-states.

The other important primary source relating to the existence of a constitution in a Phoenician city is the report of Ounamon (Goedicke, 1975). This report dates from the beginning of the eleventh century BC, around 250 years after the Amarna letters were written, and confirms that there were municipal forums.

were always very numerous in the Phoenician city of Byblos. He recounts the journey made by an Egyptian priest to Byblos to fetch the wood needed to build a sacred boat.

Egyptian influence in the Phoenician cities had clearly declined since the time of the Amarna's letters, giving way to powerful monarchies. Ounamon met Zakarbaal, the king of Byblos, who managed all aspects of the transaction with the Egyptian and played a central role in the city's religious life. In matters of government, Zakarbaal is advised by "his assembly" - in this case, she advises him to extradite Unamon to another country to face charges of theft (Goedicke, 1975, p. 123). This assembly is probably different from the council which Ezekiel says was composed of "[t]he elders of Guebal (Byblos) and its wise men." (Ezekiel, 27, 9) The hieroglyph of the assembly in unamon's report initially resisted translation, but has now been translated as *mw'd*, which is close to the Hebrew word *mo'ed*, generally translated as "assembly". (Wilson, 1945, p. 245). The *mo'ed* is, for example, the assembly, or council, of two hundred and fifty

men of "renown" who "assembled against Moses and Aaron", his brother, after they had ordered the stoning of a man who was gathering wood on the Sabbath (Numbers 16.2-3). unamon's report establishes that the word "assembly" existed in Phoenician, even though it had been borrowed from Hebrew. Whether the text is examined philologically or not, it is clear that the assembly of Zakarbaal was something more than an elitist oligarchic council and it is therefore possible that Byblos had a bicameral regime at this time.

The more important commerce became, the more the king's power was restricted by a wealthy merchant middle class eager to influence public affairs: "after Hiram in the tenth century, [the kings of Tyre] are no longer imposing figures". (Drews, 1979, p. 47; see also Markoe, 2005, p. 105) In the course of their long history, the Phoenician cities fell successively under the rule of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians and, later, Persians and Macedonians. As a result of invasions and internal strife, the king's power diminished, while that of the people increased.

The councils of elders exercised their authority during these periods of invasion and upheaval.

Even more important for the examination of the evolution of Greek political institutions in the

In the second half of this chapter, we learn from the seventh-century treaty between Assarhaddon of Assyria and Baal of Tyre that Tyre's council of elders governed alongside the monarch. It was decided that the Assyrian governor would work "in collaboration with you (Baal) and the elders of your country."

(Aubert, 2001, p. 146; Markoe, 2005, p. 101)

In the following century, it is clear that power was not exercised solely by the king and the merchant princes. Josephus noted in the first century AD that, after Nebuchadnezzar II's siege of Tyre (585-572 BC), the city was without a monarchy for seven years and was administered for short periods by suffetes (or magistrates).

"After him [Ithobaal] judges were instituted, who held their offices, Eknibal, son of Baslekh, for two months; Chelbès, son of Abdée, ten months; the high priest Abbar three months; the judges Myttynos and Gerastrate, sons of Abdélime, six years, after which Balator reigned one year." (Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*, I.21)

It is very likely that the magistrates were elected by the assembly and even Sandro Bondi, who is otherwise reluctant to see democratic structures in the Phoenician constitutions, admits that Tyre was at that time "a republic ruled by elected magistrates". (Bondi, 2001, p. 153).

The Tyrian colony of Carthage was also governed by suffetes, with the support of the senate and the king, the assembly of the people (Markoe, 2005, p. 103-4). Carthage flourished from before 800 BC until 146 B C , when, after three wars against Rome (the Punic Wars), it finally fell under its control. Since Carthage reached the height of its power during the Greek classical period and subsequently played a very important role in Roman foreign policy, we know much more about Carthaginian constitutional arrangements than we do about those of the early Phoenician cities (see for example, "Carthaginian Constitution").

For example, Aristotle, 1981 [350 BC]; Herodotus, 1996 [idem] [460 BC]; or Polybius, 1889 [idem] [150 BC]). The Carthaginian constitution required two suffetes, who were elected annually and governed assisted by the senate of elders. When the suffetes and the senate could not agree unanimously, the popular assembly was asked to decide the matter. Well

Aristotle led the way in describing the Carthaginian system as an "oligarchy", he admitted that formal and informal control mechanisms ensured the effectiveness and longevity of the constitution (Aristotle, 1981 [350 BC] 1272b-1273b). These control mechanisms consisted essentially of elections, trade guilds, municipal assemblies and the deference accorded to citizens as supreme arbiters of political decisions, indicating equality and participation close to democratic standards. The Greek historian Polybius

(200-118 BC) suggests that it was because of Carthage's democratic regime that it fell under the domination of Rome:

"Among the Carthaginians, it was the people who dominated deliberations; among the Romans, it was the senate. There, the opinions of the multitude were taken; here, the most skilful citizens were consulted..."

(Polybius, Histories, VI, 51)

There is irrefutable evidence that the people eclipsed the monarchy towards the end of the Phoenician period. Later Roman sources - such as Arrien (86-160 AD) - go so far as to suggest that the "inhabitants" of Sidon, or "the people of Sidon", were those who made peace with the Phoenicians.

Alexander the Great (Arrien, 1893 [English edition] [145 AD], II, 15, 1970 [English edition] [145 A D], 81).

Quinte-Curce (first or early second century AD) relates that Straton, king of

Sidon submitted to Alexander in 333 BC, "rather by the will of the inhabitants than by his own will".

(Quinte-Curce, IV, 1, 16). When the Greeks sought to replace their king, the citizens appointed to succeed him all refused to take up the post and entrusted it to a member of the royal family whose honesty had reduced him to poverty. This was a sign that the people were convinced of their democratic right to speak out and participate in the political life of the city. While

As Alexander's army approached Tyre, it was joined by "representatives" sent by "the republic" or "the community" (Arrien, 1893 [AD 145], II, 15, 1970 [AD 145], 81; Bondi, 2001, p. 154). Alexander wished to offer a sacrifice in the temple

of the Tyrian Heracles, but when his ambassadors informed the city, it was "the people" who passed a decree refusing him entry - which subsequently led to the destruction of Tyre by Alexander's armies (Arrien, 1893 [145 AD], II, 15).

This historical overview shows that the Phoenician cities were first ruled by powerful kings, then by weak kings and finally by rulers who were no longer even kings.

It is also clear that, from the fifteenth century to the fourth BC, the rulers were advised by councils and assemblies which gradually enabled the people to increase their power. It is impossible to know to what extent these institutions represented the people and to what extent their deliberations were free and unconstrained, but, on the whole, we can conclude from the few cases which concern the people that Byblos, Sidon and Tyre, at least, were something more than an autocracy or an oligarchy, something much closer to a democracy.

Phoenician influence on the new Greek city-states

In Homer's *Iliad*, Phoenician craftsmanship is synonymous with excellence: when Hector orders her to offer her most beautiful dress as a sacrifice to the goddess Minerva, Hecuba chooses one embroidered by Sidonian women (Homer, 1950 [700 BC], 338-51); the prize offered by Achilles to the winner of the running event at the funeral games in honour of Patroclus is a crater.

Imported from Sidon by the Phoenicians (Homer, 1950 [700 BC], 760-65). These references allow us to conclude that the Phoenicians exerted a great influence in the Greek sphere in the eighth century BC, when Homer would have written the *Iliad*, if not as early as the twelfth century BC, during which the Trojan War probably took place.

There is incontrovertible archaeological evidence of Phoenician influence in Rhodes from 800 BC onwards (Lipinski, 2004, pp. 145-146). As they spread throughout the Aegean, the Phoenicians brought with them not only goods from the Assyrian, Babylonian and Israelite worlds, but also ideas, myths and knowledge. The Phoenicians generally established enclaves of craftsmen in indigenous communities where technical skills were poorly developed" (Drews, 1979, p. 46). It is highly probable that the transmission of these new technical skills depended on the Phoenician alphabet, which had just been developed and which Herodotus considered to have stimulated the creation of the Greek alphabet (Herodotus, 460 BC, V. 60). It is also likely that it was in the workshops of these enclaves that the scientific method, which was then in gestation, emerged, to be crystallised and refined, in the form of philosophy, by Greeks of Phoenician origin such as Thales of Miletus (Herodotus, I. 170, II, 81).

The transmission of these ideas did not happen overnight; Greece emerged from its "Dark Ages" over generations, in stages, under the impetus of a series of ideas drawn from various sources, in particular the Phoenicians. As these ideas came together, they

caused a cultural awakening in Greece, which led to the Classical era and the birth of the "(Gore, 2004; p. 37; Solmsen, 1975). A number of developments took place in Greece between 800 and 500 BC. The overthrow of tribal kings, l o n g - d i s t a n c e maritime trade, intensive agriculture, mining and manufacturing, the introduction of new techniques and technologies, the scientific approach, improvements in mathematics and the monetary system "created a layer of agrarian landowners whose new-found wealth and their ability to make a living" (Solmsen, 1975). The power it acquired surpassed that of all the equivalent powers in the city" (Anderson, 1974). The rise of this new class prompted various city-states to experiment with new political forms. The idea of democratic government was central to the Greek revival.

If democracy has come to be regarded as fundamentally Greek (and therefore Western), an examination of the democratic experiments in the Phoenician city-states raises the question of whether these experiments also found their way into the Greek sphere of influence, where they were developed further, systematised and finally named. Indications of a Phoenician influence on Greek cities can be seen in those that were the first to adopt democracy. While there were centres of Phoenician influence where democracy did not flourish (Miletus was a tyranny, in The sixteen sites listed by Eric Robinson in his book on popular governments prior to Athens nevertheless reveal numerous examples of Phoenician influence (Robinson, 1997).

Chios is a case in point. The island is considered to be one of the first cities to have adopted democracy, thanks to an inscription on a stone in a wall along a road near the village of Tholopotami, in the south of the island. The inscription, discovered in 1907 and today in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Meiggs and Lewis, 1988, p. 14), is dated to the mid The inscription dates from the sixth century BC, between 570 and 550, i.e. after the reforms of Solon but well before those of Clisthenes in Athens (Jeffery, 1956, p. 160). The inscription, which is not complete, lays down laws on the responsibility of magistrates: judicial decisions must be made in accordance with the law. "Judges will be punished if they accept a bribe and their decisions will be appealed. can be put to the test at the monthly meetings of the people's council (Jeffery, 1956, p. 162; Robinson, 1997, p. 90-1). The people's council (boule demosie) was made up of fifty elected representatives from each tribe and at least three tribes are known: "the Chalazoi, the Totteidai, the Klytides" (Archontidou-Argyri and Kyriakopoulou, 2000, p. 196). The People's Council was thus made up of at least one hundred and fifty citizens. On the other hand, the inscription suggests the existence of an assembly of all the people with even greater powers, but as the inscription is incomplete, we do not know exactly what the purpose of the assembly was. There does not seem to be any other confirmation, either textual or archaeological, of democracy in Chios at such an early date. Aristotle mentions the overthrow of the authoritarian oligarchs at Chios, but provides no date and no outline of the subsequent constitution (Aristotle, 1306b3-5, 1981).

Given the paucity of evidence, it is not surprising that the Chios constitution stone has given rise to so much controversy over its dating and the democratic nature of the constitution.

(Jeffery, 1956, p. 160) There is also the question of whether or not the stone comes from Chios. Russell Meiggs and David Lewis (1988, p. 17) point out that the red trachyte on which the constitution is inscribed is not common on the island of Chios, whereas it is abundant in the vicinity of Erythrae. Similarly, Ove Hansen points out that the two references in the stone to the goddess Hestia are incongruous, since there is no proof that this goddess was worshipped in Chios, whereas there is abundant evidence that she was worshipped in Erythrae (Hansen, 1985, p. 276). However, as the texts show that the people of Erythrae overthrew the oligarch who ruled there as an autocrat (Aristotle, 1981 [350 BC] 1305b18-23), if the stone did indeed come from Erythrae, it would suffice to transpose the argument that a democracy existed in Chios to Erythrae.

What is important in this respect is whether there is any evidence that the Phoenicians exerted any influence on any of these cities, and research shows that the fundamental institutions and the symbols of both cities bear the imprint of Phoenicia. From the eighth century BC, the symbol of the city-state of Chios was the sphinx, in the particular form of a winged female figure with the body of a lion, which originated in Phoenicia (Archontidou-Argyri and Kyriakopoulou, 2000, p. 18). Typical Chios amphorae, marked with the figure of a sphinx, were used to transport wine to ports on the Aegean and Black Seas from at least 640 BC.

(Archontidou-Argyri and Kyriakopoulou, 2000, p. 156-8, p. 218). The Phoenician influence is also evident at Erythrae. Although the site has not yet been located, Pausanias reported in the second century AD that one of the two temples at Erythrae was "the sanctuary of Heracles", which was famous for its age and that the statue of the god came from Tyre in Phoenicia (Pausanias, 100 AD, VII. 5. 5). Whether

of Chios or Erythrae, there is clear evidence that the Phoenicians exerted an influence there at a time before these two cities experimented with democracy.

Further work on the sixteen sites of the early democracies listed by Robinson provides both archaeological and textual evidence that many of them were subject to Phoenician influence (Robinson, 1997). Phoenician trade routes, well established from the Archaic period onwards, extended all around the Greek sphere of influence, from Thassos in the north of the Aegean to Sicily in the west. From the mid-eighth century BC, there is archaeological evidence of Phoenician influence in the city-states in the eastern Aegean that first adopted democratic government, such as Kos and Samos (Lipinski, 2004, p. 155). There is also evidence of a Phoenician presence further west in the Aegean on the island of Evia, where Chalcis, its capital, was one of the first democracies, and on Naxos, which was a democracy in the second half of the sixth century BC (Lipinski, 2004, p. 147);

Robinson, 1997, p. 91, p. 117-18). There is also evidence of the presence of Phoenician merchants in mainland Greece during the Archaic period, in Argos, a city that also features on Robinson's list:

"The most learned Persians in the history of their country attribute the cause of this enmity to the Phoenicians. They say that when the Phoenicians came from the shores of the Erythraean Sea to the coasts of our own, they undertook long sea voyages as soon as they had settled in the country they still inhabit today, and transported goods from Egypt and Assyria to various regions, including Argos. This city then surpassed all those in the country now known as Greece. They add that when the Phoenicians landed there, they began to sell their wares". (Herodotus, 460 BC, I, 1)

There is further textual evidence of Phoenician influence in Elis, on the west coast of the Peloponnese, which was also one of the first cities to adopt democracy; its territory included Olympia. Pausanias gives us the following account:

"The Thasians, Phoenicians by origin, whose ancestors had set sail from Tyre and the rest of the Phoenician Phoenicia with Thasos, son of Agenor, to go in search of Europa; the Thasians, I say, dedicated at Olympia a statue of Heracles, which is entirely of bronze as is its pedestal; it is ten cubits high. Heracles holds his club in one hand and his bow in the other. I heard at Thasius that they worshipped the same Heracles as the Tyrians, but that afterwards, having already become Greeks, they thought they should also worship Heracles, son of Amphitryon. (Pausanias, 100 AD. : V.25.12)

To sail to the cities mentioned above, the Phoenicians would have had to pass Cnidus and Megara, then not far from Elis, in order to reach Achaia and Ambracia, all of which are among the world's most important cities.

the first cities to adopt democracy. The west coast of Greece is not far from two Achaian colonies where democracy took root very early on: Metapontum and Croton, in southern Italy. It was easy to travel from these cities to Sicily and Carthage, to join the Phoenician trade routes along North Africa. The African route passed through Cyrene, another of the cities mentioned by Robinson.

The Phoenicians originally had a number of trading posts around Sicily; they consolidated those in the north-west of the island when various Greek cities began to colonise the island. the fertile river valleys of the south-east (Markoe, 2005, p. 232-4). The Phoenicians, and later the Carthaginians, continued to maintain good relations with the Phoenicians, at least until the battle of Himera in 480 BC.

with the Greek part of the island, which included cities such as Syracuse and Acragas, which were early adopters of democracy. It is clear from the above that many of the city-states that Robinson considers that primitive democracies had close relations with the Phoenicians. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the contributions of the Phoenicians were far from limited to trade goods, religious statuary and the alphabet; it is very likely that the Phoenicians introduced to Greece ideas of non-monarchical forms of government and habits of collective decision-making.

Although not mentioned by Robinson, an interesting case is that of Sparta, where the Phoenician influence on the formation of democratic institutions is visible. While those who view democracy from an Athenocentric perspective relegate the traditional enemy of Athens to the rank of autocracy and oligarchy, a number of contemporary authors consider that early Sparta was governed by a constitution that "stipulated that a Spartan popular assembly should meet at regular intervals [...] around 600 BC [...] well before Athens". [well before Athens" (Hornblower, 1992, p. 1). It also seems likely that "Spartan systems, like those of the Carthaginians, followed Phoenician prototypes." (Drews, 1979, p. 47) The Spartan constitution is often attributed to a mythical figure, Lycurgus, who is credited with institutionalising eunomia, or good order, through a series of "myths".

good laws (Forrest, 1980, p. 64). Lycurgus or not, W. G. Forrest dates the Spartan constitution to the In the first half of the seventh century BC, the Spartan system of dual kingship was moderated by the expansion of the gerousia, a council of elders, and by the election of new members by the Spartans. a popular assembly (Forrest, 1980, p. 59). The existence of commercial relations between Phoenicia and Sparta at this time is shown by the fact that Phoenician methods of extracting the dye secreted by molluscs were used at the Spartan port of Gytheum and that sculptures in ivory and Phoenician terracotta masks were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta (Culican, 1975, p. 55-64; Fitzhardinge, 1980). Over the course of the next century, the assembly assumed greater powers, bypassing the elders and electing its own magistrates every year, the ephors, who presided over civil affairs, directed foreign policy and came to wield power over the people. executive (Forrest, 1980, p. 77). Aristotle was one of the first commentators to point out the similarities between the Spartan and Carthaginian constitutions (Politics, 1273a). It is unlikely that, at that time

It is far more plausible that both the Spartans and the Carthaginians were influenced by the Phoenician experience. It is highly probable that the Phoenicians introduced the ideas of popular government into the Spartan sphere of influence, where, in a period of change, they found fertile soil.

Finally, there is the case of Athens itself. Although Phoenician influence is attested to in Athens through trade and tax agreements, coins and various artistic motifs, there is little evidence to suggest that the Phoenicians had a direct influence on Athens' institutions. Athenian politics (Markoe, 2005, p. 52, p. 124, p. 219-20). However, the Athenians of the fifth

By the end of the 19th century BC, the Athenians were surrounded by city-states influenced by the Phoenicians, who were experimenting with a new form of government. The Athenians could not help but be influenced by these developments when they decided to devise the system of government they came to call *demokratia*.

Conclusion

The considerations that have just been developed show that the Phoenician cities made a significant contribution to the development of the Phoenician culture.

important democratic experiments throughout their history, from 1500 to 300 BC, particularly in Tyre in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. They have also established that

The Phoenicians played an important and even fundamental role in the Greek city-states which adopted democracy before Athens. The Phoenicians' contribution to the Greek world was not just commercial; they also passed on their experience of democracy to the Greeks and, no doubt in Sparta and very probably in other cities, had a formative influence on the development of democratic political institutions. The reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BC.

were essential for formalising democracy, by making citizens equal members of a set of interdependent institutions subject to regular meetings and an assembly

But these ideas and institutional forms had already been put to the test in Phoenicia and in a series of Greek city-states. One point that emerges clearly from our examination is that, before democracy became an idea, not to say an ideology, it was a practical exercise of political will on the part of the people. This chapter does not claim that the Phoenicians 'invented' democracy, nor does it seek to detract from Athens' contribution to the development of democracy. The Athenian contribution to the development of democracy cannot be underestimated, but this chapter establishes that the Athenian contribution was based on powerful ideas that were already circulating among Greeks who had contact with the Phoenicians. It is therefore established that the history of popular government by active citizens is longer and deeper than is generally accepted.

Stephen Stockwell, *The Secret History of Democracy, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenicia and Greek City-States"*, 2011, pp. 35-48, translated from the English by J. B.

A collection of quotes on democracy can be found at Julius Evola, *Contre la démocratie*, <https://la-dissidence.org/2014/12/27/julius-evola-contre-la-democratie/>; René Guénon, *De la démocratie*, <https://la-dissidence.org/2013/07/15/rene-guenon-de-la-democratie/>; Collectif, *La démocratie de masse : une fausse démocratie*,

https://web.archive.org/web/20170517030011/http://www.voxnr.com/cc/dt_autres/EkkpZpluAALcWpt_cNA.shtml.

On Semitic influences in the formation of Greek civilisation, see Samuel Kurinsky, The Babylonian Origin of Greek Science,
http://www.hebrewhistory.info/factpapers/fp016_science.htm; on philosophy, Martin L. West, Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient, and Walter Burkert, The Prehistory of Pre-Socratic Philosophy in an Orientalising Context,
<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2020/12/01/la-prehistoire-de-la-philosophie-presocratique-dans-un-contexte-orientalisant/> and B. K., La liberté, un concept d'esclaves,
<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2013/10/01/la-liberte-un-concept-desclaves-2/>,
<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2014/07/01/la-liberte-un-concept-desclaves-3/>,
<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2022/08/31/la-liberte-un-concept-desclaves-4/>; on mythology, Robert Brown, Semitic influence in Hellenic mythology; on literature, Martin L. West, The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth; more generally, Walter Burkert, The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age and Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture.

(*) What is indisputable, however, is that, as we have shown at
<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2013/10/01/la-liberte-un-concept-desclaves-2/>,
<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2014/07/01/la-liberte-un-concept-desclaves-3/>,
<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2022/08/31/la-liberte-un-concept-desclaves-4/>, that it was the philosophers, many of them metagheists, who, through their writings, set out to empty the racial meaning of the terms "people" and "citizen". [Editor's note]

The Semitic roots of globalism

The other apostates I have mentioned, many of whom are now forgotten, as well as almost all the anti-Christians of previous centuries, illustrate the operation that can be called the law of cultural residues.

In all civilised societies, when we find that a belief established since

If a long-held and generally accepted belief is unbelievable, good minds abandon it, but they commonly retain the derivative beliefs that were originally deduced from, and depend on, the belief they have rejected. So it is that the modern enemies of Christianity have rejected mythology, but indiscriminately retained faith in the social and ethical superstitions derived from it - a faith which they strangely claim to be rational but which they retain with religious fervour.

They laugh at the stupid story of Adam and his spare rib, but they still believe in a "human race" descended from a single pair of ancestors and therefore in a "brotherhood of man". They talk about "humanity", giving the term a mystical, honeyed meaning that they don't really understand.

They do not use any other term, such as "all marsupials" or "all ungulates". They prattle on about "human rights", although a moment's reflection should suffice to show that, in the absence of a decree from a supernatural monarch, there can be no rights other than those which the citizens of a stable and homogeneous society have, by convention or tradition, established for themselves; and whereas

citizens can show kindness to strangers, slaves and dogs, but such beings obviously have no rights.

They do not believe that a third of a god was incarnated in the most sordid region of the world in order to associate with illiterate beggars, to harangue the rabble of a barbaric "race" and to magically exalt the ignorant and vulgar in order to make "the wisdom of this world foolishness in the sight of God" (Corinthians 3:19), so that "the last may be first, and the first last."

(Matthew 20:16) - they don't believe that, but they cling to the morbid hatred of superiority that makes Christians love everything that is weak, inferior, irrational, vile, deformed and degenerate.

They prattle on about the "sacredness of human life" - especially in its vilest forms - without realising that it takes a creator god to make something sacred. And they get agitated frantically for a universal "equality" that can only be achieved by reducing all human beings to the lowest level, obviously unaware that they are merely echoing the aspiration often expressed by Christians to become sheep (the stupidest of mammals) herded by a good shepherd, which is implicit in all the stories of the New Testament, although expressed bluntly in another gospel, which mentions Jesus as promising that after he has tortured and slaughtered the most civilised people in the world, there will be a resurrection, and his sheep will rise from their graves, all the same age, all the same sex, all the same stature, and

all with indistinguishable characteristics, so that they can be identical to the bees in a swarm (*).

Although the "liberal" and Marxist cults have doctrinal differences as great as those which separate Lutherans from Baptists, they are fundamentally the same superstition, and whether or not we should call them religion depends on whether we restrict the word to belief in supernatural persons or extend it to include all forms of blind faith based on a belief in the supernatural.

on emotional exaltation rather than on observed facts and reason. When these 'atheist' cults

When people "shout" their hatred of "fascists" and "nazis", they must obviously believe that these people are "fascists" and "nazis".

evil are possessed by the devil and should therefore be converted or exterminated in order to promote holiness and love. And when they see 'racists', who ungodly substitute facts and reason for unthinking faith in approved fairy tales, their desire to root out evil is as great as that of the Christian mob who dragged the all-too-righteous and intelligent Hypatia out of her

and lovingly used oyster shells to rip out her flesh while she was still alive.

With very few exceptions, the anti-Christians, probably unconsciously, have preserved in their 'spirit' much of Christian doctrine, and have even revived the most poisonous elements of the primitive Bolshevism of antiquity, which had been attenuated or kept in abeyance by the established Churches in the great age of Christendom [The rest of the text shows that this is not really the case]. And today, avowed atheists do not think it strange that, on all social issues, they essentially agree with the howling dervishes and evangelical shamans who, subsidised with copious publicity by the organised Jewry that control television and other means of communication, are avid participants in the current effort to reduce Americans to complete imbeciles through all kinds of irrational deceptions.

Revilo Oliver, America's Decline

(*) The Greek text of the Gospel in question was published by Konstantin von Tischendorf in his *Apocalypses apocryphae* (1866; reprinted by Olms, 1966); see p. 78.

The Gnostics seized upon the notion of a "heavenly Jerusalem" as a prey, an image symbolising the future of humanity completely redeemed. Then, by way of comparison, they came to emphasise the very assembly of participants in this heavenly Jerusalem, in other words the Ecclesia, the Church ("assembly" in the etymological sense). It was Jesus himself who referred to this

He always speaks of it in terms that emphasise the femininity of this assembly of the elect. Paul takes up the image and the name, and defines it as "our mother", which explains and justifies the well-known expression, used indiscriminately afterwards: "our holy mother".

the Church". This is not in the least an institutional Church with its hierarchies, its rules and even its aberrations, which are rightly debatable, but the assembly, the community, the "communion of saints" [which corresponds to "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male or female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus". (Galatians 3:28)]. And, in all traditions, this community is represented by the image of a woman, who is both mother and child, wife or lover, sister and daughter. So it is with Isis, Cybele and a character who has become a romance, such as the Queen of Guinevere, who, before representing her own individuality, remains the permanent embodiment of the social and quasi-mystical group of which she is the absolute centre.

It is easy to see how this concept of an assembly of elected representatives, a sort of wife and mother to the Christ, along with his daughter, slowly became identified with the concrete figure of Miriâm, mother of Jesus, but also mother of all men. And if Miriâm is the mother of all men, being perfectly historical or perfectly historicised (as you will, the result being

This is why it acquired very early on, thanks to skilful censorship, the essential characteristics of a "new" art.

devoted in the past to the Great Universal Goddess, mother of all gods and all men.

Jean Markale, *The great goddess*

Part One: Community through the Church

Community of the early Church

It is well known that for nineteen consecutive centuries, Christianity has always taught and practised the community of goods. This was the very form of the primitive Church of Jerusalem from its very beginnings. According to the Acts of the Apostles, "All who believed were one, and had all things in common. And they distributed them to everyone according to his need. The whole multitude of believers was one heart and one soul, and no one considered the things he enjoyed as his own, but everything among them was common. That is why there were no poor people among them, for everyone who owned fields or houses sold them and brought the price of what they had sold and laid it at the apostles' feet, and it was distributed to everyone according to his need. Joseph, for example, was nicknamed Barnabas by the apostles,

that is to say, a son of consolation, a Levite and a Cypriot by nationality, who had a field, sold it, brought the price and laid it at the feet of the Apostles".

This Barnabas, one of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus Christ, "a man full of the Holy Spirit and steadfast in the faith" according to the Acts of the Apostles, a companion of Paul who evangelised Syria and Asia Minor, expressed himself in this way in his Epistle: "Put all" your possessions in common with your brothers, and let nothing be taken away from you.

For if you are in society for incorruptible things, how much more must you be in it for corruptible things?

Thus the community of goods was the very constitution of the primitive Church. Eight thousand men, without Barely five years later James, speaking to Paul, says, according to the Greek text, that in this Church of Jerusalem alone there were several times ten thousand. We are not talking here," says Salvian, "about a handful of Christians. Their small number could have weakened the authority of their example. We are talking about a considerable multitude of people, and we can judge from what is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, that at the very beginning of Christianity, eight thousand men, in two days, joined the new Church, not counting children and women. How many then Doesn't every day increase the number of the faithful living in community?

In her revelations, Sister Anne-Catherine Emmerich gives curious details about this primitive community which, already organized only fifteen days after the resurrection [of Jesus Christ], was composed of innumerable faithful from all countries, even the most distant, and formed, from the beginning, a whole city inside and outside Jerusalem. Lazarus and Quadratus and everyone else who had anything gave him all their possessions. Peter spoke of the rules to be observed in the new community. None of the faithful," he said, "was to have more than the other, and they were all to share together. Everything was in absolute community: goods, work, food, prayer, soul and life; everything was done in the most perfect order, and everything was distributed according to the needs and abilities of each person. The slightest infraction of this community was punishable by death, as we see for example in the Acts of the Apostles (5, 1-11).

The ruin of Jerusalem and Judea, by scattering the members of this primitive community of goods, does not seem, however, to have destroyed it. According to Barnabas and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, it was still in existence at the end of the first century. At that time, the papal see was occupied by Clement

I, a disciple of Peter and Paul. Around 96, he wrote to the Corinthians: "Brothers, the common life is obligatory for all men, and first of all for those who wish to serve God in a blameless manner and imitate the example of the apostles and their disciples. For the use of all things in this world must be common to all men. It was iniquity that made one man say, 'This is mine,' and another say, 'This belongs to me. This is the cause of discord among mortals.

This primitive community of goods still existed in the second century, according to Justin and Lucian; in the third century, according to Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian and Tertullian who says: "Having all one

If we have the same soul and the same spirit, we also have the same good; everything is common among us".

and finally in the fourth century, according to Lactantius and Arnobius. Without taking these testimonies in a rigorous material sense, the fact is that the community of goods was perpetuated not only in these first four centuries, but right up to the present day.

Aspirations towards the re-establishment of the primitive community

Referring to this primitive community of goods, Abbé Fleury exclaimed: "Here then is an example of this equality of goods, of this common life that the legislators and philosophers of the time had in mind. It was to achieve this that Minos, from the earliest times of Greece, had established communal meals in Crete. It was to achieve this that Minos, in the earliest days of Greece, established communal meals in Crete. The disciples of Pythagoras pooled their possessions and

They formed an inseparable society known in Greek as coinobion (common life), from which came the Cenobites (living in common). Finally, Plato had taken this idea of community to extremes, wanting to do away even with the distinction between families. They saw that, to make a perfect society, it was necessary to do away with yours and mine and all private interests".

"The source of this communion of goods among the Christians of Jerusalem was charity, which made them all brothers and united them as in a single family, where all the children are nourished by the same love.

They had always before their eyes the commandment to love one another, which Jesus Christ had repeated so often, especially on the eve of his passion. They always had before their eyes the commandment to love one another, which Jesus Christ had repeated so many times, especially on the eve of his passion, to the point of saying that his disciples would be recognised by this mark. But what obliged them to sell their inheritances and reduce everything to money

This was the Saviour's command to renounce all that one possesses. They wanted to practise it, not only in terms of the disposition of the heart, to which the obligation of this precept reduces, but also in terms of the attitude of the heart, to which the obligation of this precept reduces, to which the obligation of this precept reduces.

If you want to be perfect, go, sell everything you have and come and follow me". Chrysostom, so long afterwards, is not afraid to propose this way of life as an inimitable example and as a means of converting all infidels. It is to be believed that these saints of Jerusalem worked with their hands, following the example of Jesus Christ and the apostles".

Chrysostom is constantly calling on all Christians and all people to make this a reality. community; he endeavours to put it into practice immediately, right in the heart of the capital.

of the empire, in Constantinople, of which he was patriarch. Only exile and death, which soon struck Chrysostom, prevented the realisation of this project, the thought and goal of his entire life.

The ownership of everything belongs to God

If we ask the Bible what the doctrine of the Jews and Christians is about property, it tells us that the ownership and sovereign domain of all that is and all that can be belongs to God alone, and that man must never have more than the use or usufruct of it. Her doctrine to There is not the slightest variation in this respect, and throughout its many books, the Bible invariably repeats the same thing.

Exodus - "Obey my voice exactly and keep my covenant, says God. All the earth is mine".

Leviticus - "For the land is mine, and you are strangers and sojourners in it, to whom I praise it".

Deuteronomy - "You see that heaven, the heaven of heavens, the earth and everything on earth belong to the Lord your God".

Psalms. - The earth is the Lord's with all that it contains, the universe and all that dwells in it is his".

"For the earth is mine and all that is in it".

Prophets - "The earth is mine".

Paul - "The earth and everything in it belongs to the Lord.

Since Moses, who himself received this idea from the patriarchs, the property, the sovereign domain of all things belongs to Yahweh alone, and man must never have more than the use or usufruct of them.

This is the

This is the doctrine of the Church, proclaimed by popes, councils, fathers, doctors and theologians, and which, in the Middle Ages, found its way into public law. "Beloved brothers

Augustine, we read in the divine Scriptures that God says: "Gold and silver are mine, not yours, O rich men of the earth". For," adds Gregory of Nyssa, "everything truly belongs to God, our common Father, and we are all brothers. Therefore, since we are brothers and united by the bonds of blood and nature, it would be better and more just for us all to possess equally the common inheritance".

John Chrysostom, who calls property "the citadel of all evils", never ceases to proclaim the community of goods, as an application of this fundamental principle that the earth and all that it contains belong to God (De beneficentio, vol. II, p. 245).

Jewish community

... under the Law of Moses... the community... is triune...

Its first... conception applies to the tribe of Levi, invested with the functions of the priesthood, of the teaching and preservation of the law and traditions: it is the absolute community through to the exclusion of all ownership, whether collective or individual. In laying down the great fundamental principle that "the earth is God's with all that it contains", Moses, far from concluding from this, as did the religious legislators of India and Egypt, that the priests, as ministers of God, must On the contrary, he excludes them from all possession and gives them no share in the promised land, because they must remain in the integrity of the absolute community by renouncing everything. You shall possess nothing," says the Lord, "in the promised land.

land of the children of Israel, and you shall have no part with them. I am your portion and your inheritance among the children of Israel". (Numbers 1, XVIII, 20) Ministers of God, they are by that very fact the servants of all, and live only on the tithe and part of the offerings deposited in the temple. "The Levites shall possess nothing else," says the Lord (Numbers 1:XVIII, 23). From time immemorial, no doubt, in India and elsewhere, those who devoted themselves to the perfection of life

But Moses was the only one who made this self-emptying a social institution, a condition of the priestly ministry.

The second form of Jewish community is mainly represented by the Essenes and the Therapists. It is the complete community of goods, work, prayer, food, soul and spirit.

of life, perfection of the natural community, and reminiscent of the free and philosophical community... Direct heirs of the primitive and patriarchal traditions, they [the Essenes] went back to the time of Moses and Aaron and came from the priests who had carried the Ark of the Covenant. They received a

There was a regular organisation in the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah, who were in contact with them. The schools of the ancient prophets were part of their community. At first, they spread throughout the

promised land, in an area forty-eight leagues long and thirty-six leagues wide.

then on the banks of the Jordan and as far as Egypt. They lived mainly around*Mount Horeb and Mount Carmel, where Elijah had stayed. The Maccabees were also among them... They shared everything, goods, work, food and life.

There were two kinds of Essenes, some who lived in celibacy and contemplation, and who for this reason they were called Theoretici or contemplators, and the others were called Practici or workers, who married, used marriage with extreme moderation, and led with their wives and children a life similar in many respects to those of the first.

A branch of the Essenes, established mainly near Alexandria in Egypt, received the name of Therapists, i.e. Servants of God. They renounced their possessions, says Philo, and worked to cure diseases of the soul. They lived mainly near Lake Mœris, and each had, within a short distance of the other, his own house.

They lived with extreme frugality and set an example of every virtue. They lived extremely frugally and set an example of all virtues. They prayed in common: the women attended the instructions given on the Sabbath, but were separated from the men by a wall.

a wall three or four cubits high. They were also admitted to the common table, with the men on the right and the women on the left. Eusebius, Jerome, Sozomen, Cassian, Nicephorus, among the elders ; Baronius, Petau, Godeau, Father de Montfaucon, Father Alexandre, Father Helyot, Baillet and other moderns show that the Therapists were Jews who were converted to Christianity by Mark and other preachers of the Gospel. They formed the first nucleus of the monastic communities.

After the priestly community of absolute self-denial, imposed on the tribe of Levi, and the community of goods, work and life of the Essenes and Therapists, came the sharing community. This last form, obviously the most imperfect, was no more than a rudimentary means of ensuring and preserving the common good.

to maintain equality. In those remote times, we did not yet know how to divide the wealth evenly.

In Judea, the land was divided equally between all families, not as property, but as a simple possession or usufruct of the common domain. In Judea, for example, the land was divided equally among all the families, not as property, but as a simple possession or usufruct of the common domain, of which man had only the use and of which God remained the lord.

the sole and absolute owner. To perpetuate this primitive equality for ever, Moses first instituted the sabbatical year and the jubilee.

In each sabbatical year, which occurred every seven years, all debts were forgiven and all bondage ceased. At the jubilee, which occurred every forty-nine years, not only were all debts forgiven, all easements ceased and all agricultural work was stopped, as in the sabbatical year; but all transfers of possessions were null and void, and all goods alienated or sold returned to their former owners. After having repeated in Leviticus (25:8-12) the prescriptions concerning the sabbatical year... [Yahweh] adds: "You shall also number seven weeks of years, that is, seven times seven, which together make forty-nine. Then you shall sound the trumpet on the tenth day of the seventh month throughout your land on the day of reconciliation. And you shall sanctify the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty for all the inhabitants of the earth, because it is the jubilee". After various other prescriptions always relating to the jubilee, [Yahweh] continues: "The land also shall not be sold to you, for you are strangers who cultivate it for me. (25:23) In addition, the legislation of Moses contained a host of prescriptions, the most minute and detailed, all aimed at maintaining the principle of equality.

Monastic community

... the primitive community of Jerusalem, summing up that of Moses, was now, forever, the starting point for all its subsequent progress and all its possible developments. It had laid down the fundamental principle: absolute communion of all moral, intellectual and physical goods, community of work and life, of spiritual and material nourishment, of soul and body... All that remained was to develop and apply these principles in all their forms... This has been the work of Christianity for the last nineteen centuries, and especially that of the monastic communities.

... the Romans commanded by Titus, son of Vespasian, invaded Judea and took Jerusalem, burned down its temple and led the Jews into captivity, among whom the Christians were confused and who were completely expelled from Palestine under Adrian in 134. However, ten years before the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, a community similar to the first had been founded in Egypt by Mark, the first bishop of Alexandria. This movement soon took off in leaps and bounds. Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Pontus, Cappadocia, Persia, Ethiopia, India, the whole of the East, then successively Dalmatia, Italy, Gaul and the whole of the West, there arose an immense application of the community of goods by the monastic and coenobitic orders, which merely continued, developing and generalising it, the principle established in the primitive Church of Jerusalem. From then until the present day, that is to say for eighteen hundred and sixty-six consecutive years, millions and millions of individuals of every sex, every condition, every age, every language, every people, spread throughout the whole of Christendom, have never ceased to live under this system of community of property.

community, to be its living, practical, exemplary preaching, and to pursue the idea of property of any kind with a rigour that our contemporary communists have not even suspected.

As Cassian shows in his Conferences, and as Basil and Benedict formally declare in their Rules, the Cenobites in no way set out to establish a way of life apart and different from that of other Christians, but simply to continue the tradition of the primitive and apostolic Church, This is why Benedict only calls his rule a "small beginning of the Christian life", and in several places this rule assumes that a religious can leave the cloister and enter the world.

It is indubitable," says Tillemont (*Expositions des doctrines chrétiennes*, t. II, p. 393), "that the true religious took as their model the first church of Jerusalem. Augustine expresses himself in the same way. Cassian, who had studied the origins of monastic life with such care, also traces it back to the first faithful of Jerusalem.

Moreover, the cenobites were not priests in the first place and did not even have priests of their own order; they had priests from outside who celebrated the holy sacrifice for them. They were all simple laymen".

because," says Abbé Fleury, "at the beginning, the clergy was thought to be incompatible with monastic life". It was not until 383 that Pope Sirice called monks to the monastery. However, in the seventh century they were still so far from being all clerics that a Council of Rome, held in 601, decided that any monk who had passed to the ecclesiastical state could no longer remain in his monastery. It was only in the 9th century that they were considered part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. But far from still being priests, they were below the minor orders. Already in 1039, a distinction was made between lay brothers and sisters; and even in the fifteenth century and since, we have seen religious orders composed exclusively of lay people, and which did not receive priests, such as the Poor Volunteers founded in 1370. Finally, the third orders, known as the Franciscans and Dominicans, have included, since the thirteenth century, a number of lay brothers and sisters. countless lay people, married men and women, who are directly linked to the monastic institutes.

This [cenobitic] thought... says to men: you are unhappy, divided, enemies, guilty, as a result of the division you have made for yourselves of the goods of the earth; give up possessing anything of your own, "for the earth is the Lord's with all that it contains"; let the use of all things be It says to them: you are divided on the outside because you are divided on the inside; you have external property, the source of all social misery, because you have internal property, the source of all misery.

Put love, divine and universal charity in the place of selfishness and pride.

Finally, she said to them: property has its first origin in sin and the corruption of degenerate flesh, just as community has its origin in the sanctification of man and virtue.

The religious orders, which took so many different forms, were so numerous that their simple nomenclature. They gradually developed all aspects of the organisation of this community and thus prepared for its universal application; finally, they enveloped and penetrated civil society on all sides so as to deposit in it the principles of the common good.

all the fundamental principles that were to make the realisation of this community throughout the world inevitable. This is the nineteenth-century mould into which God threw humanity, so that it would emerge communist for ever.

Eliminating the "vice" of ownership

The first principle of monastic life is that everything belongs to everyone and that no one should own anything, not even the smallest object. But this is only the external and material fact of ownership; we must go back to its source. This is what monastic action did. It did not limit itself to He not only preached and realised the visible community, but made it penetrate to the very depths of human consciousness. Perfectly aware that any fact whose cause is not radically destroyed soon revives of its own accord more powerful than ever, and wishing to achieve the annihilation, not only temporary but perpetual, of property, it attacked the very principle of this "vice". Not unaware, moreover, that any external institution, such as that of the community, can only be founded and perpetuated insofar as it is the free, spontaneous, living manifestation of an inner state of the human soul that necessarily leads to it, it set out to extirpate from the mind, the will and the heart of man all desire, all love, all idea of property, whatever it may be. This is the radical work it has been pursuing and carrying out for nineteen centuries; this is the aim of this elective institution, republican, communist, governed by a constitution freely accepted by all and called the Rule.

The Church recognises four main rules under which almost all religious orders fall: that of Basil, which reigns throughout the East; that of Augustine; that of Benedict, which dominated the West until the 13th century; and that of Francis of Assisi.

Basil's rule, which soon became the rule of all Eastern monks, is expressed thus: "Let everything be common to all, and let no one have anything of his own, neither clothing, nor shoes, nor anything that belongs to others.

the use of the body. It even adds that it is impossible to obtain the kingdom of heaven without renouncing everything we possess on earth.

Augustine's rule also prescribes absolute community, and goes into the most minute detail in this regard. It adds that, since everything is in common, if anyone appropriates anything or hides anything given to him, he is guilty of theft from the community. In his first sermon on common life, in which he gives an account to the assembled people of the community which he Augustine said: "This is how we live; no one in our society is allowed to have anything of his own". He then recounted how each member of his community had stripped himself of everything he possessed, and instructed the people to give nothing except to the whole community and not to any one of its members in particular. members. Finally, he announced that he would impose the severest penalties on anyone who dared to keep anything of his own. We can see from the details of this speech that the monks, and even the clergy and bishops, wore the same vestments as the laity at the time, and that, basically, the monastic institute still only intended to continue the primitive Church of Jerusalem, which included all the faithful with their families, married men and women, and children.

Benedict's rule is no less explicit than the previous ones. Property," it says, "is the most essential vice" to be eradicated from the community. One must "own nothing, not even a book, tablets, a stylus for writing, absolutely nothing", nihil omnino. It is not just the fact of ownership, but the feeling that gives rise to it, that "is the most essential vice to be rooted out" of the human soul.

As for the rule of Francis of Assisi... it goes much further still, by abolishing all property, even collective property like any particular property, and thus constituting the fundamental principle of the universal, absolute community.

Moreover, all the founders and reformers of monastic orders, Lorenzo Justinian, Gerson and a host of others speak the same language as Basil, Augustine, Benedict and Francis of Assisi; and these rules are confirmed by the Council of Trent which, in its XXVth session, formally forbids "to own, or even in the name of the monastery, any property, movable or immovable, by whatever title they may have acquired it and of whatever nature it may be". Now, it should be noted that these prescriptions of the monastic rules are not like civil laws, which prescribe only the material fact and the nature of the property. only require external obedience; they command the inner self, compel the conscience; and, by forbidding any kind of property, forbid at the same time all desire, all love, all thought of property of any kind. This abdication of all ownership thus becomes faith,

a religion, a cult. The saints call her the mother and guardian of all the other virtues. Francis of Assisi called her his mistress, as did the Rule of the Franciscans, and celebrated his glorious hymen with her. Ignatius, in his Constitutions, recommends that we love her as a good mother, because it is she who gives birth to and preserves in souls all the other virtues.

John Chrysostom, seeking to explain why the Christians of the early Church were so full of zeal and zealotry of fervour, and those of his time, on the contrary, so lukewarm and lax, shows that this is due to the fact that the first Christians renounced all their possessions, while the others remained laden with riches.

Thomas Aquinas and a host of other Doctors teach that those who have thus renounced their own possession of anything, whether canonised or not, will, like the Apostles, be seated before the tribunal of God on the day of judgement, to judge all the world with Jesus Christ; and Gregory extols the greatness of this prerogative.

M. Olier, founder and first superior of the seminary of Saint-Sulpice

It is not only to religious, but to all Christians, that the Church imposes the duty of eradicating from their hearts, souls and minds "the abominable vice of property". This is the goal of the whole Christian life, which prescribes this disappropriation in the spiritual order as well as in the material order.

All that we call asceticism, mysticism, the spiritual life or other similar names, consists in this teaching of the saints which is found not only in the great centuries of Christianity, but in every time and place. In the seventeenth century, M. Olier, founder and first superior of the seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, developed this thought at length in his *Introduction à la vie et aux vertus chrétiennes*. After admirably explaining the nature

of this rigorous duty of every Christian, he stigmatises in the following terms "the evil of property" and the comparative moral results of property and its negation, which he calls "self-denial".

The landlord is in every way the opposite of the Christian, property the opposite of Christianity, and the radical extirpation of every kind of property is the supreme ideal of moral perfection for every man, as it is for everyone collectively, or for society as a whole. Complete abolition of property is the Christian life, the spiritual or divine life within us, the law of Christianity for individuals and for nations. For "there is nothing more contrary to Christianity than property,

Adam made himself, by sin, the owner and father of all sin, and property is a horrible monster and a terrible sea of all sin".

Abolition of property, even collective property

Community and collective property could still have been confused, which are very different things. The Papacy, after having excommunicated and denied burial to a poor monk who had kept three reals to buy a tunic, had to officially proclaim, through thirty the abolition of all collective and individual property.

This formidable problem of ownership, publicly debated for three centuries by the Christianity as a whole, was resolved in the sense of a radical, universal and absolute community. And it was.

"The love of poverty makes us kings", said Bernard of Clairvaux. It is indeed through The monks became kings of the world and the peoples of the world became truly sovereign. In his speech in the presence of Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus called the monks "philosophers", because they possessed nothing in this world.

The first solitaries, ascetics and cenobites, following to the letter the words of Christ: "Whoever does not renounce all that he possesses cannot be my disciple", had no other rule than the absolute abdication of all kinds of property. Later, the monasteries spread everywhere, living on the same principles. This meant that if the individual possessed nothing of his own, the monastery or order possessed it as a body. Now, in order to achieve absolute community, it was necessary to abolish even this collective property, as had already been done.

abolish all individual property. This is what Francis of Assisi did. He founded the Franciscan order, which, five centuries later, after losing countless monasteries, still numbered, at the beginning of the 20th century, more than 100,000 monks and nuns.

In the 18th century, there were more than one hundred and fifteen thousand religious men and nearly thirty thousand religious women. After having taught his disciples, by word and example, this unrestricted renunciation of all possession, Francis prescribed it with the utmost rigour in his Rule, which states: "The brothers shall have nothing of their own, neither house, nor place, nor anything else," forbids all kinds of property, both collective and individual, and forbids like a plague all handling of money, either by oneself or by any other person.

and does everything it can to ensure that the property cannot intrude under any pretext whatsoever.

Well then! This rule, examined by the cardinals, was approved in 1210 by Pope Innocent III as being the very expression of the Gospel; in 1215, by the Fourth General Council of the Church in Rome.

Latran, and solemnly confirmed by Pope Honorius III in his bulls of 11 June 1219 and 29 June 1220. November 1223. Gregory IX again confirmed this denial of all property, even collective property, in two new bulls, one dated 21 August 1231, addressed to all prelates, and the other dated 23 August 1231, addressed to the archbishops of Tours and Rouen and to the bishop of Paris. Innocent IV approved the same doctrine in 1245. Pope Alexander IV was even more favourable to the religious mendicants and their principle of absolute community. Barely five days after his coronation, on 31 December 1254, he revoked Innocent IV's bull *Etsi animarum* of the previous 21 November, because it restricted the privileges of the mendicants. Franciscans and Dominicans, in whose favour he issued more than forty consecutive bulls. He vigorously supported the latter against the University of Paris with his great bull *Quasi lignum vitae* of 14 April 1255, and that *Cunctis processibus* of 17 June 1256.

In the same year, 1256, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, doctor and regent of theology in Paris, published a book entitled *Des Périls des derniers temps*, directed against the Franciscans and Dominicans, particularly against the latter. He fought with the greatest violence against their theory of absolute community and the negation of all property, even collective property, claiming that this was neither the doctrine nor the practice of Jesus Christ. So what did the Pope do when the matter was referred to him? Having had the work examined by four cardinals, on their report he issued his sentence in the form of a bull, dated 5 October 1256, in which he condemned this book as iniquitous, criminal and execrable, ordering anyone who had it to burn it within eight days, on pain of excommunication, with a ban on approve or support it in any way. This condemnation was pronounced publicly in The Pope deprived Guillaume de Saint-Amour of his doctorate and of all benefits and dignities, forbade all trade with him and rejected his appeal.

On the following 15 November, Alexander IV again praised the absolute community of Franciscans and Dominicans in his bull *Parisiensis peritia*, and in 1257 published seven more bulls both in favour of these religious and against Guillaume de Saint-Amour, in addition to various letters on the same subjects.

In compliance with the papal bulls and the oath of the representatives of the University, Thomas Aquinas, whose doctorate had been delayed for two years, was finally received in Paris on 23 October 1257, and published At the time, he was writing the apology for the Friars Minor and Preachers that he had delivered to the Pope at Anagni a year earlier. This work is entitled: *Contre ceux qui attaquent la religion, c'est-à-dire l'institution monastique*, and in it the Angelic Doctor responds in detail and with great accuracy to all the reasons or authorities alleged by Guillaume de Saint-Amour. The latter claimed that it is not permissible for one who has property to deprive himself of it completely without providing for his subsistence, either by entering a community or proposing to live by his work. Thomas shows that this renews the errors of Jovinian and Vigilance, who criticised the practice of monastic life. This

It is not only in habitual poverty, he says, that the perfection of the Gospel consists, that is to say, in the interior detachment from the goods of which we remain possessors, but in poverty. This perfection does not require that we collectively possess anything. He reminds us that the most perfect monks renounced all. He cites the example of Jesus Christ himself and of several saints, and proves the absurdity and injustice of the criticisms levelled at Franciscan and Dominican religious.

After Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, Bishop of Regensburg, and a host of others, Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor, also wrote several treatises in which he used more or less the same proofs as Thomas Aquinas to refute all the objections to the abolition of collective ownership.

Abolition of all property, even collective property. It must extend to civil society.

Finally, on 14 August 1279, the bull *Exiit qui seminat* appeared, in which Nicholas III refuted at length the objections that had been raised against the principles of the Franciscans, and resolved the difficulties that many had found in practising their rule. It establishes the following principles:

1° Absolute community or the abdication of all property, not only individual but collective, "is meritorious and holy".

2° Jesus Christ "taught it by word and confirmed it by example, and the first founders of the Church, drawing it from its very source, and passing it on by the examples of their teaching and their lives".

3° If Christ possessed anything with his Apostles, it was to "condescend to the imperfections of the infirm, the weak, the imperfect."

4° The way of perfection he teaches is the abdication of all property; the other is the infirmity and imperfection of human flesh to which he condescended out of pure charity.

5° Confident in divine Providence, in human brotherhood and in their work, "triple means of to live, those who thus abdicate the ownership of everything are not homicidal of themselves or tempters of God".

6° Moreover "extreme necessity to provide for the sustenance of nature, is of natural civil law, exempt from all law".

7° "The abdication of all property does not imply the renunciation of the de facto use of the things necessary for life".

These fundamental principles give rise to a whole world of consequences, of which we will limit ourselves to mentioning the following:

1° This abdication of all ownership being able to be made in common by a company, some A whole nation, however numerous, could therefore implement it in its constitution, with everyone freely adhering to it.

2° Every Christian who is to strive to imitate Christ, his type and model, must strive with all his might for this suppression of all property, as for the perfection which the Apostles and the Church gave him set an example.

3° For the same reasons, every Christian society must pursue its realisation, as the fulfilment of the divine ideal assigned as the supreme goal to the perfection of humanity.

4° Mere de facto use, which still remains to man after the abolition of all property, does not imply any infringement of the absolute community, because not constituting a right, it obliges him who has consumed a product to recreate its equivalent through his work. Hence the rule of justice in the community.

These, among others, are the rigorous consequences of the principles laid down by the papacy since Innocent III, developed by Nicholas III and confirmed by his successors. They were first developed by Martin

IV, then by Nicholas IV, who further extended the privileges already granted to the Franciscans, mainly in his bulls of 6 May and 30 April 1288. The principles of this famous constitution were reproduced, confirmed and applied by Celestine V in 1294; by Boniface VIII in 1299, in several bulls in favour of the Friars Minor; by Clement V in his decretal *Exivi de paradiso*, promulgated at the third and last session of the General Council of Vienna, on 6 May 1312; by John XXII, in his innumerable bulls, principally that *Quorundam exigit* published on 13 April 1317 and the year

In the following pages, he recalls the constitutions of Nicholas IV and Clement V, the *Santa Romana* constitution of late 1317, the *Gloriosam ecclesiam* constitution of 23 January 1318 and the others that we will cite below.

Certainly, in no other case and on no other question has the Holy See pronounced itself in such a reiterated, complete and persevering manner, by the authority of so many popes and in such a succession of consecutive declarations over more than a century. It is worth repeating the words of Augustine, so often quoted today: "Rome has spoken, the cause is finished".

But this was not yet enough, and the Papacy was increasingly showing that this was not the case. Community, proclaimed by the Church, must extend to the temporal order as well as the spiritual order, to civil society as well as religious society. This is strikingly apparent in these complex discussions, whose forgotten form sometimes obscures their immense scope, and in these struggles between the Church and the Church.

The many passionate events of this illustrious period make for epic drama. Without going into this long maze, let's at least mention a few of the main points of this moving scene where six centuries ago, the great issues of human destiny were at stake.

In his bull *Ausculta, fili* of 5 December 1301, Boniface VIII reminded Philip the Fair that temporal kingdoms and their rulers were, like individuals, subject to Christian law. In his famous decretal *Unam sanctam* of 18 November 1302, deliberated at a council in Borne, he declared that there were no two principles, two laws, one for the spiritual order and the other for the temporal order, but only one law, the Gospel; only one head, Jesus Christ; that all power comes from God and that the distinction of the two swords is only that of a double function serving the same cause, one for eternity, the other for time; that human and temporal power, instituted, ordered, judged by the Christian law, of which it must not be the only one, is not the only one; that all power comes from God and that the distinction of the two swords is only that of a double function serving the same cause, one for eternity, the other for time; that human and temporal power, instituted, ordered, judged by the Christian law, of which it must not be the only one, is not the only one.

This was a decree that the universal community, practised for fourteen centuries by religious society, should be extended to civil society. This was already decreeing the extension to civil society of the universal community practised for fourteen centuries by religious society.

John XXII simply applied these principles. Louis of Bavaria attacked, condemned and deposed the Pope, established the bishops and, arguing that all property had been abdicated, [thus taking the Church at its own game] claimed the goods of the Church as his domain. It was then that John XXII promulgated, in

1328, his bull *Quia vir reprobus*, which, because of its length and importance, is a veritable book. In it, he justified his three previous constitutions, which had been condemned by order of Louis on 18 April of the same year, and

establishes the principle that Jesus Christ, as King and Lord of the universe, has the ownership and sovereignty of the universe.

of all temporal things. He proves this by the prophecies and the passages of Holy Scripture, which represent Christ as King of kings, Lord of lords, to whom belongs the empire over all the nations of the earth, whose reign will have no end and to whom all power has been given in heaven and on earth. He shows that when he said to Pilate: "My kingdom is not from here", he was saying: "My kingdom is not from here".

declares that he does not derive his power from the world, but from God, to whom everything belongs. This was the doctrine of the most famous theologians, as well as of the papacy. Alvar Pelage, a famous doctor of the Franciscan order, established in his *Treatise on the Complaints of the Church* that Jesus Christ is the only pontiff, king and lord of all, and that the whole earth is his, with everything it contains.

Now, since the kingdom of Jesus Christ was founded on absolute community, which has been perpetuated for nineteen consecutive centuries, both temporal and spiritual society must be established on this basis.

principle, on this universal law extending to everything, because everything is his. Everything comes under this community, since Christ alone has the ownership and sovereign domain of all things.

The absolute community

Absolute community is the divine right and must extend to everything, to temporal society as well as to spiritual society: this is the immense result achieved by this solemn debate of several centuries, and by the decisions of more than a hundred papal bulls.

In this memorable discussion, which lasted for three centuries, the Papacy approved and proclaimed "the complete abdication of all property, both in common and in private, as meritorious and holy, being that which Christ taught by word and confirmed by his example, that which the first founders of the Church, as they had drawn it from the very source, transmitted by the examples of their doctrine and their life, this abdication of all ownership leaving only a simple *de facto* use". Consequently, the Holy See, confirming the rule of the Friars Minor, decided that the ownership of their goods belonged to the Church as a whole, of which the Pope was the representative, or rather to Christ, to God alone, no man being the owner. This is what Roman law calls *res nullius*, *res sacrae et religiosa et sancta*, *quod enim divini juris est, id nullius in bonis est*. This religious and sacrosanct thing is nobody's thing, because what is of divine right belongs, as a possession, to nobody.

In principle, this definition applies to all communities, but in particular to religious communities. Each of its members having made a vow of poverty or renunciation of all property, all the goods of these communities are by right the religious and sacrosanct thing which is nobody's thing: it is the divine right of the principle of the community. We can therefore and must consider all the monastic communities that have succeeded one another, since the primitive Church of Jerusalem to this day, as a single community whose common goods are the patrimony of God, administered by the Church. The usufruct of this divine patrimony is undoubtedly used by the various particular communities according to the needs of their functions and the distribution of work, but in principle the fund remains one, indivisible and inalienable.

Every generation, this community counts its members in the millions. During the Middle Ages, it alone possessed all the archives, monuments, products and treasures of the arts, letters and sciences, and performed all the high social functions, all the principal works of education, agriculture and industry, and all the great offices of politics and Christianity.

And yet! This immense community, nineteen centuries old, is still only a part of the Catholic community. In fact, in addition to the incalculable assets of the monastic orders, the Church still possessed such considerable assets that this dual ownership combined to form the bulk of all social wealth. An example will suffice. It has been calculated that at the end of the seventeenth century, the Church still owned twelve million acres of land in the twenty-two provinces of the Kingdom of Castile, worth 161 million reals, while the laity owned no more than sixty-one million acres, worth 817 million reals. Thus the fifth part of the land, as well as a much larger portion of movable property, was in the hands of the clergy, whose revenues still amounted to 150 million francs in 1817.

Now the Church proclaimed all the goods, whether movable or immovable, of this colossal community to be the property of God alone, a common patrimony, undivided and inalienable, of which the holders must have only the use or usufruct. In fact," says Fleury, "ecclesiastical goods, being consecrated to God, are sacred, and the Church has the right to use them.

Ownership belongs to no one, and the beneficiary has only the administration". The usufruct of this divine patrimony was allocated to the satisfaction of all the moral, intellectual and physical needs of humanity, worship, education, instruction, foundation, maintenance and development of schools, colleges, universities, sick homes, hospitals, hospices, asylums and retreats of all kinds, care of the sick, the infirm, the abandoned, orphans, children and the elderly, subsistence of the clergy and a large part of the population, hospitality, relief and assistance of all kinds to all.

As we can see, the community does not need to be made, it is made. It was established in the world with the Apostolic Church of Jerusalem, never to disappear again. Since then, it has been perpetuated without interruption in monastic communities, and now covers the whole face of the earth.

Founded at first by the goods and offerings of the first faithful placed in common, it was constituted by the goods of the Church, the property of God alone, an undivided and inalienable patrimony, which has embraced the greater part of all social wealth, and which has a right of claim to the immense wealth of the Church.

It has been robbed of billions of dollars' worth of possessions, especially since the sixteenth century and the French Revolution.

This community is not just national, it is [international] like the Church, and embraces not just the whole of Europe, a whole continent, but the whole universe in all its areas, from the equator to the poles. Contemporary with humanity through its tradition and origins, it has existed in its Christian form for nineteen consecutive centuries, and has already contained within its bosom millions and millions of men, who have bequeathed its future developments to the future. It has withstood all persecutions, all violence, all seductions, all catastrophes; still standing. on its indestructible rock, it has survived the flood of peoples, the fall of empires, the disappearance of entire nations and the cataclysms of a thousand and one revolutions.

Teaching of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church

Is that enough? No. Property still existed within temporal society. It had to be destroyed even in this last refuge. Since the Church had no special mission in this area, it at least tried to do something about it. to hasten the hour of this transformation. Through the mouths of her Fathers and Doctors, she gave voice to the energetic accents of which we are about to hear a few echoes. This teaching has necessarily

the very character of the spiritual order to which it belongs. He demands community in the name of charity and divine justice, much more than in that of written law and human justice. He urges and implores every man to renounce all that he possesses, to strip himself of his goods in order to give them to others.

He could not demand this community in the name of the State, but he nevertheless pursued its realisation with incredible fervour.

Let's face it, he often went much further. For example, we saw this passage in which the Pope Clement says: "Brothers, the common life is obligatory for all men. For the use of all things in this world must be common to all. It was iniquity that made one man say, 'This is mine,' and another, 'This is mine. Hence the division between mortals'. These words of a are reproduced in the Body of Canon Law, along with various similar passages Ambrose, Augustine and other doctors. The eighth rule of Basil also says that one cannot obtain

the kingdom of heaven without renouncing all that one possesses on earth, which would amount to nothing less, as Fr. Combefis remarks, than damning every owner. [If], since the Council of Gangres in Paphlagonia, against the Eustachians, in the year 342, until the encyclicals of Pius IX, of 29 November 1846, 8 December 1849 and 1864, the Church has always condemned communism [it has never done anything but condemn communism imposed on society exclusively by force or the absolute autocracy of the state]...

[With accents reminiscent of the curses of Isaiah and foreshadowing the curses of Marx, the fathers and doctors of the Church utter curses against the rich]. Basil... urges the peoples of the world to achieve a universal community of goods, housing, food and life, in imitation of the primitive Church of Jerusalem and as an application of the original community of the Church of Jerusalem. instead of "making common things their own and possessing alone what belongs to all". Gregory of Nyssa... pursued with his most energetic efforts the establishment of community for all, and called "inhuman tyrants, cruel barbarians, ferocious beasts, those who have made themselves masters of the common inheritance to the exclusion of others". Astère, bishop of Amasie, in the Mount, and famous in the East for his preaching, fought against property and the inequality of conditions in their entirety. source, greed, avarice or the love of possessing. Ambrose repeats incessantly and in every possible way forms: "The Lord our God willed that the earth should belong to all men in common, and that its fruits should be for the use of all. You take for yourself in particular what has been given in common to the It was greed that introduced the division of goods. It was greed that introduced the division of goods. property is usurpation, and almsgiving is restitution "which the rich man must make to the poor man for the share of the common goods which he has taken from him". And he concludes by saying: "Declare common to all, the goods of nature which produce the fruits of the earth for the use of all. Nothing could reproduce the frightening portraits he [Chrysostom] paints of the rich, the miser, anyone possessed by the love of property. He accuses them of committing every crime, of being more wicked than the devils and of possessing what belongs to others. He is," he says, "a carnivorous animal, a ferocious beast worse than the ferocious beasts; it slits throats, tears apart and devours everything it meets. Like hell, it engulfs everything; it is the declared enemy of humanity".

With Cyprian, Basil, Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzus, Asterius, Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa and all the others He teaches that it is theft to misappropriate for one's own benefit the common good that belongs to the poor, to everyone.

Isidore of Damietta also proclaimed community in these terms: "You have acquired goods by fair industry; but you hold them unjustly. Make them common, then, and they will truly be yours".

Augustine expresses himself in the same way. It is right," he says, "that we should all be in community of goods and services.

of trials as well as in community of spirit, hope and love". After developing the same theories as John Chrysostom, he continues: "It is because individual property exists that there are also lawsuits, enmities, discord, wars, riots, dissensions, scandals, sins, iniquities, homicides... Where do all these scourges come from? From property alone".

This complete abdication of all personal property, demanded of everyone, necessarily leads to universal community, and the poor here become everyone, enriched by this general disappropriation. It is sacrilege," he adds, "to keep what belongs to the poor", to everyone. Now, everything belongs to them, because he says to the rich man: "What you possess is not yours"; and he proclaims these terrible maxims:

"All riches are the fruit of iniquity, because they are the spoils of others; every rich person is a despoiler or the heir of a despoiler.

[Jesus Christ] had said: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven". The apostle James, in his turn, accuses the rich of having dishonoured the august name of Christ, of having condemned and killed the righteous, and tells them to weep, to cry out and howl at the sight of the treasure of wrath they are storing up for the last days. Salvian, whose authority was so great in the Church that he was called the master of bishops, comments on these last words. After having drawn a frightful picture of the crimes he reproaches the rich for, he expresses himself as follows: "He [James] does not say to the rich man: you will be tortured because you are a murderer; you will be tortured because you are an adulterer; but he says to him: you will be tortured simply because you are rich.

[We must not think that they [these testimonies] sum up everything that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church have said or written on this subject. Far from it. We could have quoted an innumerable multitude

other similar texts, often even more explicit, stronger and more forceful; whole volumes have been filled with them, and we have done no more than pick and choose. We have stopped at the seventh century, because it was necessarily necessary to limit ourselves, and because it is moreover in those

the sources and basis of Christian tradition. But we could have unrolled the rings of this living and unbroken chain from century to century, and so to speak from hour to hour, from then until now. A few examples will suffice:

Where there is no community of goods," says Peter Damien, "spirits are divided; but when goods are possessed in common, the spirits of all are united in a common will. "Where goods are divided, there can undoubtedly be no unity of souls. community and greed division".

"Live as a community", cried Pierre de Blois.

"Everything is held in common by natural law", according to Gratien.

This principle was proclaimed and developed by Thomas Aquinas, who added: "A perfectly established community is a true city".

It is explained in all its details by Bonaventure who, after showing this community of goods applied to temporal society, sums it up in these words: "The life of community is very holy; much more, it is the angelic life".

The Church. - The Trinity. Incarnation. Communion of saints.

A constant doctrine and universal practice of the Church, community sums up the whole of Christianity.

The Church," says Saint Ambrose, "is the community of all in all, which is the very law and form of justice. It prays in common, works in common, is tested in common. Justice consists in self-denial in order to be worthy of Christ". It represents the absolute community, as one and indivisible, but at the same time triune, in the image of the divine Trinity, and revealed under three aspects: - Community in God; - Community or communion between God and man; - Community of all men among themselves through their communion with God; and consequently, community of all the goods of God. the soul and the body, as a manifestation of the communion of man with God and of all men with each other.

God can be defined, in the words of Epiphanius, as "community with equality". This is the meaning of the dogma of the divine Trinity. The community of nature or essence (omousios) with the co-equality of persons (coaequales), that is the definition of this dogma according to all the symbols of the Fathers, the Councils and the Popes. Now, this "community with equality" is the type on which human society must be moulded. The union of the divine persons," says Bossuet, "has been given to us as the model for our own. O God! Father, Son and Holy Spirit, I recognise myself in everything and everywhere, made in your image, in your likeness.

in the image of the Trinity, in accordance with the words: "Let us make man in our image and likeness". since the very union you want to establish in us is the imperfect image of your perfect unity. O Charity! you must grow and multiply to infinity in the faithful, since the model of union and unity you want to establish in us is the imperfect image of your perfect unity.

The communication that is proposed to you is a model whose perfection you can never attain. All you can do is always grow by imitating him, by communicating more and more all that we have to our brothers and sisters: light, instruction, advice, correction, when necessary, love, tenderness, virtue, for example.

edification, good example, mutual support, and all the more so, goods, riches, sustenance, and everything down to the bread we eat".

But for the divine community to become the model for the [earthly community], God and humanity must be indissolubly united and placed in communion. Hence the dogma of the Incarnation, second face of the community. The divine Word became man "so that we might become partakers of the divine nature", says Peter, and so that the two natures, human and divine, might be in communion.

This communion between God and man, in Christ, takes place through charity.

Descended from God into humanity, through the Incarnation and charity, this community with equality is the foundation of the community of men among themselves, an essential and fundamental dogma of Christianity, an article of faith in the Apostles' Creed, which gives it the name of the Communion of Saints. Jesus Christ himself proclaims this community everywhere, especially in his last prayer after the Last Supper. Paul in develops the thought incessantly in all his Epistles: "We are all one body and members of one another", he says.

... this community must extend not only to all men now existing on this globe, but to all those who have passed through it, as well as to all those who are still here.

Now, the communion of saints or the communion of men among themselves, through their communion with God, has as its external manifestation the community of all visible or material goods, which is the expression of the community of all invisible or spiritual goods.

Part Two: Community through State

Two sides to the community problem

The universal advent of the community being the supreme and definitive goal which God proposed for himself in the world [...] he willed that everything should contribute to it at the same time. Now, in the [Judeo-Christian] world, there are only two great living forces: that of [...] the Church, which is the divine order of revelation, of faith, of the Church and of the Church itself.

and that of temporal power, of human society or the State, which is the order of grace.

nature, examination and reason. The first teaches in the name of duty, self-sacrifice and charity; the second commands in the name of law, reciprocity and justice. The first is addressed to the individual, to the personality itself, to exhort and persuade it; the second is imposed on the whole.

This is the only way we can ensure that the community as a whole is governed by an impersonal law to which all must submit,

The first speaks to the conscience, the heart, the soul and the spirit, and its precepts and advice are not the same as those of the second.

The second orders and governs external acts and visible facts by laws that are binding on everyone.

In the first part above, we have seen the Church not only preach, but also bring about the community [...] which has been perpetuated without interruption for nineteen centuries: this is the "spirit-man". In this second part, we shall show the State preparing, developing and organising the conditions and elements of the temporal and obligatory community over the last six thousand years: this is the "body-man".

". In the third part that follows, we will explain how the Church and the State must unite for the universal and definitive fulfilment of the integral community...

Achieving universal community [implied giving] property and sovereignty at the same time and indivisibly to everyone.

The first task was quite simply to remake the whole world, morally and materially [...] Thus, for example, in order to give property and sovereignty simultaneously to everyone, it was first necessary to make everyone [free]. [Christianity] first transformed slavery into serfdom, then serfdom into freedom. Finally, universal suffrage, proclaimed in 1792 and fully applied since 1848, made every man who became free a representative of sovereignty, residing in each and every one of them. After nineteen hundred years, this colossal work is only now coming to an end, as the last vestiges of slavery disappear from the soil of the United States [...] Twelve centuries of energetic and persevering effort were barely enough; they freed women and children [...] The equality of all men was proclaimed, along with their freedom, and their universal brotherhood, the threefold fundamental basis of the community that has been steadily building up for nineteen centuries.

But this was still, so to speak, only the surface of the Christian work. It built man and humanity from scratch only to achieve community. [In traditional white civilisations, the State had by definition been the transcendent unifying principle and the natural organ of a racial and ethnic community. In contrast, the Christian State was intended to be a community universal, or rather internationalist, i.e. the anti-community par excellence: a parody of community] In order to found the [international] community, it was necessary to constitute a power which, placed above all the limits of States, of all the frontiers of nations, would extend over the universe, embraced the whole world and was the homeland of humanity. This power [was called] the Church, from a word which means assembly, ecumenical council of nations, permanent congress of humanity. And the Church founded... this [international] community [...] which, perpetuating itself through all places and all centuries, is the living mould on which temporal society has only to model itself, the type [...] that the State has only to follow, the form [...] which it has only to assume, through its indissoluble union with the Church, in order to complete the definitive realisation of the community.

To achieve this, the State itself had to place sovereignty, and hence property, its essential attribute, in the hands of all. This immense task [...] required no less than nineteen centuries of effort and is not yet completely finished. Let us briefly retrace its main phases.

The social evolution of sovereignty and ownership

The Christian era saw exactly the same development of sovereignty and property as we saw in [Semitic Rome]. Only here it was not the priesthood that first possessed property as a particular body and a class apart, but an aristocracy that we shall see constituted under the name of feudalism. Penetrated by the Christian spirit, the priesthood posits that "the earth belongs to God with all that it contains", and deduces from this, as an application, this immense universal community whose gigantic picture we sketched in the first part of this work. He went further, and sought to introduce this community into the State through the generalised institution of undivided and inalienable patrimony.

The property of Caesar or the Roman people passed into the hands of the new barbarian conquerors. Their chiefs, whether Franks, Germans, Goths or Lombards, divided up the conquered land and gave it as a reward to their warriors who had served well or fought well in the war. For this reason, this salary was called *beneficium*, benefit, advantage or profit. But [because of] the spirit of community maintained by the Church, this was not the appropriation of land, and these benefits, being in principle always removable, thus left the soil of Christendom and all that it bore in... community. Later, it is true, the holders of these benefices came to own them.

make them life annuities. The principle of community had not yet been completely broken. [Fortunately] they went further and ended up making them hereditary. However, this was not without a struggle, and it took centuries. In fact, the heredity of benefices, which began to be introduced into France as early as 587 by the Treaty of Andelot, was so far from being established that it was not even completely established.

three centuries later, in 877, when the Edict of Kiersy sur Oise extended it to the government of the provinces of the Carolingian Empire. It did not spread to the rest of Europe until much later. It was not brought to Italy by Emperor Conrad II until around 1030. The benefices then took the name of fiefs, first mentioned in a charter of Charles the Fat in 884. However, the definitive appropriation of land had not yet been achieved. In addition to perpetual fiefs, there were For a long time, these were still temporary fiefs and others were simply life fiefs. The name of benefice was always applied to land or income allocated to ecclesiastical services, and these benefices continued until 1789. All the functions, at first elective and life-long, only became with the heredity of the crown itself under the Capets. Feudalism, whose power It was not until the accession of Hugues Capet in 987 that the feudal community finally triumphed. The feudal community only came into being after ten centuries of social community. But this was also the beginning of the struggle between royal power and feudalism.

According to the law we have already mentioned, full ownership implies full sovereignty, and vice versa. As the owner of the land, each feudal lord also became the owner of civil, military and judicial power. Sovereign in his domains, he governed, administered, ordered and distributed taxes, dispensed justice, raised and commanded armies - in short, exercised all the prerogatives of sovereignty. Hugues Capet and his successors were only really kings in their own domains. Like all other countries, France was no more than a large fiefdom, a sort of confederation of lords bound by a hierarchy of reciprocal duties and rights that constituted the suzerain lords and the vassals or feudatories. No doubt the The number of fiefs, their nature and their mutual dependence varied infinitely. But since the essence of the fief always lay in indivision and inalienability, at least within certain limits, it was still a kind of community, and the federation of these particular communities formed the general community.

The royal power, representing and personifying the unity of these diverse communities, tended to naturally to bring them back to him and merge them into a vast national community. This was his work. Louis VI began it, and it became widespread through the emancipation of the communes. Philip Augustus, Saint Louis and Philip the Fair continued and extended this work, bringing into the royal domain a large number of "communes". of fiefdoms. Their successors, even more powerful, made it prevail. Finally, Louis XI and later Richelieu dealt feudalism its final blows.

The general community absorbed all the particular communities into itself, the sovereignty of everything passed into the hands of the monarchy, and the ownership of everything passed into it, by virtue of this fundamental law that we are constantly observing. Everywhere the monarchy proclaims and applies this doctrine.

At the beginning of the 14th century, Marsilio of Padua and John of Jandun supported the proposition that "all temporal goods are subject to the emperor, and that he can take them as his own". At the end of the same century, in England, Richard II proclaimed himself "master of the property of his subjects". In his treatise on the Franc-Alleu, Galland dogmatically established: "That the king is the universal lord of all the lands in his kingdom". The principle that the sovereign has the direct universal domain of all property was laid down in the Marillac Code under Louis XIII in 1629. Louis XIV formulated it with more energy in an edict of August 1692. It was so much in keeping with political tradition that the Sorbonne, when consulted about a tax by the king, replied: "that the property of his subjects was his own". In his instructions to the dauphin, Louis XIV himself set out this theory of property in these terms:

"Everything within our States, whatever its nature, belongs to us in the same way. You must be well persuaded that kings are absolute lords and naturally have the to have full and free disposal of all goods owned, whether by members of the Church or by seculars, to use them in all things as wise stewards".

Three years later a book was published under the title: Testament politique de M. de Louvois. It reads as follows: "All your subjects, whoever they may be, owe you their person, their property, their blood, without having the right to claim anything. By sacrificing everything they have to you, they are doing their duty and giving you nothing, since everything is yours. This theory [of Mosaic origin] was reproduced in the eighteenth century by M. de Paulmy.

Thus it is the sovereign, it is the State, that is the absolute master of everything, men and things, the supreme owner of all property; "everything within the territory, of whatever nature, belongs to him in the same way, everything is his. He is the absolute lord, and naturally has full and free disposal of all possessed goods". Now that the people had become this sovereign, this Louis XIV, everything belonged to him, and therefore everything belonged to everyone. This is what the Revolution proclaimed, repeating in its turn, "I am the State", and simply applying the very theories of Louis XIV for the benefit of all citizens.

Man," says Mirabeau, "cannot have an exclusive right to any object in nature; for what belongs equally to all does not really belong to anyone. There is no part of the soil, no spontaneous production of the earth that one man has been able to appropriate to the exclusion of another... The land on which he has deployed his industry returns to the general domain, and once again becomes common to all men. This is what the true principles of things teach us..."

On 22 April 1793, Boissel shouted from the rostrum of the Jacobins: "The rights of citizens consist in the enjoyment and usufruct of the goods of the earth, our common mother".

Finally, on 21 Floréal Year V, seventeen thousand men rose up in Paris to support the realisation of the doctrines summarised in the Manifesto of the Equals: "The agrarian law or division of the countryside was the instant wish of a few unprincipled soldiers, of a few peoples driven by instinct rather than reason. We are tending towards something more sublime and more equitable: the common good or the community of goods. No more individual ownership of land; land belongs to no one. We want communal enjoyment of the fruits of the earth: the fruits belong to everyone."

This is the final word in the immense social evolution that took nineteen centuries to pass into the hands of everyone this sovereignty, the right of all to everything, necessarily implying community. Now, the sovereignty of all, proclaimed today in a large part of Europe and the whole world, has as its strict consequence the universal community of goods, of which it is only the principle and the source.

Community in the modern age

From the first day of the Christian era to this very hour, humanity... has been constantly moving towards a single goal to which everything converges, and that goal is the complete and definitive realisation of the universal community.

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, it worked actively towards its realisation, partially achieved it, and, prematurely believing that the time had come, it rose up at the end of this period with Anabaptism, stirred up almost the whole of Europe, and, after fifteen years of struggle, recognised that the material force to be found in the world was not enough. to which it has claimed its triumph is not the true path to its final fulfilment; and while it has left useful foundations that have been perpetuated to the present day, it is resuming its work through the

peaceful ways. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, it moved from ideas to facts, from sects to the public mind, from parties to society as a whole, becoming more precise as it became more widespread, developing right up to their very origins.

It was at the heart of the English revolution of 1648, inspired and crowned that of 1789 in France, and is today the only question of the entire world. The nineteenth century

The end of the twentieth century was to bring about its definitive realisation. Forgetting liberty in order to absorb everything into unity, ignoring the Church in order to expect everything from the State, it was cured of this vice by the scaffold of 24 February 1797, which, by guillotining Babeuf, decapitated this error and thereby made it inevitable.

the universal advent of community.

From the outset, the modern era has had two faces, responding to the two terms of the problem posed by the pre-Christian world. Until then, the priesthood and the empire had been confused and united in the same hands; the Caesars were both emperors and sovereign pontiffs religion and the city, the cult and the State, the gods and the fatherland were one and the same thing; religious law was at the same time civil and political law... in a word, there was only one society, one undivided community, whether it remained more specifically religious, as in the East, in India and Persia, or whether it was more specifically political, as in the West, in Greece and Rome... From its very beginnings, religion and the city were one and the same thing.

On the contrary, by its very appearance, Christianity established two perfectly distinct orders, spiritual power and temporal power, the Church and the State, the priesthood and the empire, ["Do you think that I have appeared to establish peace on earth? No, I tell you, but division. Luke 12:51]

Now, these two powers, these two orders so profoundly distinct, although coexisting simultaneously and even connecting at all points, represent precisely the two terms of the problem of the universal community. The State, on the other hand, the expression of the social action of all, operates, not individually and freely on each individual, but collectively and obligatorily on all: it is the temporal power organised to create, dispose of and coordinate all the material conditions, without which the universal community is impossible, since all individual attempts cannot result only in the formation of particular bodies, and not in the common organisation of society as a whole.

We have already seen the work of the Church. Not content with embracing the whole human race... this [international] community constantly teaches it, by practical example even more than by words, absolute community. Through the slow but uninterrupted work of nearly two thousand years, it has brought the spirit, the tradition, the tendencies and all the aspirations to the very heart of humanity, to the very bowels of civil society. It has enveloped that society on all sides in a

a vast network of institutions which, in the most diverse forms, are already preparing and partially realising the community. See :

In its monasteries, under the name of lay brothers and lay sisters, it has lay people of both sexes, subject to the regime of community;

It had monastic communities made up entirely of lay people, such as the Brothers of the Common Life, who spread throughout the Netherlands, France and Germany, and the Poor Volunteers, who spread throughout Germany and France, worked in various trades, were tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., served the sick, buried the dead, got up at night to pray and owned nothing;

It attached to the monastic communities an immense multitude of lay people, in the third orders of Francis, Dominic, Augustine and a host of others;

It has countless congregations of simple faithful;

It had its secular teaching, school, university, scientific, literary, artistic and other communities;

In the Middle Ages and since, it has covered the soil of France and the whole of Christendom with agricultural associations or compaigns living in community of goods, food, work and life, which we will discuss later;

It had and still has, in part, its countless confraternities or lay communities, dating back to its cradle and continuing uninterrupted to the present day. They can be found in Constantinople as early as 336 AD and were mentioned by Theodosius and Justinian. That of the Paradolani, founded at the beginning of the 5th century, is the most famous.

century, is mentioned in the Theodosian Code. From early on, Gaul and Ireland had a large number of Confraternities, Conferences and Collects, as can be seen from the fifteenth canon of Nantes, held around 659. In the second half of the 8th century they were called Gildoniae, Gilda and they were approved by the capitularies of Charlemagne. Later, they embraced all professions, all useful works, merchants, craftsmen, pontiffs or pontists building bridges, others establishing roads, others architects, masons, building

the buildings, town halls, hospices, church builders whose inspired genius created these... basilicas, these cathedrals... which have been called "epic poems in stone". These are free communities, which the government then transformed into the guilds of tradesmen, merchants and craftsmen that Louis Blanc so magnificently praised.

As we can see, the secular world, civil and temporal society, was and still is penetrated, hemmed in, enveloped entirely in the narrow meshes of this immense network which links it to the [international] community, preparing the way for its realisation within it. At the same time as Christianity was being born, there appeared an even deeper and more universal invasion [than that of the Germanic peoples, and] whose action continued into modern times. It was all those Gnostic, Manichean, Pelagian, Waldensian, Albigensian and other sects who, bringing to the new world the Eastern, Pythagorean and Platonic tradition of the community of goods, gradually infiltrated minds, customs, institutions and practices, and through eighteen centuries of incessant work, made it the obligatory principle and goal of all modern society. Let's recall just the main ones.

Community in the first five centuries of the Christian era

Christianity was still in its infancy, and the Apostles had barely begun to evangelise the whole of Europe. It was no longer just free community, as in the Church, but compulsory community, as in the State. It was Gnosticism that first preached it, renewing the Platonic theory. Simon, called "the great virtue of God

"He founded the first of these sects, which continued until the beginning of the fifth century. After the Simonians and Nicolaitans, of whom John speaks in his Apocalypse, Carpocrates established another sect of Gnostics in the second century, called Carpocratians by his name, who pursued the same goal and proclaimed the sharing of all goods.

In his book entitled *On Justice*, Epiphanius, son of Carpocrates, defines the justice of God as a community with equality, and teaches that nature itself, like the divine law, wants community in all things, community of land, goods and life, and that human laws are a means to this end, by inverting the legitimate order through the institution of property, produced sin through their opposition to the powerful instincts that God has deposited deep within souls. The Carpocratians perpetuated themselves

for a long time, mainly in Egypt and on the island of Samos. A Gnostic inscription was found in Cyrenaica, which reads: "The community of all goods is the source of divine justice".

The Apotactics, whose name means "renouncers", also appeared in the second century. They were so called because they renounced all property, declared this renunciation to be absolutely compulsory and considered anyone who possessed anything to be reprobate. They were also called Apostolic, because they imitated the example of the Apostles and the first faithful, and imposed this imitation on all Christians. They spread throughout Cilicia and Pamphylia. For a long time at least, they seem to have been considered orthodox Catholics, and had virgins and martyrs under the persecution of Diocletian in the fourth century. However, they later shared the doctrines of the Encratites, a sect which arose around the year 151 and whose leader was Tatian, a disciple of Justin...

In the third and subsequent centuries, the philosophical schools, the Neopythagoreans and Neoplatonists, Plotinus, Porphyry and Jamblicus, also pursued with great zeal the establishment of a republic organised on the principle of the community of goods and following the model laid down by Plato. Plotinus urgently sought permission from the Emperor Gallian, who honoured him with a special favour, to establish a community in a ruined town in Campania.

The third century also saw the emergence of a considerable sect which, in various forms, has continued almost to the present day and which also aimed to achieve the community of goods. Manichaeism, which took its name from Manès, who was born in 240 and flayed alive in 282. He proclaimed this principle: "Everything belongs to everyone. Property, which comes from the Spirit of Evil, must be abolished. There must be neither poor nor rich; no one has the right to own a field, a house, or money, nec domos, nec

agros, nec pecuniam ullam possidendam. We must destroy all hierarchies of rank, abolish all distinctions between princes and subjects, magistrates and subordinates; for all this is founded and instituted by the principle of evil...". First appearing in Persia, the Manichaeans spread throughout Mesopotamia, India, China and the whole of the East, penetrating Egypt and Africa, where they counted Augustine among their many followers. They spread to Spain in the fourth century, to Italy in the tenth, to France, mainly in Languedoc and Provence, to Germany and England in the eleventh, and finally to the whole of Europe. For more than two hundred years, from 285 to 491, they were subject to the most severe laws,

Persecuted, banished, robbed and put to death, they continued to multiply. In 841, the empress Theodora had over a hundred thousand of them tortured to death and others searched for them. They swung over

They fought against them, built strongholds and, defeated in a major battle towards the end of the 9th century, retreated to Bulgaria and Lombardy. In 1022, Robert II, King of France, condemned to the flames a crowd of people who had taken to the streets.

rushed into the flames with great joy. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were counted in their millions, and merged with the innumerable sects we shall soon be talking about, known as the Bulgarians, Albanians, Cathars, Begards, Patarins, Brabançons, Cottereaux and Albigensians, Henricians, Petrobrussians, Popicans, etc. They were the first seeds of the Wiclefites in England and the Hussites in Germany, and survived long after them. Be that as it may, public and certain action always embraces more than their thousand consecutive years.

Alongside them, in the fourth century, we find the Eustachians, who proclaim that one cannot save oneself without completely renouncing all kinds of property, and make this renunciation a rigorous duty, and

leave all their possessions as incompatible with the hope of salvation. At the end of the fifth century, in Persia, under the reign of Kobad, father of Chosrou or Chosroës, Mazdec taught that there should be no property in the world.

that God is the sole owner of everything, that he created the universe so that everything would be held in common by all the children of Adam, and that everyone has the same right to it; that it is not permitted to say: 'This is mine'; that no one has any right whatsoever to possess anything; that it is not permitted for one person to have more property than another; that everything must be held in common. All things," he said, "both

Whether animate or inanimate, belonging to God, it is impious for a man to want to appropriate what belongs to his Creator and what, in this capacity, must remain for the use of all". These doctrines had won over an innumerable number of followers, and the king himself, Kobad, converted to them; but he was then overthrown from the throne, on which his brother was raised, and Mazdec, banished like him, perished in torments with his main adherents, a few years later, during the reign and by the orders of Chosrou.

During this first period, which we have just briefly summarised, the community established its tradition, which it drew on three main sources. Firstly, it was inspired by the example of the primitive The Church of Jerusalem, of which the Apostolics or Apotactics and the Eustachians represent the absolute community as rigorously obligatory for all. It then continues and renews in all forms, assimilating the communist doctrine of the East and Asia that the Manichean, Gnostic and Carpocratic sects propagate and popularise on all sides. Finally, through Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblicus and the philosophical schools of the Neopythagoreans and Neoplatonists, it took up the community of Pythagoras and Plato and gave it new life by transforming it. Summing up all the great earlier currents of humanity, all the tradition of Eastern and Western antiquity, it fertilised them with the breath of the Christian spirit, and from the 5th century onwards, the principle of community was proclaimed, not only in the name of tradition, but also in the name of reason and freedom. This was the work of Pelagianism.

Pelagians

As is almost always the case, it was a monk who took the initiative. Pelagius, from the convent of Bangor in Wales (Great Britain), came to Rome in 405 and, basing himself on the Gospel, fought against inequality, preached equality and the community of goods, and gathered together a very large number of disciples in Italy, France and Italy.

Sicily, Africa, Gaul, England and the East. Together with Celestius, another Scottish monk, Rullin and a host of others, he organised a vast propaganda campaign using apostles who travelled throughout Europe, Africa and Asia, founding a model community at its centre. He travelled to Africa

in 409, then to the East. Prosecuted, he was absolved by a council of fourteen bishops, held in Lydda or Diospolis in Palestine. Pope Zozimus even wrote in his favour to the bishops of Africa, but then, in agreement with the council assembled at Carthage in 418 and others, he proscribed his doctrines on grace and original sin, but in no way those on community. Eighteen Italian bishops refused to subscribe to this decree, and one of them, Julian, bishop of Eclane, now Avellino, in Campania, wrote several works in defence of Pelagianism. The emperors Honorius and Theodosius condemned Pelagius and Celestius to exile, and their followers to confiscation of their property.

Nevertheless, the Pelagians continued to exert immense influence, driving people into the deserts and founding many communities there. According to them, renouncing all property is a law of salvation, wealth is a sin, a rich man cannot enter the kingdom of God unless he renounces all his possessions, and he is unworthy of being placed among the righteous as long as he keeps them, even though he would otherwise comply with all the precepts of religion. Augustine sums up their doctrine on this subject: "Rich people can only be baptised after renouncing all kinds of property. They are excluded from the kingdom of God. Moreover, the Pelagians themselves summed up their principles of the community of goods in a book entitled *On Wealth*, attributed to Pope Sixtus III, quoted in the *Great Library of the Fathers*.

Albigensian, Waldensian, Apostolic, Bonaventure.

Before going any further, let us first note a crucial fact. There are two perfectly distinct phases in the development of community in the modern era. From the birth of Christianity to the thirteenth century, it mainly took a religious and dogmatic form; mixed with theological and moral doctrines, most often rejected by the Church, it remained at the level of a sect, a party, without having any general effect on populations alien to school discussions. On the contrary, from the thirteenth century to the present day, it has increasingly become a social and political movement that stirs up and enthalls the masses, as can already be seen in the history of the Albigensians, the Waldensians, the Apostolics, the Lollards, the Hussites, the Jacquerie and the Anabaptists. The action of the sects was undoubtedly mixed up and confused for a long time to come, but the action of the people became more and more predominant and the theological aspect was erased more and more until it disappeared completely, only to be replaced by the theological aspect. the social question.

Having established this fact, let us resume the succinct summary of this great incessant work. We shall not speak of the Islamism founded in the sixth century by Mohammed, but confine ourselves to pointing out, in passing, that in all Muslim countries individual property is hardly more than the exception, and common possession,

the general fact. In Christianity, from the fifth to the eleventh century, it was above all the free community that was built up by the Church and the monastic orders, as we have shown in chapters VII to XI of the first part. Nevertheless, during this period, the community

It is difficult to follow its various ramifications because it is shrouded in mystery. Although it is difficult to follow its various ramifications because of the mystery with which it is shrouded, we can at least see its tradition being perpetuated without interruption in the Manichaean sects, which gave rise to most of those we are going to talk about, and whose adherents King Robert had burnt in 1022. But far from stopping the irresistible aspiration of the human race, these torments gave it a new impetus. In fact, from the beginning of the eleventh century to the fourteenth, the idea of community exploded throughout Christendom, not just as a simple tradition, a Christian tendency or a fundamental fact of reason and freedom, but as an obligatory application of the law.

Catholic dogma, as a revelation of the Spirit of God and the supreme goal of human philosophy. Historians grow weary of counting the numberless sects that appear at the same time. often mingling and merging, multiplying endlessly, perpetuating themselves through all kinds of They mark the point at which this immense movement went from being dogmatic and religious to social and political.

So as not to tire our readers, we won't talk about Fratricelles, Frérots, Spirituels or Croyants, Apostles, Begards, Picards, Lombards, Transmontans, Turlupins, and so many others who, under a thousand different names, concluded that the community was often the most absolute.

Let's just say a few words about the Albigensians, who are more directly related to the Manichaeans and by them go back as far as the third century. There were six million of them in France alone, and in the south of the country they formed the majority of the population. It was a formidable protest against property ownership.

Their doctrines tended towards communism. In his *Histoire des Cathares ou Albigeois*, M. Schmidt shows that they "considered the love, or rather the possession, of earthly goods as a mortal sin, and therefore strictly forbidden. These goods, they said, were the rust of the soul and distracted the eyes from the higher destination; from this naturally followed the law of absolute poverty, imposed on the members of the sect", and the community. They claimed," says one of the most violent opponents of communism, "that all things should be equal and common to all. They were not so much a particular sect as an innumerable crowd of sects confounded under this general domination. So they were still called Cathars, i.e. pure, Bons-Hommes, because of their simple, regular and peaceful exterior, Pifres, Patarins, Publicains or Popicains, Passagers, or the names of their various leaders, Petrobrussians, Henricians, Arnaudists, Esperonians, etc. They withstood eighteen years of war, sixty years of missions, inquisition, atrocious massacres, nameless tortures, crusades and incredible efforts throughout Christendom; and when they were supposed to have been wiped out by being burnt alive in multitudes, they spread from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, and the substance of their doctrines was secretly brought back from Syria by the famous order of the Templars, and was then transmitted to Freemasonry, from which emerged the

communism today. Bernard of Clairvaux, who preached against them in 1147, gave them this back testimony: "Their morals are blameless; they oppress no one, they wrong no one; their faces are mortified and downcast by fasting; they do not eat their bread like lazy, and they work for a living".

Almost at the same time, an even more directly communist sect arose, which caused a stir in France and Italy, especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which has continued to this day. These were the Vaudois, whose origins Basnage traces back to Claude of Turin in 823, others to Pierre Valdo, a merchant from Lyon, who preached around 1173, and some to another Valdo, who predated the one from Lyon by more than a century. Whatever the case, their founder, convinced that renunciation of all property was essential to salvation, distributed all his possessions, embraced evangelical poverty and preached this doctrine, calling on all men to achieve the community of goods. According to him," says Ernest Merson, "Christians being brothers, earthly possessions should be held in common, so that everyone could enjoy them equally". He soon had countless disciples, and this The sect made rapid progress, especially among the common people. They lived in poverty and walked barefoot or in sandals; so they were first called Pauvres de Lyon, Léonistes, Insabatès or Ensabotés, and Runcaires because they slept in hedges and under bushes. All authors celebrate the Reynier himself, who as Inquisitor led the most relentless prosecutions against them, does justice to the sanctity of their lives. There were some differences between them, particularly between those from Italy and those from France. The latter, in particular, did not want to possess anything at all and considered all possession of temporal goods to be illegitimate. According to historians, their aim was the complete realisation of evangelical equality in a society without nobles or the rich.

In his *Histoire de Lyon*, Claude Rubis shows that they wanted community of property. Bossuet adds: "their doctrines concluded that everything should be held in common". The Gospel, they said, forbids war, the death penalty, levies and even the pursuit of reparation for a wrong. We must that all, priests and laymen alike, imitate the Apostles and the first faithful living in community, that like them they possess nothing of their own and earn their living by work. They pushed the rigour of these principles that they claimed that priests and ministers of the Church who do not embrace this abdication of all property are no longer true disciples of Jesus Christ and no longer have the right to be called priests.

They added that any layman practising this voluntary renunciation had a more real and legitimate power than these priests to fulfil these functions and to preach the Gospel. In 1207, a number of Waldensians, who had returned to the Church, founded the Order of Poor Catholics, which in 1256 joined the

Augustine's hermits. The others continued from the 12th to the 16th century in the valleys of Dauphiné and Piedmont, and spread to several parts of Europe, notably Bohemia and Calabria. In 1536, some of them joined the Calvinists. They were exterminated,

as had been done three centuries earlier against the Albigensians; four thousand were massacred in one fell swoop and their villages reduced to ashes.

The twelfth century also saw the appearance of the Apostolic sect, which, using their own name, renewed the doctrine of the Apotactics of the second century and, like them, proclaimed the negation of property, considering anyone who possessed anything to be reprobate. Their leader was called Pontius. They were cracked down on and burned, but their numbers became so great that armies had to be raised to wipe them out in France.

Another branch of the Apostolics, who also proscribed all forms of property ownership and made a great stir in the thirteenth century, was founded in 1246 by Gérard Ségarelle, who was born in Parma and burnt alive in that city in 1300. On his death, his disciple Dulcin or Doucin, born in Novara, became the leader of these Apostolics, who took from him the name of Dulcinists. They strongly proclaimed that everything should be common among Christians and that those who refused could be forced to do so. They became so powerful that in 1290 they preached
They in turn raised an army, and the result was a war that lasted more than two years, with much bloodshed on both sides.

The Church, for its part, had been working since its first day to build temporal society on this community, free from all error. Its saints, its monks, its most famous doctors, in were relentless in their pursuit of this goal. In the 13th century, for example, Bonaventure published a number of works with this aim. In one, entitled *Apologie des pauvres*, he deals with the question of particularly from the point of view of religious orders; but in another entitled *De la Pauvreté du Christ* against Guillaume de Saint-Amour, he lays down the principles in a general way, applying them to all men of whom Christ, he says, is the divine model. From this point of view, as from the first, he denies all property, whether collective or individual, as being "the source and root of all evils".

Lollards, Wiclefites, Jacquerie, Hussites, Bohemian Brethren, etc.

After thirteen centuries of incessant effort, the Christian world had at last laid down [its own] formula of the civil community, [as opposed to the racial and therefore organic nature of the polis]... The latter was confined to the limits of a state or a small republic; that embraced within its bosom the whole of humankind...

the whole human race. The [pre-Christian white] conception excluded slaves and often other classes... the Christian conception calls into it, without distinction of rank, all men who have become equal and brothers...

Bonaventure clearly established this formula of the civil community, just as Francis of Assisi had completely established that of the religious community... This formula gradually penetrated the heart, the soul and spirit of the people. From this day on, it will no longer be just sectarians, parties that it is the mass, society itself, which is shaking, and which, through uninterrupted work over six centuries, is preparing all the elements, all the conditions necessary for the universal realisation of this community.

The first of these movements was the Lollards, named after Walter Lollard, born in England towards the end of the 13th century, who dogmatised in Germany in 1315 and was burnt in Cologne in 1322. They spread throughout Germany, mainly to Austria and Bohemia, They penetrated Flanders and England, and later joined forces with the Wiclefites on the one hand and prepared the way for the Hussites on the other. There were eighty thousand of them in Germany alone, where, according to one Catholic author, they were burnt to the ground, which only increased their numbers. According to the Vaudois, Lollard drew his doctrines from them; according to others, the Lollards were linked to the Fratricelles or Bégards: all these sects professed community.

It was above all in England that, united with the Wiclefites, they stirred up the working classes and almost toppled the property-owning society of the time from top to bottom. Born in 1324, two years after Walter Lollard's execution, and dying in 1385, Wiclef, principal of Canterbury College and benefactor of the parish of

Lutterworth shared the doctrines of Marsilio of Padua and John Jandun, who, as we have seen, concluded that community should be achieved exclusively through the State. One of his propositions was that "God cannot give a man, for himself and his heirs, a civil estate in perpetuity". Mr Sudre himself admits that his views bear a striking resemblance to those of the Albigensians, Waldenses and Lollards. His disciple John Bail, priest of Maidstone, Wat Tyler and a host of others, preached equality and the abolition of all hierarchies. At their voice, the entire people rose up, the peasants swept into London, where two hundred thousand Lollards and Wiclefites entered victorious on 13 June 1381, forcing the king to capitulate. But this vast uprising, whose dramatic picture has been described by Walsingham, Knygton and Froissart, was suppressed by ordinary means: Wat Tyler was murdered in an interview, the amnesty was violated, the entire population was handed over to be tortured, and people were taken to across England to rob the tortured of the honours of a clandestine burial.

This communist movement had long since broken out in France, with extreme violence, and was revealed there principally by the famous Jacquerie (1358) where the people, personified under the name of Jacques Bonhomme, attempted a revolution against property by armed force which was merely the prelude to others even more serious and more general. It was stopped by iron and fire; and the Jacques, pursued to excess, had their throats slit everywhere. The slaughter," says Frédéric Morin, "was so widespread that agriculture ran out of hands.

Momentarily suppressed in France and England, the movement continued in Belgium, France and Germany. Germany and everywhere else. In the first half of the 14th century, especially in Brussels, the Brothers of the Free Spirit appeared, which in the following century gave rise to the Men of Intelligence, continued in 1411 and perpetuated until the middle of the 18th century, as attested by Father Heylen, historian of the Kempen. In Germany, this movement, which was more involved in religious issues, was They were famous for their victories, feared by the most powerful princes, had entire kingdoms at their disposal and waged a thirty-year war against a hundred thousand crusaders. Their first leaders, John Huss, a disciple of Wiclef and author of the book *On the Reign of the People*, and Jerome of Prague, were burnt alive at the Council of Constance in 1415 and 1416, and their carefully collected ashes were thrown into the Rhine. Unable to defeat the The Hussites were lured into barns and burnt in the middle of the night (1434). In 1457, the remnants of the Hussites, united under the name of the Brothers of Unity or Bohemian Brothers, established themselves in Bohemia as an absolute community of goods, work, food and life, under the direction of the parish priest Michel. Bradacz, and maintained their religious beliefs there until 1621: they were also called Picards and Vaudois. In the eighteenth century, the Moravian Brethren emerged and their community has continued to this day.

Anabaptism

After fifteen centuries of preparation, the doctrine of the community of goods, formulated by one cardinal and sanctioned by another, had already penetrated people's minds so widely and so deeply that it attempted to be put into practice immediately in part of Europe. This vast movement at once invaded the whole of Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, then spread to Poland, England, the rest of the world and later as far as America, triumphed for a long time on a host of points, and driven back by brute force, pursued with the death penalty, despite the atrocious tortures inflicted on its leaders, did not cease to perpetuate itself for three and a half centuries, and to this day still has innumerable supporters in Germany, the United States, Holland, Alsace and elsewhere. This is what has come to be known as Anabaptism.

From beginning to end, he preached absolute community. His symbol in this respect perfectly explicit. The third article of his profession of faith, drawn up at Zollicorne in 1525, reads: "Any sect where the community of goods is not established between the faithful is an assembly. imperfect, who have strayed from the law of charity which is the soul of Christianity". His second profession of faith, formulated in 1529, says the same thing; and the third, drawn up in 1530, which can be regarded as the "first profession of faith", says the same thing. as its definitive symbol, expresses itself as follows in its second article: "Any society that does not hold its goods in common is an unholy society and unworthy of the name of Christian". Anabaptism began by proclaiming the sovereignty of all, from which necessarily follows the right of all to everything, a formula that was even used in the Anabaptist movement.

of the absolute community. God's elect," said Nicolas Storck, "who have become as many kings on earth, will constitute the empire to which heaven promises the sovereignty of the universe. He immediately drew the communist conclusion; and Thomas Münzer, addressing the assembled people, exclaimed: "We

We are all brothers and we have only one common father in Adam. What is the origin of this difference in rank and property that tyranny has introduced between us and the great of the world? Why

Why should we groan in poverty, why should we be burdened with work while they swim in delights? Are we not entitled to the equality of goods, which by their very nature are made to be shared? shared, without distinction, between all men? The earth is a common heritage, in which we have a share that is taken from us. When did we give up our share of our father's inheritance? Let them show us the contract we have signed! Give us back, you rich of the world, you greedy usurpers, the goods you so unjustly withhold from us! It is not only as men that we are entitled to an equal distribution of the benefits of wealth, it is also as Christians. At the birth of religion, did we not see the Apostles taking into account only the needs of each believer, in the distribution of the goods brought to their feet? Will we never see those happy times again! And you, the unfortunate flock of Jesus Christ, will you always groan under oppression?

That's what the Anabaptists kept saying. Their origins have been traced back to the Bohemian Hussites as early as 1503. What is certain is that they were already numerous in 1521. Banished from Wittemberg in 1522, they triumphed the following year at Alstedt, in Thuringia, where Münzer, from the pulpit, exclaimed: "The Almighty expects all peoples to share their goods in common. Yes, my brothers, to have nothing of one's own is the spirit of primitive Christianity". This community became a reality Soon, not only in Alstedt, but also in Mulhausen, the imperial town and capital of Thuringia, where Münzer, the supreme dispenser of common property (1524), prepared to start a propaganda war. In response to his voice and that of Phiffer, Stork, Metzler and a thousand others, the peasants of Thuringia, Swabia and Franconia rose up and formed two armies, one of ten thousand and the other of forty thousand men. All the powers combined their forces against them, and the Anabaptists were defeated in several encounters, notably on 15 May 1525 at Frankenhausen, where seven and a half thousand of their number remained on the battlefield and most of the others were taken prisoner. Münzer was tortured, beheaded and his head stuck on a spike in the middle of the countryside. Phiffer also suffered the ultimate torture. The Anabaptists nevertheless continued their war, not only in Swabia, Thuringia and Franconia, but also on the banks of the Rhine, in Alsace and Lorraine, and their main army, commanded by Gœtz of Berlichingen, put up stubborn resistance for two years, from 1525 to 1527. It is estimated that over a hundred thousand people perished in this terrible "peasant war".

Despite their successive defeats, despite the death penalty imposed on them and renewed by the Diet of Speyer in 1529, the Anabaptists, far from disappearing, only spread further. They spread to Switzerland, Germany and Poland. In this first country, where they had penetrated as early as 1523, two years later they drew up the Zolicon profession of faith, which states in principle that

magistrates are useless in a society of true believers, and that it is not permitted for a Christian to become a magistrate; that the only punishments to be employed in Christianity are those of excommunication; that Christians are not allowed to stand trial, take an oath in court, or take part in military service". They made rapid progress, but after various struggles, edicts ordered them to be drowned, they were put to death, and the waters of the Rhine, the lakes and the torrents of Switzerland swallowed whole bands of these unfortunate people (1528-1529).

Proscribed from Switzerland, expelled from Strasbourg, punished everywhere with the death penalty, the Anabaptists were not put down and spread throughout Lower Germany, particularly in Westphalia, Friesland, Silesia, Bohemia, the Netherlands, the neighbouring provinces, the banks of the Rhine and Poland. They continued to make immense progress in Germany. One of their most ardent apostles, Melchior

Hoffmann, nicknamed Elijah, gathered a large number of proselytes in Friesland and was imprisoned when he tried again to establish the community in Strasbourg. Another, even more popular, John Mathias, nicknamed Enoch, went to Amsterdam where he exerted considerable influence, chose twelve apostles who went to evangelise everywhere, and played a major role in the publication of a famous book which became the religious, social and political manifesto of the Anabaptists. In this book, entitled *On the Restoration*, they proclaimed the ancient and universal tradition of the millennia and recalled that before the day of the last judgement there would be a temporal reign of Jesus Christ on earth, which would embrace all the states of the old and new worlds in a single republic made up entirely of true Christians,

living in absolute community of goods, possessing nothing of their own, and thus applying Christianity in its primitive purity. In this universal community, whose regenerated members will be raised to a higher degree of perfection and holiness, magistrates will be created and deposed.

by the people. There will reign perfect equality and common happiness; there, no more dominators, no more princes, no more great ones, no more taxes, tithes, or corvée, no more armies, prisons, judges... no more crimes, no more trials. It was this reign of Christ that the Anabaptists had come to prepare, this new Jerusalem that they had come to inaugurate.

After several attempts, supported by the masses of the people, they took control of Munster, the capital of Westphalia, on the first Friday of Lent in 1534, and established the community there. property. Everyone gave everything they had, gold, silver, jewels, furniture and possessions of all kinds; everything was pooled together; housing was shared out...

At the end of December 1534, Jean de Leyde [, leader of the Anabaptists in the city of Münster] sent from new, emissaries to proclaim everywhere the reign of God, the advent of the new Jerusalem and the universal community, to stir up Friesland, Holland and all the Rhine provinces, to create a diversion and unblock Munster. Various serious uprisings took place first in Leiden, near Bolswaert, in Groningen; but the skilful captain, Jean de Gelen, one of these emissaries, saw his first bands exterminated by the government of Friesland. He took refuge in Amsterdam where the Anabaptists, very

Many of them were constantly subjected to bloody executions, hanged, beheaded and drowned. 11 resolved to take the town, and with the support of Wesel and Deventer, two of the most important towns in the

On 10 May 1535, he took control of Holland for a short while, but when he was repulsed, he was shot with an arquebus and all his followers were killed or taken prisoner. Then all those who were convinced or accused of Anabaptism suffered atrocious, indescribable torments...

Münster, no longer hoping for any help, nonetheless rejected the overtures of the Landgrave of Hesse and the bishop's offers of capitulation, and suffered the worst of the famine.

terrible. But betrayed by an enemy soldier whom the Anabaptists had taken in, and who brought the Episcopal army within its walls, the town was taken on 25 June 1535 after a desperate t w o - h o u r struggle. The Anabaptists were butchered horribly. All the men who were not put to the sword were handed over to the executioner. The town was pillaged and ransacked; the women were handed over to the troops, but as they bravely defended their honour, they themselves were sent to the execution. Jean de

Leyden, seized alive, was carried with two Anabaptist leaders through the whole of Germany as a laughing stock. After being made a spectacle of in this way, he was taken back to Munster, tied to a post on a huge scaffold in the main square, and there, for more than an hour, the executioners, armed with

After these atrocious tortures, endured with rare fearlessness, they opened his entrails. This was on 22 January 1536. His companions also showed the greatest courage. Their bodies, enclosed in iron cages, were hung from the top of the tower of the

These bones remained there for the following centuries, in order to teach the world by what evangelical means ownership is maintained.

The Moravian Brethren, Mennonites, etc.

After fifteen years of struggle, successive defeats, and pursued by so many bloody executions and appalling tortures, Anabaptism, still standing, only merged into a host of different sects. The first was the Moravian Brethren, founded in 1527 by two disciples of Stork, Hutter and Gabriel Scherding, who took in Anabaptists banished from Germany, Switzerland and Poland. All the roads," says M. Sudre, "were covered with emigrants who, having sold their heritage, left their native soil to go and populate these fledgling colonies". The second article in their symbol I believe that all societies which do not share their goods in common should be considered impious, and that a Christian should possess nothing in particular". Indeed, the community of goods was put into practice in all its rigour. A bursar, changed every year, collected the income of each member. An archimandrite governed the community, both reporting to the supreme leader. Meals were taken in common and the food was the same for everyone. The settlers' clothes and the furniture in their homes were uniform, and children brought up in the same community were given the same food.

together. Agricultural work was combined with that of industry. The only punishments allowed were extraordinary work, public penance and "expulsion to the century", the greatest of all punishments. is to fall back under the owner regime.

This... society, known as "the Promised Land", which brought together up to seventy thousand men all living in community, enjoyed the greatest prosperity, despite persecution, exile and the death of Hutter, who was tortured by order of Ferdinand of Austria. Gabriel founded de numerous colonies in Silesia. This republic," says Bergier, "formed a society of excellent farmers, industrious, sober, peaceful and very regulated in their morals". Not all historians mention with the highest praise and the deepest admiration. We find them again a century later, in 1620; and the Moravians, their descendants, have continued to this day in various states of Germany and in several surrounding regions.

A second branch of Anabaptists, established in 1536 by a Catholic priest, Simon Menno, took the name of Mennonites from him and spread throughout Friesland, Westphalia, Gelderland, Holland and Brabant, England, where they were called Baptists, and sent colonies to the United States, where they still have seventy thousand members and more than two hundred churches. The Dumplers, a German sect descended from the Anabaptists, practise communion in a town in Pennsylvania, built by them and called Euphrates.

Other Anabaptists, widespread in England, played a part in the revolution of 1648, constituted the most radical portion of the republican party and pursued the establishment of the reign of Christ, absolute liberty and the complete transformation of society. They were called, in allusion to their prophetic hopes, the men of the Fifth Monarchy. They were led by Harrison, [the Jew] Hewson, Overton and many other officers of the parliamentary army, and their influence prevented Cromwell from taking the crown. Later persecuted, they continued in North America, Holland and even England, and gave rise to a large number of different sects, including the Quakers.

Boni, Guillaume Postel, etc., Campanella (Cité du Soleil)

Established by Anabaptism, repressed but not defeated, the community became more than ever the goal that humanity pursued with all its efforts. While the Jesuits were realising it in [the] Republic of the Paraguay, writers followed one another relentlessly to develop and propagate it everywhere.

doctrine. They saw it as the coming of the reign of God on earth, the holy republic of Christ. This is how Guillaume Postel, Isidore Isolani, Fialin, Bonjour and a thousand others saw it.

In 1552, seventeen years after the death of Thomas Morus, Doni published his book *Les mondes* celestial, terrestrial, etc. A madman, representing present-day society, finds himself in the presence of a wise man, an apostle of the community, who shows him that everything must be common to all. He draws up a plan of this community where everyone is perfectly free, "doing nothing other than what he wishes, each being equal in eating and dressing, and having as much in his house as the other", and each child being brought up according to the inclination of his mind".

Guillaume Postel, one of the most learned men of his century, professor of mathematics and oriental languages at the Collège de France from the time it was founded, devoted himself especially to the religious side of the question. His book *De orbis concordia* is a first and very remarkable attempt to synthesise all beliefs into a single one, Christianity, which contains them all, and to bring, in this way, the universal communion of souls produced by reason and philosophy, all institutions to a common and universal institution, uniting divine right and human right in the moral and social law of charity, the definitive goal of all the facts of history, of all the tendencies of civilisation, of all the efforts of humanity.

Around 1576, Jean Bodin, Montesquieu's precursor, wrote his book *De la République*, which M. Louis Reybaud places alongside Thomas Morus's *Livre d'or*, in the midst of the troubles of the League.

But one man above all continued the work of Bonaventure and the Chancellor of England. This man, whose glory filled the world, was received on 9 February 1635 by the King of France, Louis XIII, who, with his head uncovered, went to meet him, embraced him twice, gave him the most solemn welcome, saw him again and told him: "I am the King of France!

wrote several times. This man, in contact with the Grand Duke Ferdinand III and other princes, loved and protected by Cardinal Richelieu, linked with Peiresc, Gassendi, Galileo and the greatest celebrities of his time, admired by all the scholars, who was considered a prophet and whose works were approved by the Sorbonne, was... a monk... His name was Campanella. Born on 5 September 1568 at Stegnano, near Stilo, in Calabria, he revealed prodigious faculties from childhood. An admirer of Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great and Telesio, whose icy forehead he kissed in his coffin, he became a Dominican at the age of eighteen. Dreaming of a new era, he travelled all over Italy and one of the Medici, Ferdinand I, Duke of Tuscany, tried in vain to fix him in his States.

One day, at the head of three hundred monks, Augustinians, Dominicans and Cordeliers, he called on the people to the

freedom and attempted to free his homeland from the yoke of the Spanish. The year was 1599.

Surrendered by a traitor, chained to a galley, thrown into a dungeon, a "damp and foul pit", locked up successively in

Fifty prisons, subjected seven times to the most atrocious torture, the last of which lasted forty hours, tearing his body to shreds and breaking his bones, without being able to get a single syllable out of him, put on trial fifteen times, from the depths of his dungeon, he filled Europe with the noise of his name, and his works were read everywhere, in France, Italy, England and Germany. The popes kept asking for his freedom, and Urban VIII finally obtained it after five years of negotiations. Released on 45 May 1626 from the prison where he had spent twenty-seven years, he was called to Rome by the Sovereign Pontiff, who welcomed him most affectionately and showered him with protection. He remained there until October 1634, but was pursued by the

He lived, surrounded by admiration and respect, in the Dominican convent in the rue Saint Honoré, where he died on 21 May 1639.

Campanella believed he had been "sent by God to reform kingdoms and give new systems for the government of society". This vocation was real, but his system is nothing other than the eternal Catholic tradition of the community. He developed it in *The City of the Sun*, published around 1630 and part of one of his prodigious number of works. "It is a vision, a divination of the future state of humanity", says Cléophas Daresté.

The citizens of the City of the Sun "worship God in the Trinity. They say that God is the sovereign Power, from which proceeds the sovereign Science, which is also God, and that from both of them comes from Love, which is power and science together". Not only do they believe in God, from whom everything comes, in the immortality of souls and in the rewards and punishments of the other life, but they profess Christianity "which will one day reign over the whole world, when the abuses that corrupt it have disappeared, as the most illustrious theologians teach and hope". They see all events in history and in the world as providential means used by God "for the purpose of uniting all nations under one law" [...] The disturbance that exists in the world demonstrates to them the fall original. They know the close solidarity that binds not only the members of families and the They are therefore working to neutralise evil and extend good, by worshipping God, following religion and practising the precept of doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. "Praise and glory to God in all ages".

They see in the marvellous discoveries and inventions of modern times "the clear signs and instruments of the reunion of the whole world in the same fold", and they expect new prophets, the renewal of government, laws, the arts and the whole social order, the total renewal of the world and the complete and universal triumph of Christianity. They know "the mystical relations

between things on earth and things beyond our globe; and yet they believe in man's free will".

The community thus rests on five fundamental foundations: religion, morality, science, progress and freedom. All social functions are divided into three orders, an image of the Divine Trinity and a symbol of freedom.

manifestation of man's three faculties: feeling, intelligence and activity. These three orders, artists, scholars and manual workers, the expression of the beautiful, the true and the useful, that is to say of the moral, intellectual and physical life, are represented by three ministers, or triumvirs, named Love, Wisdom and Power, the three faces of the indivisible unity of the community, presided over by a leader called the "God".

Philosopher or Metaphysician. Under these triumvirs, all social functions were organised into divisions, decuries and centuries, and regulated in councils and public assemblies. "All magistrates may be changed by the will of the people". Election, competition and the order of merit determine any hierarchy. The principal chief is elected by all, and must be the most capable man in the community, possessing all the sciences to the most eminent degree; as soon as a more worthy man emerges, he is elected in his place. The triumvirs who assist him must have a thorough knowledge of the arts they direct, but at the same time be versed in philosophy, history and the physical sciences. "After the Metaphysician, who presides, like an architect, over all work, and who would be ashamed to know nothing of what it is given to man to be able to learn, after him, I say, Wisdom has under her command the heads of each branch of science"; Love directs education, and Power all the work of strength. As we can see, Campanella assigns the sciences, the humanities and the fine arts a predominant and, so to speak, exclusive role.

The city is divided up, oriented, scientifically organised, and all its monuments and walls feature representations and paintings of all the sciences, which children learn at play and with marvellous speed. "Everything is shared by all, but the distribution is regulated by the magistrates. The sciences and the pleasures of life are shared in such a way that no one is able to enjoy them. think of appropriating others to the detriment of their fellow citizens". They destroy the spirit of property, thus rendering selfishness purposeless, and all that remains is love of the community. "Everything they need is given to them by the community. Nothing necessary is denied to anyone. Friendship is made known by the services they render each other in sickness, in the study of science, where they help each other with their mutual enlightenment, care and praise, and by giving each other their necessities". They called themselves brothers.

Miscellaneous writings

It was not enough for Christianity to have founded and perpetuated the community to the ends of the other hemisphere [in Paraguay]; it had to universalise its application to the whole of temporal society. The further he progressed, the more he redoubled his efforts to achieve this goal, pursued relentlessly especially since Saint Bonaventure, and with which everyone associated, Catholics, Protestants and philosophers alike. We do not pretend to list here all the writings that were more or less directly aimed at this goal at the time, and we will simply cite the titles of a few of them.

James Harrington, an English publicist who was born in 1611 and died in 1677, published *L'Océana* in 1656, which M. Louis Reybaud, in his *Études sur les Réformateurs* (Studies on the Reformers), ranks first among the communist writings, after those of Thomas Morus and Campanella.

In his *Treatise on War and Peace*, published in 1625 and dedicated to Louis XIII, Grotius acknowledges that God established the community of goods, that this community of the earth would still exist if vices had not broken the bond of fraternal friendship, and that it always remains a right.

In his book *De Cive* (On the Citizen), Hobbes says: "There is no legitimate property; men are equal by nature; she has given everyone the right to everything; and inequality is the effect of wickedness. Who assigned ranks and properties to each individual? Why are some opulent, others mediocre or destitute? Why masters, servants and slaves? By the wickedness of men!

In his work on Civil Government, Locke exclaimed: "Fraud, bad faith, and avarice have produced that inequality of fortunes which is the misfortune of the human race, by heaping on one side all the vices with riches, and on the other all the evils with misery. The philosopher must therefore consider the use of money to be one of the most disastrous inventions of human industry".

In his philosophical treatise on natural laws, Cumberland notes that God made the earth that all have a right to its goods, and that morality is based on fraternity, equality and the common good of all.

In his *Droit de la nature et des gens*, Puffendorf proclaims natural equality and community. It recognises that property is a human institution, and that the present inequality of fortune is an injustice which leads to other inequalities, through the insolence of the rich and the cowardice of the poor.

[...]

But let us pass over a host of other writings, such as Hall's *Other World*, Nicolas de Munster's *Land of Peace*, Jordano Bruno's *Rout of the Triumphant Beast*, and let us say a word about the three most illustrious Catholic geniuses of the seventeenth century.

The great Pascal stigmatised ownership as usurpation: "This dog is mine, said these poor children; this is my place in the sun, this is the image of the usurpation of the whole earth". He then proclaims the community, which he defines perfectly in passages from which Villegardelle has given extracts, and sums it up by saying: "The multitude that is not reduced to unity is confusion; unity that is not multitude is tyranny".

Bossuet, the eagle of Meaux, has the same tendencies. In Article 5 of Book 1 of his *Politique sacrée*, he uses the text of the Mosaic law to set out and fully demonstrate, as a "consequence of the general principles of humanity", the proposition that "the division of goods among men alters neither the general society of the human race nor fraternal assistance". He goes further and develops the principles of community at length, as can be seen from the fragments quoted in the *History of Ideas* governments. Without governments," he says, "the earth and all goods would be as common among the people as they are among themselves.

According to the primitive law of nature, no one has a particular right to a n y t h i n g ; everything belongs to everyone, and it is from civil government that property is born.

Fénelon, the austere and pious Archbishop of Cambrai, loudly proclaimed the egalitarian community as the type and ideal of society. Wanting to paint a picture of a model nation, he describes in his brilliant pages the happiness of the inhabitants of Betica who, with no government, no laws, no judges, no prisons, and living in profound peace, ignore even the name of property. They live," he says, "all together without dividing the land... All property is held in common... They have no interest in...". They are all free and equal. There is no distinction between them". The essence of these ideas can be found, not

not only in his *Télémaque*, but in all his works, particularly his *Fables*, his *Dialogues des morts* and his *Examen de conscience sur les devoirs de la royauté*. In his *Essai philosophique sur le gouvernement civil*, after defining charity, he adds: "If all men had followed this great law of charity, there would be no need for positive laws or magistrates. All t h e goods of the earth would have been common.

God says to all men: "Grow and multiply and fill the earth". He gives them all, indiscriminately, all the herbs and all the woods on it.

grow".

As for the other writings which directly preach the community or present imagined pictures of it, they are almost innumerable, and we shall limit ourselves to mentioning here, as a simple indication : - the History of the Severambes, published in Brussels in 1677 and reprinted in 1716, which develops an organisation of the community reminiscent of Campanella's City of the Sun and gives a plan of the common city similar to that later adopted by Morelly; - the Memoirs of Gaudence of Lucca, which also offer many analogies with the City of the Sun; - the Republic of Philosophers (or the Ajaoiens), attributed to Fontenelle; - the Cessarès, published in London in 1764, and analysed in the Encyclopédie méthodique; - the Histoire naturelle et civile des Galligènes, published in 1770, which is similar to Diderot's Supplément au voyage de Bougainville and recalls the Incas of Marmontel; - Pechméja's Télèphe, imitated from Télémaque; - Terrasson's Séthos; - Florian's Numa; - Rétif de la Bretonne's Découverte australe; - the République des Abeilles; - the Miroir d'or de Vieland; - le Catéchisme de Boisset; - le Monde de Mercure; - les Voyages de Cyrus; - le Nouveau Gulliver, and a multitude of others.

Morelly (Nature Code)

From the time we have now reached, that is to say towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the movement which is taking France, Europe and the whole of Christendom towards the complete realisation of the universal community, is accelerating and accelerating in a prodigious way. It was sweeping up in its irresistible current all elite minds, regardless of the diversity of their religious, philosophical, moral and political beliefs. The whole of society is shaken to prepare for the fulfilment of its supreme ideal. This impetuous torrent, while overflowing on its banks, is digs a deep bed in the bowels of humanity; and the human spirit, by probing to the heart of the problem, brings forth a new focus of light.

An obscure teacher from Vitry-le-Français, Morelly, had the glory of giving the main impetus to this great movement. Saint Bonaventure, after all the Fathers of the Church and the monks, had sketched out the religious philosophy of the community, showing how it raises men to the divine ideal and makes them live in God, detaching them from the love and worries of earthly goods. Morelly, in his turn, set out the moral philosophy of the community, proving that it alone places us in a divine ideal. a social environment conducive to the exercise of all virtues, the elimination of all vices, and in complete harmony with all the needs and tendencies of our nature.

It is hard to believe the extent to which the thought of men who preached the community, such as Thomas Morus and Campanella, has been distorted and disfigured. But it is above all with regard to Morelly that this falsification has been taken the furthest. It is therefore important to discuss it in some detail.

His father had written a number of books that have remained almost unknown, principally *L'Essai sur l'esprit humain* (1743) and *L'Essai sur le cœur humain* (1745). Some bibliophiles attribute them to the son. Be that as it may, in 1751 he published a work entitled *Le Prince*, etc., explaining "the system of wise government", and in 1753 another entitled *Le Naufrage des Iles flottantes, ou la Basiliade*, *histoire d'un peuple vivant en communauté*, ending with the following summary: *Le monde est la patrie de l'humanité, les biens de la nature doivent être communs à tous les hommes qui se partageaient en groupes de familles pour en tirer le meilleur parti possible*. In response to some of the criticisms levelled at the *Basiliade*, in 1755 he published his famous *Code de la nature*, the only one of his writings with which we will concern ourselves, because in it he develops, by condensing it, all his thought. Morelly is simply continuing, from the point of view of society, the work of all time pursued, from the point of view of the individual, by the Church, its Fathers, its Doctors, its mystics, its monks. Like them, he wants to extirpate the vice of appropriation, greed and avarice, the source and principle of all the others; but whereas they attack it at its living source, the human soul, he destroys it at its very object, which is property, "The only vice I know of in the universe," he says, "is Avarice; All the others, whatever name we give them, are only tones, degrees of this one; it is the Proteus, the Mercury, the base, the vehicle of all the vices. Analyse vanity and fatuity, pride, ambition, deceit, hypocrisy, villainy; break down most of our sophistical virtues in the same way, and they all boil down to that subtle and pernicious element, the desire to have: you will find it at the very heart of disinterestedness. Now, could this universal plague, the particular interest, this slow fever, this ethisis of all society have taken hold where it would never have found itself, no? only food, but the slightest dangerous ferment? I don't think anyone will dispute the obviousness of the proposition that where there is no property, there can be none of its pernicious consequences.

Relying on both revelation and nature, he first shows that Christianity has done nothing else through its dogmas, which proclaim the "natural equality of all men", by the establishment of absolute community in the primitive Church of Jerusalem and in the monastic orders. "All this conduct tended visibly to remind men of the true laws of nature. Thus Christianity, if we consider it only as a human institution, is the most perfect. But in a temporal society based on property and individual interest, "the power The Church lacked the legislative power" to universalise "that community of the goods of nature, that reciprocity of help, that equality of condition, which is the true spirit of Christianity".

What has been done in the religious and spiritual order must also be done in the civil and temporal order, because nature only confirms the teachings of revelation. Bossuet says: "When God formed the womb of man, he first put goodness there". Morelly, starting from this principle, shows that benevolence is the very condition of happiness for everyone. It precedes every other feeling, every It raises us to the notion of God, gives us an idea of the Divinity that is truly worthy of the greatness of its purpose, perfects our faculties and gives them their true direction, their right use, their complete harmony. The nature of the infinitely good Being that it reveals to us and that the

The spectacle of the universe only increases, and is only altered as benevolence withers. Thus "charity perfects the faculties of the mind through the feelings of the heart".

We can see how Morelly posits, under the name of beneficence, the same law that Christianity proclaims under that of charity, nature and revelation having but one language. "It is the fundamental and universal principle around which everything revolves; it is the centre from which everything revolves.

all our faculties, so that its alteration distorts all the feelings of the heart, all the emotions of the mind, all the emotions of the heart.

It produces idolatry, superstition, all the vices, all the plagues, all the crimes. Now, this community of souls is reflected in the community of goods and life, a consequence of the community of nature and consanguinity. So we find the community at the origin of humanity and of all nations.

Mably

Gabriel Bonnot de Mably was born in Grenoble on 14 March 1709. His father was a member of the Dauphiné parliament and he was Condillac's elder brother. He studied with the Jesuits, entered the seminary of Saint Sulpice under the protection of Cardinal de Tencin, who was related to his family, and received the sub-diaconate.

Renouncing all the dignities of the Church to which he could easily have attained, he began his career in the Church.

career as a philosopher and historian on the practical side, by fulfilling the highest functions of a statesman under the name of Cardinal de Tencin, who had become a minister and for whom he was in reality fulfilling the role of minister.

charge. He gave it up to devote himself exclusively to study and, according to his biographers, knew everything by heart,

Thucydides, Plutarch, Xenophon, Plato, Titus Livius; absorbed for forty years in intellectual work, he left it only once to go to Poland, when that unfortunate country came to see him.

to ask him and J.J. Rousseau for a constitution. He refused the highest positions; he was offered in vain to be appointed tutor to the Dauphin, son of Louis XV; and no amount of urging could persuade him to allow himself to be admitted to the Académie française. He died in 1785 at the age of seventy-five, on the eve of the

convocation of the Estates-General that he so earnestly desired. This is the man who devoted his life to fighting property and propagating the principles of the community in all its forms, in all its forms.

We will limit ourselves to citing the doubts raised by economists about

l'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés published in 1768, the *Traité de la législation ou Principes des lois*,

published in 1776 and the *Traité des droits et des devoirs du citoyen*. One volume would barely suffice to summarise the ideas of this great writer, from whom we can only give the following extracts.

Like Thomas Morus, Morelly and all the others, he paints an appalling picture of the countless miseries and scourges produced in all times and places by the system of property ownership. "The society," he says, "has almost everywhere offered nothing but a collection of oppressors and oppressed. A thousand

Cruel revolutions have already changed the face of the earth a thousand times, and wiped out the greatest empires; and yet so many repeated experiments have not even been able to "enlighten us." In the

On the contrary, a so-called philosophy that takes what is done senselessly in the world as the rule of what should be done, has come to the aid of our prejudices, and has given them an air of reason. to perpetuate their empire". These charlatans have flattered our passions and our whims, instead of establishing society on the basis of fraternity, solidarity, reciprocity of services and the principles of community and equality that lie deep in the human heart and towards which all our faculties tend.

In our proprietary society, "the superfluity of some gives birth to the misery of others... And the laws that tolerate a few immense fortunes are the cause of all the evils that history portrays. It is in equality of conditions that we must seek to preserve our social qualities and our happiness. Equality must produce all good, because it unites men, elevates their souls, and makes them happy.

Inequality produces all evils, because it degrades them, humiliates them, and sows division and hatred among them. If I establish equal citizens, who consider in men only their virtues and talents, emulation will remain within fair bounds. Destroy this equality and emulation will immediately turn to envy and jealousy, because it will no longer have an honest end in view. The legislator will only go to unnecessary trouble if all his attention is not first given to establishing equality in the wealth and status of citizens. The more I think about it, the more I am convinced that inequality of wealth and condition decomposes, so to speak, and alters the natural feelings of his heart".

Pauperism and "beggary disgrace Europe today as slavery once disgraced the republics of the Greeks and Romans. All the rights of humanity are violated". The horrors of war bloodied and devastated the world. The rich punish theft "because they can be stolen from, and approve conquests because they themselves are the thieves of nations".

"Open any history and you will see that all peoples have been tormented by this inequality of fortune. Citizens, proud of their wealth, have scorned the idea that men condemned to work for a living are their equals; immediately you see the birth of unjust and tyrannical governments, biased and oppressive laws, and, to put it briefly, a host of calamities...

under which people groan. This is the picture presented by the history of all nations; I defy you to go back to the first source of this disorder, and not find it in the land ownership..."

[...]

Look at the countless texts of the Fathers against property, against the rich and the wealthy; they all tend towards community, they all want, like Saint Paul, "equality". Nature herself tells us: "You are all my children, and I love you all equally; I have given you the same..."

The whole earth is the heritage of each one of you; you were equal when you came out of my hands, why did you grow weary of your condition?... Where will you find a principle of inequality? Did she establish a special patrimony for each of you? Did she set boundaries in the fields? Did it not create rich and poor? Had she favoured certain races with particular benefits, as we see that in order to establish the empire of man over animals, she endowed us with several superior qualities... Who can deny that, on leaving the hands of nature, we did not find ourselves in the most perfect condition? equality? Did she not give all men the same organs, the same needs, the same reason? Didn't the goods she had spread over the earth belong to them in common?

[...]

I would like to "establish a republic where all are equal, all are rich, all are poor, all are free, all are brothers, our first law would be to own nothing. We would carry the fruits of our labours in public shops; this would be the treasure of the State and the heritage of every citizen. Every year, the fathers of the family would elect the bursars responsible for distributing the necessities of life. each individual, to assign him the work that the community would require of him.

"I know all that property inspires in the ardour and taste for work; but if, in our corruption, we know only this spring capable of moving us, let us not deceive ourselves to the point of believing that nothing can make up for it. Do men have only one passion? If I knew how to stir it up, wouldn't the love of glory and esteem become as active as avarice, which has none of its disadvantages? Can you not see the human race becoming ennobled under this legislation and effortlessly finding a happiness that our greed, our pride and our sought-after sluggishness do not give us? useless promises. It was up to men to realise this chimera of a golden age. We would not have on our heads this burden of useless laws with which all peoples are burdened today.

Tired of the tiring and senseless spectacle presented by Europe... my soul opens up to sweet hopes
".

[...]

These are, very briefly, the main ideas of Mably, who demonstrates them through history, proclaims the divinity of Catholicism from which they originate, preaches the alliance of religion and philosophy, and banishes atheists from the republic. In the last three books of his *Treatise on Legislation* he sets out the practical means of achieving community, one of which is to abolish the right of the individual to own property.

to test, to impose heavy taxes and to restrict inheritance and succession rights so that that society as a whole, inheriting in place of individuals, would eventually become the sole owner of everything.

Dom Hisoard, *La propriété et la communauté des biens depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 1, Berche et Tralin, 1869, revised and annotated by B. K.

Religion in Ancient Greece

I. Mythology

Current conceptions of Greek mythology

The term 'Greek mythology' conjures up images of the gods of Homer for most of us. We imagine Zeus, the father of gods and men, with his thunderbolt; Hera, his wife, the queen of heaven; Poseidon, the god of the seas, with his trident; Athena with her spear and shield; Apollo with his bow. Hermes, the handsome young messenger with the winged sandals. We have a vague idea of Olympus, where this divine family dwells and feasts together, partly as a place on a
We're not wrong, because that's how the ancient Greeks saw them. And we're not wrong, because that's how the ancient Greeks pictured them, even if, as we'll see later, this was not the case.
is not the whole truth.

Herodotus on the Greek theogony

Fortunately for us, Herodotus, following his travels abroad and especially his visit to Egypt, came to reflect on the origin of his own religion. He left us this important statement:

"For a long time we didn't know the origin of each god, their form, their nature, or whether they had all existed from time immemorial. I believe that Homer and Hesiod lived only four hundred years before I did. Now it was they who first described the theogony in verse, who spoke of the nicknames of the gods, their worship and their functions, and who drew their figures; the other poets, who are said to have preceded them, came, at least in my opinion, only after them" [1]. The
The chapter in which these words are found is a veritable little manual of Greek religion and will serve as a basis for our examination.

The Greek theogony is largely a literary creation

Herodotus sets the tone for our investigation. The theogony of the Greeks, their beliefs about their gods, their origins, their character, their mores, their attributes and their appearance, were essentially the result of

of literature, the work not of the people, nor even of the priest, but of the poet. The theogony was 'composed' on purpose, arranged, by a number of epic singers and this process, according to Herodotus, was completed more or less nine centuries BC.

There is a grain of truth in common opinion (*ta endoxa*), if we examine it impartially. We have noted the traditional tendency to study Greek mythology in isolation from ritual and subordination to literature. Now we can see how this came about. According to Herodotus, Greek mythology is largely the product of literature. It is for this reason that our investigation begins with mythology rather than ritual. But if the religion of Greece, and above all its theogony, were mainly created by Homer, what materials did he use?

Nobody thinks that Homer created the gods: he merely "described the theogony" and "traced their figures". So what were the gods before Homer?

The gods before Homer

We learn this from Herodotus. He speaks of a people who lived in Greece before Homer; their theogony, as described by Herodotus, contrasts sharply with that of Homer. The Pelasges," he writes, "used to sacrifice to the gods (*theoi*) all the things that could be offered to them, such as I learned this at Dodona, and they prayed to them; but they gave no name or nickname to any of them at the time, for they had never heard them named" [2]. If Herodotus is to be believed, there was a time when Greece was inhabited by a people called Pelasges, and this people worshipped gods who were not individualised, nor were they called by proper names like Zeus or Athena, or even by more vague titles like "The Persian-Eyed One" or "The Thunderer"; where, in a word, the gods were things, not people. Can we believe Herodotus? On the whole, we can, because his testimony is confirmed by philology, comparative religion and prehistoric archaeology; but the precise sense in which we should accept it remains to be explained.

The undifferentiated gods (*theoi*)

Herodotus derives the word *theos* from the root *the* - "to establish" (*tithenai*) -; the gods "established and maintain order in the universe" [3]. Here we have to leave it reluctantly. Plato [4] says that the first inhabitants of Greece, like most barbarians, took the sun, the moon, the sky and the sea as their gods. earth, the stars and the sky, and that these were called gods because they "run in all directions" (*thein* = to run). What he says about his primitive gods is instructive, although the etymology he proposes for *theoi* lends itself to a smile. *Theoi* is more likely to be a simple variant of a root that means, in his

various derivatives, "prayer", "charm", "sacred" or "taboo" (Festus). Theos is the being that is behind these magical or religious processes, the being whose existence is implied by them, the sanction of prayer, charm, curse or taboo.

A comparative study of religions shows that, originally, man did not attribute a complete personality to the things he worshipped. Their personality comes from the fact that man gives them a human or animal form. Full personification follows on from "animism" [5], in which the gods are incorporeal Things, powerful but not personal, that live anywhere, everywhere. These things are hardly, in our eyes, gods, but they become gods when man enters into a relationship with them, locates them, fixes them by some form of worship. They only become entirely personal when an artist represents them in an image, however crude, or when a poet uses them as material for a story. Totemism is closely linked to animism. Man imagines that the spiritual things he vaguely conceives reside in natural objects, and mainly in stones or trees.

The Pelasgic cult of fetish stones and pillars

In Pharae, in the second century AD, Pausanias saw a statue of Hermes, the god of commerce. It was square in shape, topped by a bearded head. Near Hermes were about thirty large square stones, "each of which is honoured by the inhabitants under the name of some deity". [6] Pausanias adds: "In the earliest times, all the Greeks in general paid the same divine honours to images of rough stones that served as statues. [7] "In Thespieae, As we have already pointed out, the image of Eros was a block of rough stone; at Orchomena, where there was a very ancient sanctuary of the Charites, or Graces, the statues of the inhabitants were stones that had fallen from the sky.

The naked square-shaped "Hermes" was one step ahead of the rough stone. Pausanias tells us that the Athenians, zealous for all things religious, "made square-shaped Hermes; and, at In their imitation, the other peoples of Greece gave this form to all the statues of Hermes". [8] The Arcadians, [9] another primitive Pelasgic tribe, had a "marked taste" for the form. square statues of Hermes. Hermes, Homer's handsome young messenger with the golden rod and winged sandals, was, in Arcadia and Athens, a "herme", a milestone or pillar, something that marked the sacred character of a place, be it a street, a market place or a tomb; the same applied to the "herme" of the statue of Hermes.

The same goes for Apollo the surveyor, Poseidon and Athena, the Sun and Heracles. Who was behind the transformation; who made the symbol a person? "Homer", says Herodotus; "Homer", says the gods. Pausanias. [10] As for Hermes and Heracles, [according to the verses of Homer, Hermes] is the messenger of

[Zeus and] led the souls of the dead to the underworld [and] Hercules carried out a great deal of hard work. "The reference is obviously to a Homer who goes beyond the one we know from the Iliad and the Odyssey.

The Minoan and Mycenaean cult of the pillars

The cult of undifferentiated, nameless theoi was Pelasgian; in Greece, as in other places, it preceded the cult of fully-fledged human gods. From the earliest times, in Attica

In Pelasgia and Arcadia, and indeed throughout Greece, tree trunks were worshipped, [11] with rough stones and bare square pillars. Prehistoric archaeology adds to this literary evidence. The Mycenaeans and the subjects of the Cretan Minos worshipped trees and pillars at least a thousand years before Homer wrote his poems. The trees are dead, but the pillars survive to this day.

The Lion's Gate at Mycenae

The best-known of all the monuments to prehistoric Greece is the famous Lions' Gate at Mycenae, but it is usually misinterpreted. The pediment of the gate features a Doric column, standing on an altar-shaped base, with a lion on either side. We call the monument the Lions' Gate, but it could also be called a sanctuary pillar. The heraldic lions guard the pillar as much as, if not more than, the gate. The pillar is a theos. It has a particular shape; it tapers towards the bottom, like the human body. It is worth noting a curious fact: the square "Hermes" dates from the Hellenistic period, when the artist became aware of and began to study past pre-Hellenic civilisations on the basis of the "Hermes" drawings.

It is the indirect heir to the pillar.

On an imprint of a seal found by Dr Arthur Evans in Crete, the pillar appears as a goddess; she stands on a pile of stones, which the Greeks called a hermaion [12] and, like the pillar, is guarded by heraldic Lions. She is the Lady of the Lions, later venerated as Rhea in Crete, like Cybele in Asia Minor. The undifferentiated theos had been given a sex and even a personality.

The rite of the Pelasgian theoi

The ritual to which rough stones were subjected in Greece was much the same as that to which sacred stones were subjected throughout the world. At Delphi [13] there was a sacred stone on

The Delphians poured oil on it every day and covered it with unspun wool for each festival. The offerings were placed around the pillars and "hermes" or hung from them. In these remote times, there was no clear distinction between the god and the altar. What's more, the rough stone marks often a tomb, so that it is practically impossible to distinguish between the cult of heroes and the cult of the pillars, or of Hermes. Near the tomb of Melanippe [14], on the outskirts of Thebes, were three rough stones. On the tomb of the sibyl Herophilus [15] stood a less crude "Hermes", shaped more by art, but which retained the square figure. In addition to the ritual, the anointing, the raw stones were said to have all sorts of magical powers, curing illnesses and treating blood pollution and the madness it triggered.

There is nothing specifically Greek in the ritual of the rough stones, the pillars and the "hermae", or in their form, but there is also nothing that would necessarily indicate a foreign influence. Jacob, after dreaming that there was a ladder between heaven and earth and that angels went up and down it, was certain that he was in a sacred place, so he anointed the stone that had served as his bedside with oil and called the place Bethel, the House of God. It is even probable that the Greek word *baetyl* comes from the Hebrew Bethel - but the worship of stones is a practice that is widespread throughout the world and seems to have been characteristic of human nature at the very beginning of its development, rather than of any one race or group of races [16].

The 'barbarian' influence allows us to differentiate between theoi

The example of the 'Lady of the Lions' has shown us that the religion of the Pelasges, within its own limits, began to give form and personality to its gods. But we are a long way from diversity, complexity and highly developed humanity of Homer's pantheon. Didn't Homer himself complete the work of differentiation? Even Herodotus doesn't think so. Herodotus took the trouble to find out and went to Dodona, the oldest oracular sanctuary in Greece, where the priestesses told him that, in the course of time, the Pelasges, with their undifferentiated, nameless theoi, "learnt from Egypt the individual names of gods other than Dionysus (they learnt that of Dionysus much later)". The Pelasges asked the oracle at Dodona if they could adopt the names that had come from the barbarians, and "the oracle replied that they could. Since then, they have used them in their sacrifices".

Herodotus believes that his primitive peoples, the Pelasges, received the names of their undifferentiated theoi from abroad, from peoples who did not speak Greek, from barbarians and mainly from Egypt. A little before the passage quoted, he says, more clearly, that the names of all the Greek gods, except Poseidon and the

Dioscuri, Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Charites and the Nereids had always existed in Egypt. Poseidon, he says, came from Libya, the others were Pelasgians, the cult of heroes, he adds, did not exist among the Egyptians. Hermes too, he adds, was Pelasgian. The very fact that he makes such meticulous distinctions leads us to believe that there is some truth in his assertion.

There is no doubt about the "Pelasgian" origin of Hermes in its "Herm" form. The Charites, like as we have already mentioned, were originally stones that fell from the sky. The excessive importance that Herodotus attaches to Egypt can be explained by the fact that most of his informants were Egyptian priests and that the oracle of Dodona, which he also consulted, was very similar to, and was undoubtedly in close communication with the oracle of Zeus Ammon at the Oasis of Siouah in Libya.

Literary evidence of Eastern influence

We are foolishly inclined to be indignant at the idea that Greece borrowed from the East. This animosity is part of our exclusive classical tradition. It is only recently that we have come to see that the most original and artistic peoples, like individuals, borrow. The Greeks themselves prided themselves on their borrowings and frankly acknowledged them; legendary accounts of contacts with the East were appreciated, not ignored, and the truth expressed in these legends was constantly confirmed. Io, the ancestor of the Argians, travelled to Egypt, where she gave birth to a child. He gave birth to a son, the swarthy Epaphos, whose very name is a Hellenised form of the Egyptian bull-god Apis. His descendant Danaos returned with his fifty daughters to the Pelasgian kingdom. of Argos and the people who were once called Pelasgoi are now known as Danaoi. Cadmos came from Phoenicia to inquire about Europe; he founded Kadmeia, the citadel of Thebes. Near Thebes was discovered and excavated the sanctuary of the Great Semitic Gods, the Kabeiroi, the Father and the Son. In

In the Iliad [17], Egypt is only mentioned once, but this is when Achilles speaks of the wealth and splendour of "Egyptian Thebes", as if he knew it as well as Orchomena or Python. In the Odyssey [18], it seems natural that Menelaus, on his way home, should have wandered along the coasts of Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt, touching the Sidonians, Erembes and Libya. The silver crater that Achilles [19] offered as the prize for the race was "artistically worked" "by skilful chisellers from Sidon" and "the Phoenicians then took it to the foggy sea, where it was displayed in ports".

Archaeological evidence of foreign influence

Homer's world is a world steeped in East and South, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, Crete, Egypt and Libya. Recent excavations on prehistoric sites at Mycenae, Tirynthe, Troy, in Crete and Egypt, have shown that these contacts existed long before Homer. We now know that the whole of the eastern basin and probably the western basin of the Mediterranean was, from the Neolithic period onwards, occupied by a people whose civilisation was homogeneous overall, and that this civilisation continued uninterrupted from the Neolithic period until the historical era. Herodotus' "Pelasges" belonged to this homogeneous civilisation and, although he didn't know it, the Libyans, from whom came the god Poseidon. Sicily is the remnant of a strip of land that, in centuries gone by, linked Europe and Africa; Crete has always been a springboard between North and South. A certain parts of this primitive culture, notably Troy, Mycenae, Tirynthe and Crete, appeared the very special civilisation we call the Mycenaean civilisation, a Bronze Age civilisation that reached its peak in the second millennium BC and was already in decay before Homer's time. What interests us at the moment is that this pre-Homeric civilisation, as we see at Mycenae and Knossos, was profoundly different from the Mycenaean civilisation. influenced by the Orient, especially Egypt. For example, sword blades found in a A fifteenth-century BC wall painting in Thebes, Egypt, shows "Mycenaean" vases. These were not Herodotus' "Pelasges" certainly had plenty of opportunities to borrow from the "barbarians". In the light of the excavations, the traditions that have been reported, to confine ourselves to the are considered to be historically true.

The Pelasgian religion taken over by the Hellenes

Herodotus told us about the theoi of the Pelasges, their primitively undifferentiated character and the borrowings of the Pelasges from the barbarians. Before turning to Homer, it is worth noting a third point. stage in development, a more significant stage than Herodotus realised. Later, he says, "The Hellenes received them (i.e. the gods and their names) from the Pelasges". Another question now arises: who, in contrast to the Pelasges, were the Hellenes? What part did they play in the development of Greek theogony?

The Hellenes are a people of the North

Elsewhere in his History [20], Herodotus tells us that the Pelasges "[those of Attica] had never emigrated" but that the Hellenes "[those of Sparta] had changed their homeland several times". They came from the north. "Hellen and his sons", says Thucydides [21], "became powerful in Phthiotida", i.e. in Thessaly. These Greeks were the warriors who had led the expedition against Troy, the most dangerous city in the world.

the first collective enterprise which, according to Thucydides, unified Greece. Their leader was Achilles. They were not of the same stock as the native Pelasges, but immigrants from the north. Gladstone [22] long ago pointed out that Dodona was their first homeland in Greece, and he also noted the obvious similarities between Tacitus's Germanic people and the Hellenes, their tall stature, red hair and blue eyes.

Professor Ridgeway, in his *Early Age of Greece*, has turned Mr Gladstone's conjectures into a living reality. In terms of material culture, he has shown that Homer's Achaeans differ essentially from the Mycenaean Pelasges and resemble the Northern Celts. The Homeric shield is round, the Mycenaean, made up of two parts. The Achaeans are "well cuirassed" or "cuirassed in bronze"; no leggings have been found in the Mycenaean layers; the Achaeans wear the cuirass; According to excavations, the Mycenaean did not wear them; in Homer, the fibula is an integral part of men's and women's clothing; it only appears in the latest Mycenaean finds, along with iron. Above all, in Homer, the dead were invariably cremated; the Mycenaean buried their dead intact. Homer's Achaeans bear a striking resemblance to the tall, blond-haired, blue-eyed people of the north, whose blood runs through our veins. They are a primitive branch of those tribes of Nordic warriors who, later, like the Dorians or the Gauls, invaded the South on several occasions, mixing with the small, brown-skinned indigenous peoples and perhaps saving them from being submerged in the great Asian ocean.

The complexity of Homer

To sum up, before Homer, before the formation of the theogony through literature, three factors contributed to the making of Greek religion. First and foremost, the Pelasgian element. Then, perhaps in its early stages, foreign elements from Libya, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor, barely distinguishable from the Pelasgian element; finally, after millennia of this fusion, successive impulses from the North. Such is the story told by Herodotus; such are the facts put into archaeology. The characteristic feature of Greek religion is not only or This diversity, in particular, but above all the fact that, even before the beginning of Greek history, these factors had been absorbed by the imagination of a poet and transfigured into a realm that had more to do with fantasy than faith.

Homer's pantheon

Homer, says Herodotus, "laid down a theogony for the Greeks, assigning the gods their names, dividing up honours and powers between them, and drawing their figures". And why did he do this? Perhaps not consciously, but necessarily, because he brought them together in a single family, in a single place, the north of Olympus. Thucydides tells us that it was to the Hellenes that the Greeks owed their first national unity, and it was to this unity that they owed the Pantheon, which gave rise to a rigorous differentiation of the gods. A local divinity is necessarily an all-purpose divinity, so to speak; it will be much the same as the local divinity of the neighbouring tribe or village. Put them together and each will have inevitably tend to specialise. Differentiated gods presuppose a kind of Pantheon; a Pantheon is a sign of a kind of political federation.

A Pantheon encourages, if not outright provokes, anthropomorphism, the attribution of human form to the gods. Forced by the condition of their worshippers to enter into human and even political relationships, the gods inevitably became human. Gods who, like their worshippers, frequent the *boulé* or the *agora* must come there in human form. The artificial nature of all this is shown to us in Canto XX of the *Iliad*, where Themis summons all the gods to an assembly on Olympus. She has to "[fly] everywhere" to find them. With the exception of Ocean, they all come, "down to the rivers and the nymphs of the forests, the fountains and the meadows", and "they sat down beneath porticoes gleaming with gold...". The old *theoí*, the local powers, must adapt to human forms. We seem to be catching them at the very moment when they are reluctantly rushing to do something. this metamorphosis. Even among the Olympians who are continually in human form, two of those who are obviously of foreign origin, Ares and Aphrodite [23], have a tendency to leave Olympus to return to their own country, Thrace or Cyprus.

The Nordic atmosphere of Olympus

The gods dwell on Olympus, a mountain in northern Thessaly; their king, Zeus himself, is worshipped mainly at Dodona, in northern Epirus. Once we are aware of this Nordic element in Homer, we are no longer surprised to find in his Olympus some a foretaste, so to speak, of the atmosphere of the *Edda*. The gods of Homer, as has often been But why are they so big and so loud? Simply because they are partly Nordic. Excessive grandeur and grandiose excess are not They are "Greek" in the classical sense of the term. They are Teutonic and Nordic. When Poseidon, the shaker of the ground [24] descends on the battlefield, "he utters a terrible cry, similar to the cries of nine or ten thousand combatants given over to their martial rage" and his cry "fills with indomitable strength the hearts of all the Achaeans". We remember that Tacitus [25] noted with astonishment the "sounds and [the] hoarse sound" of the war cry that the Germans used to utter to give themselves courage, a cry in which "they seem to hear the very accent of valour". It only takes Poseidon [26] three long strides to get from Samothrace to Aegean, and he certainly looks more like a giant of the North than a giant of the South.

that of a Greek god. The berserk fury of Zeus and the harshness of his divine vengeance. There may be something Greek and divine in waving her hair of ambrosia and lowering her eyebrows to make Olympus tremble, but what about "[throwing the other gods] from their seats", [27] grabbing her son "by one foot" to throw him "from the divine threshold" [28], of beat his wife, hang an anvil from each of her feet after suspending her in the air [29], and accuse her of wanting to "devour Priam's bloody limbs" [30]? Poetic magic of Homer makes us forget that these are not the ways of Greek gods, however primitive, but the crude pranks of irresponsible giants. The ancient theoi were in fact considerably "It's not that they're "tossed around", it's just that they're no better for it.

The absence of religious feeling in Homer

Critics have often noted that Homer does not take his gods very seriously in their human aspect. Zeus, in his atmospherics, is as majestic as his thunder; as husband and father he is inferior to the mortals he governs. There is no god so good," observes Mr Gladstone, "as the swineherd Eumæus. The closer the gods are to the gods of nature that they had been in part, the more worthy they remain of reverence. Poseidon, half-river half-sea, acts with resounding pomp. The divine blacksmith Hephaestus is lame and therefore, to the frustrated souls of the other Olympians, ridiculous; when, as god of fire, he fights with the river-god Xanthus, he is resplendent in glory. This lack of seriousness can be partly explained if we assume that the gods are a mixture of native and foreign elements. The bard sings of deities who are, at least in part, "the gods of other men".

Homer unconsciously reflects the existence of a racial mix

Homer does not recount a conflict with the North, but unconsciously reflects it. To take one simple example. Zeus and Hera, the divine husband and divine wife, are in constant conflict. Why this conflict? From the human point of view, the answer is easy and obvious. Hera is jealous, Zeus constantly exasperated. Man makes the gods in his own image. The real reason is quite different; the relationship between Zeus and Hera reflects a racial conflict. Zeus, father of gods and men, Zeus, god of the sky, who bears the same burden of paternity as Wotan, is a man of the North, even though he mixed very early on with the local thunder, oak [31] and mountain gods of the Pelasgian population. Hera is indigenous, Pelasgian; originally, she had no connection with Zeus. She reigns alone in her temple in Argos, alone in Samos; her temple in Olympia is distinct from and much earlier than that of Zeus. At Dodona, the great oracular sanctuary of Zeus, there is no mention of Hera, only of Dione, his wife, indistinct but real, at least etymologically. The Achaean conquerors

went down to Greece and married local girls. Zeus leaves Dione in Dodona before taking his warrior tribe to Thessaly, where he too marries a local girl. In Olympus, where she appears simply as a jealous and quarrelsome woman, Hera is truly a turbulent princess, whom the foreign conqueror she has married forces to act against her will but never subjugates.

Sometimes the primitive order of things is reflected in a more polite way. It is out of a fit of politeness that Zeus, when summoning the rivers and nymphs of Olympus, refrains from demanding the presence of the old Ocean, "from whom all the rivers, all the seas, all the fountains and the deepest springs are born" [32]. He could have forced him to do so, because Ocean "himself fears the thunderbolt of great Zeus And his terrible thunder..." [33].

The survival of racial distinctions in the rite

The ritual is always conservative. The ancient ritual of the oath, especially among the Trojans, clearly reflects the opposition between tradition and novelty. On the brink of battle with Paris, Menelaus said to the Trojans: "You will bring two lambs, a white male and a black female, one for the Earth, the other for the Sun; we will bring another for Zeus". [34] The Trojans, to whom the Pelasgian element predominates, still swear by the ancient gods of nature and practise the ancient 'sympathetic' rite of sacrificing a black female in honour of Mother Earth and a white lamb in honour of the radiant Sun. The Earth and the Sun, even if we write them with capitals, can never be more than half humanised, but, as we all remember, it was the Earth and the Sun that, according to Plato, the early Greeks had as their gods.

The influence of the visual arts on Greek theogony

The Greek theogony, a complex blend of primitive Pelasgian, Eastern and Norse elements, was shaped by literature. But it wasn't literature alone; the visual arts were quick to lend their support. The gods of Homer are so clearly drawn, in such magnificent human forms and in such a luminous and vivid atmosphere, that they already resemble living statues. In primitive sanctuaries, such as the Erechtheion, the ancient hermes, the pillars, However, votive images of the gods were added in terracotta, marble, gold and ivory, similar to the "ritual of the gods".

Homer's portrayal of them: Zeus, with his thunderbolt; Athena, with her spear and shield; Apollo, with a bow and arrow. This is no mere conjecture. Tradition states

Phidias [35], when asked what model he intended to use to represent Olympian Zeus, replied: "According to the ideal model Homer had given him": "The son of Kronos frowns his thick eyebrows. The ambrosial hair trembles on the head of the immortal prince, and he shakes the vast Olympus, and makes the earth and the waves tremble to their very depths".

Vase paintings often show us the image and cult of the ancient Pelasgian theoi, the herm, or pillar. Sometimes, fortunately, they allow us to see the process of transition from the Pelasgian herm to the human god of Olympus. Two vases in the British Museum [36] show the scene of Pelops and Oenomaos swearing an oath before their chariot race. On one vase, between the two rivals, is an altar and, above it, not the image of Zeus, but a square pillar marked DIOS - "Of Zeus". This is the There is a Herme which, according to the inscription on it, belongs to Zeus. On the other vase [37], there is the same altar and the same Herme pillar, but there is no inscription and on the pillar stands the figure of an entirely human Zeus. In a way, the stratification of cults is laid out before our eyes.

II. The rite

The Greek rite is less characteristic than the Greek theogony

A people's attitude towards its gods is influenced neither by the poet nor the artist. This is why the Greek rite bears much less Greek imprint than their theogony. Their rite teaches us that they had a great deal in common with other peoples, even if it bears witness to a certain serenity and moderation. At its simplest, the rite tells us even more about the conflict between different racial elements within the Greek people, a conflict both exacerbated and mitigated by the genius of Homer.

The rite of the Olympians

The Homeric rite is simple and uniform. It consists of a prayer, accompanied by the throwing of grains of barley, followed by an animal sacrifice. Some of the flesh is tasted by the worshipper and then burnt in honour of the god; the rest is eaten at a banquet, with plenty of wine. The aim is to "convince the gods" and, to convince a northern god, there's nothing like a hearty meal of roasted meat sprinkled with wine [38]. This is an offering made by fire, because, since the gods are celestial gods, the sacrifice must be sublimated to reach them.

The rite relating to the chthonian or infernal powers

Herodotus speaks of another rite, designated by another name, which is addressed to entirely different powers

- the worship of the dead, of heroes. He did not think that this rite had been borrowed from Egypt; he expressly said: "They [the Egyptians] have nothing of the kind." In the course of his travels, he discovered that the cult paid to Heracles differed from place to place; he came to the conclusion [39] that "among the Greeks, those act most wisely who have two temples of Heracles, one where they sacrifice to him as to an immortal, under the name of Olympian, the other where they pay him the honours due to a hero".

Herodotus acknowledges that the ritual of an Olympian was quite distinct from the cult of a hero. Fortunately, Pausanias [40] gives us some information about this ritual. When Phaistos came to Sicyone, he noticed that the Sicyonians "honoured Hercules simply as a hero". "He ordered that divine honours be paid to him: however, so as not to upset the Sicyonians, he allowed them to set aside a small amount for him.

part of the victim, to offer it again to the same Hercules, as a Hero. From that time on," adds the author, "they slaughtered a lamb and roasted its belly on the altar, ate part of the victim and offered the rest to Hercules as a hero, so that today he is revered as a God and a hero.

The distinction is clear. Everything is for the hero: you cannot eat the food of the dead; the hero takes part in the feast offered to him. What's more (and this is an important point), the rites performed in honour of the hero preceded those performed for the Olympian. When Phaistos found a people whose cult was heroic, he left them Olympian rites. We can say that the hero rites belonged to the primitive Pelasgian layer and that the Olympian rites were developed or imported later.

The conflict between the two rites

Sicyone, at the very entrance to the Peloponnese, changed its rite. It also changed its name. In Hesiod's time [41], Sycione was called Mékoné. A change of name indicates a change, or at least a change of rite. at least an addition, of population. Pausanias [42] tells us that there was a primitive indigenous population in Mekoné; Hesiod says that "the gods and mortal men quarrelled in Mekoné". Hesiod's commentator tells us the reason for the conflict. At Mekone, it was decided "which gods would share the mortals". At Mekoné, Prometheus played a trick on Zeus, persuading him to choose, from the parts of a sacrificed ox, the white bones covered in fat, the parts regularly allocated to the gods.

Olympians. Prometheus belonged to the ancient family of Titans. The battle between the Titans and the Olympian era is over in Homer; Hesiod recounts it in detail. Prometheus was man's ally against the tyranny of the "new gods", [43] the Olympians. He was tortured because he had given mortals the sacred fire of the Olympian sacrifices for their own use. In Mekone, later Sicyone, As in many other places, the new cult of the Olympians was superimposed on the old cult of heroes.

The burial and worship of heroes

Hero worship at the tomb assumes that the dead are somehow alive and present locally, that his spirit is in the tomb, or in the Herme tombstone, or nearby, ready to be angered or appeased. The burial of bodies can give rise to beliefs of this kind and, in The ghost of a man who was strong when he was alive will be powerful and become a kind of god. The ghost of a man who was strong when he was alive will be powerful and become a kind of god; he is part of the invisible and, because he is so close, his descendants establish relations with him, bring him offerings and make sacrifices. But Homer's Greeks did not bury their dead, they burned them. Once the body was burnt, the spirit did not remain in the grave, but fled to a distant place, beyond a river, an isolated, inaccessible place. The ghost of Patroclus is explicit [44]: "... I shall never again return from Hades, when you have granted me the honours of the pyre". A ghost so distant and spectral, purged by fire of all human needs and attachments, was not worth venerating by anyone.

The practice of cremation came, along with many other healthy and invigorating customs, from the north, from the Germans of central Europe, who lived in the great forests where fuel was plentiful. The funeral of the Germans, which, as Tacitus [45] describes, consisted of burning the hero, sometimes in the company of his horse, on a large pyre, is the counterpart of Patroclus' funeral. Cremation freed the survivors from the physical impurities of the corpse; it also freed them from primitive man's greatest fear, the haunting terror of the ghost.

The curse of blood and the price of blood

All ghosts are more likely to be feared than loved, the ghost of an enemy is undoubtedly hostile, but the most implacable of all is the ghost of a murdered man. According to the primitive vision, blood, once spilt on the earth, poisoned the earth and above all poisoned the murderer who fed on the fruits of the earth [46]. The murderer, like Cain [47], was "cursed by the earth".

There is no cure for a disease that breaks out in this way, unless the murderer, like Alcmeon (48), can find a "new country", like the "new land", at the mouth of a great unpolluted river that could feed the murderer. The idea of polluted earth was replaced, or rather perhaps supplemented, by the idea that the ghost of the deceased became a curse, so to speak, incarnate, with the Erinyes haunting the murderer and sucking his blood. There was no end to this blood curse; murder beckoned.

Homer knows nothing of this relentless, never-ending blood feud. He knows only blood money, which seems to be an impersonal substitute. But progress is real; the wrong done is recognised, atonement is made.

made and an end put to the interminable, merciless bloodbath. Ajax, in the Iliad, criticises Achilles for his inflexibility and reminds him that a man accepts compensation from the murderer of his dead brother or son; and so "the author of [his] loss, by sacrificing his wealth, rests at ease in the bosom of his hearth, and his satisfied enemy abandons his vengeance" [49]. Here too, progress seems to have come from the north. Tacitus [50] tells us that, among the Germans, "... hatred is not implacable: even homicide is absolved by the delivery of a certain quantity of large and small livestock: the whole family accepts...". This satisfaction". There is no reference here to the doctrine of the poisoned earth or the bloodthirsty Erinyes.

The magical purification rite is unknown to Homer

Just as Homer knows nothing of the curse of blood or the haunting ghost, so he knows nothing of the purification imposed on those who have committed a crime of blood or of the appeasement of the dead by

anger. Indeed, it should be noted that he never mentions magical purification - the purification of spiritual evil by physical means. Once Odysseus [51] has killed the suitors and hanged the bad girls, he cleans his house, but the cleaning is simple, natural, we could say scientific; the means he employs are those we could use today to disinfect a dirty house; he uses water and sulphur. There is no mention of what the ancients called "purification ceremonies", i.e. magical purifications.

These ceremonies were, however, quite common in historical Greece and even formed part of the usual ritual of the state. When Plutarch [52] was archon in his city of Chaeronea, he was officially required to preside over a strange ceremony which, he tells us, was very popular. A domestic slave was taken, whipped with rods of agnus castus (a purgative plant) and thrown out of the house by the shoulders, saying: "Out with famine and in with health and wealth". The rite was called the 'banishment of hunger'. This ceremony has nothing to do with the cult of Olympus or even with the cult of the most indeterminate theoi. It is, frankly, magical. What's more, it is in

in no way typically Greek. Many primitive peoples are inclined to think that evil, both physical and moral, is a substance that can be transferred. The children of Israel [53] transferred their sins to a scapegoat and drove him into the desert. In modern times, the inhabitants of Pithuria, says Dr Frazer [54], build a small cart for each epidemic of influenza, harness two goats to it, chase them into a wood and the 'flu goes with them.

The opposition between the Olympic Games and the Pelasgian rite

Overall, then, we can see that, in ritual as in theogony, there are two layers: firstly, an upper layer of rites belonging to the Olympians, whether these rites were actually imported or were profoundly influenced by the conquerors from the North, and secondly, a lower layer of rites belonging to the natives of the South. These include the elements common to the East - the cult of pillars and Hermes, heroes and ghosts, the "gods" and the "goddesses", the "goddesses" and the "goddesses". ceremonies that are purely magical and involve neither ghosts nor gods. The orator Isocrates [55] had not heard of racial conflict, but he defined the difference very clearly: "Among the divinities, some are the causes of good: we call them Olympians; the others are responsible for misfortune and vengeance: they have evil names; to the former, individuals and cities erect temples and altars; the latter receive the homage of neither prayer nor sacrifice: we set them aside with rites".

III. The mysteries

The Mysteries of Demeter and Dionysus

Until now, and certainly in the eyes of Isocrates, the Olympian rite may seem, in comparison with the Chthonic rite, which is more advanced and more humane, but if the "banishment rites" have a cruel and barbaric character, we must not forget that this "banishment" - even if it is physical - contains the seeds of something that, thanks to Christianisation, was to be considered as superior, the notion of spiritual purification. This is what emerges very clearly from a category of rites that Homer did not know about, or at least of which he says nothing; the rites of which no Olympian was the object, i.e. the Mysteries. These mysteries are mainly associated with the name a goddess and a god who have no place in Homer's Olympus, Demeter and Dionysus. A 'mystery', even in its most primitive form, always has two parts. Firstly, a preliminary purification; secondly, a rite in which certain sacred foods are tasted and sacred objects handled, visions obtained and words heard, which cannot respectively be tasted,

touched, obtained or heard in complete safety without this preliminary purification. The man about to be initiated was called, when he had been purified, a myste and when he had seen, tasted, manipulated, an epoptes, a spectator.

The Greeks had no beliefs, no dogmas, no strict doctrine. But in the case of the Mysteries, they did have what we call a confiteor, or confession of the rites performed.

Fortunately, the 'confessions' or, as the Greeks called them, the 'symbols' of the Eleusinian Mysteries, have been preserved. We also know what the preliminary purification consisted of. Each candidate bathed with a young pig [56] in the sea. The priest and the sacrifice were purified both by sea water. The ceremony was called Elasis - to push, to chase before oneself; the meaning of this ceremony becomes clear in the light of the "famine outside" at Chaeronea. It was a rite of "banishment". The "symbols", or confession of the rites, are as follows for Eleusis: "I fasted, I drank the kykeon, I took the object from the basket and, after performing the act, I put it in the basket, then from the basket back into the basket." [57] Fasting was naturally part of purification; it was followed by two things, the drinking of the Kykeon and the handling of certain unknown sacred objects.

The Eleusis Mysteries were dedicated to Demeter, Mother Earth, and to Korè, her daughter. We, with our modern minds, would expect the creed of the Eleusis Mysteries to begin as follows: "I believe in Demeter, the mother, and in her daughter, Korè; I believe that Korè descended into Hades in the winter and was born there.

resurrected in the spring". The Greek demanded confession of the ritual acts performed; in this respect he was rigid; as for thought and imagination, he instinctively gave them free rein.

"I drank Kykeon" is the equivalent of "I tasted the first fruits". The new flour was used to make a kind of cake called pelanos. Until the solemn tasting had taken place, this new flour was taboo; it was a forbidden food. The mysteries of the savages of central Australia are associated with the removal of certain taboos on food. The meaning of the second rite is less clear. We don't know for sure which sacred objects were handled by which people. in the Eleusis mysteries. Other Mysteries allow us to conjecture this. In the Thesmophoria, there were symbols of fertility, such as pine cones; in the Mysteries of Zagreus, objects that seem insignificant to us - a ball, a mirror, a "rhombe"; but objects that were undoubtedly imbued with profound meaning for the initiates. Such objects are still used in the initiation ceremonies of savage peoples.

But the Mysteries were not simply magical rites designed to promote the fertility of crops and man's general material prosperity in this world; they gave hope - and that's without

This is undoubtedly the secret of their extraordinary influence - of help and advice, and even of a certain substantial bliss in the land of shadows that lay beyond the grave.

The Mysteries and the future life

We tend to think today that religion is necessarily associated with hopes and fears about an afterlife. Yet in Homer's scheme of things, while theogony and ritual are present, there is virtually no eschatology. The gods, in fact, are considered as immortal, but good heroes don't go to Olympus to stay with them forever, nor are bad heroes sent to Tartarus. In Homer, Tartarus is not a hell for the wicked, but simply the home of the rebellious Titans. Later, Tartarus and the rebel Titans are transferred to Hades. Homer's heroes, good or bad, after death are dark images (eidola), "the light shadows of the dead". Even the Pelasgian heroes, who survive locally as objects of worship in their own tombs, have no activity except to are in a relationship with their survivors. They depend on them for their food and sustenance; they are gods for them, so to speak, to do everything; for them, there is no question of bliss, peace or eternal rest.

However, we know that the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries BC had high hopes for the future. enjoy eternal bliss and were much less afraid of the sufferings beyond the grave. These hopes and fears were instilled in them in the Mysteries. Plato says [58]: "Anyone who arrives in Hades without having received either prior initiation or full initiation will be plunged into the mire, whereas he who has been purified and then initiated will live with the gods". Pindar says [59]: "Blessed is he who descends beneath the hollow earth after seeing these things; for he knows the end of life, he also knows the kingdom given by Jupiter." It is clear that, in the Mysteries, not only were sacred things tasted and handled, but a revelation was made about the divine origin of man and his end. Such a doctrine, foreign to Homer and his Olympian universe, did not emerge from the indigenous cult of heroes, nor from a vague belief in the eidola. It originated in certain aspects of the cult of two non-Olympian deities, Demeter and Dionysus, and came mainly from the south, from Egypt, probably via Crete.

Cretan and Egyptian elements in the Mysteries

According to tradition [60], Demeter, like Dionysus, immigrated to Attica. She was received at Eleusis by Celeus, he by Icarus; their arrival dates from the reign of Pandion, that is, according to chronology

tradition, around 1500 BC. Demeter, in the Homeric Hymn [to Demeter], says that she came from Crete. The Cretans [61] claimed to have given the mysteries to Greece. What's more, they affirmed that the rites which, at Eleusis and elsewhere in Greece, were secretly practised in the form of mysteries, had existed among them for a very long time, were practised there "openly and taught to all". For religion and civilisation in general, Crete was a passageway between Egypt and Greece.

Demeter, says Isocrates [62], gave Attica "two gifts". These were culture and the "rite of initiation". He adds that initiation gives those who take part in it "greater hope for the end of life and for all eternity". Attempts have often been made to establish an intrinsic link between the first and second gifts. The Greeks, it is believed, saw the sowing and germination of seeds in the spring as an intrinsic link between the first and second gifts.

symbol of the death and resurrection of the human body and soul. There is a simpler reason for this link. Demeter gave her "two gifts" because she had borrowed them from Isis. Isis, the Egyptian goddess of agriculture, is also, as the wife of Osiris, the queen of the underworld. The Egyptians, perhaps because their climate was conducive to the preservation of the body, very early on developed a doctrine of the 'preservation of the body'.

This doctrine was closely linked to the rites of the god and goddess of agriculture, Isis and Osiris.

Diodorus [63] is not wrong, on the whole, to say that "all the

Hades mythology" was imported from Egypt to Greece. The Mysteries of Osiris, he tells us, are the same as those of Dionysus and those of Isis are identical to the mysteries of Demeter, "there is only the difference in the names". He adds: "The punishment of the wicked in hell, the flowery fields of the abode of the good and the fiction of the shadows are an imitation of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians". One of these

ceremonies consisted of burying parts of the Book of the Dead, a sort of guide for the dead, telling them where to go and what to do.

Some of these instructions must have been given in the Greek Mysteries. Plutarch [64] compares death to initiation into the great mysteries. The first stage," he says, "is a painful wandering, a helpless, anxious race through the darkness. Then, before the end, we are gripped by all the all kinds of fright, and everything is shaking, trembling, sweating and fear. Finally, you are greeted by a marvellous divine light and welcomed into a pure landscape and flowering meadows where voices resound and dances are seen, where solemn and sacred songs are heard and where divine silhouettes can be seen". Everyone knew all this, or the honourable Plutarch would not have said so. The secret that could not be told lay in the rites and words, the precise formulas, probably of a magical nature, taught by the hierophant to the initiate.

The Mysteries of Dionysus

It is obviously easy to merge Isis, the Mother, the Dispenser of harvests, the Lawgiver, with the Mother Earth, Demeter. Her aspect as Queen of Shadows reappears in Persephone as the wife of Hades. The fusion of Osiris with Dionysus is complex and requires explanation. This is all the more necessary because a doctrine of man's divine origin, which Pindar calls "the kingdom given by Jupiter", developed in connection with the Mystery god Dionysus. The Greek god Dionysus absorbed into his personality two foreign divinities, originally distinct, a Thracian god of orgy and ecstasy and a mystery god, Zagreus, virtually identical to the Egyptian Osiris. The fusion of the two was facilitated by the fact that each in turn was associated with the vine. The Thracian god of ecstasy was in He was originally a god of beer, Sabazios, but when he was imported into southern Greece, he adopted the drink of the inhabitants: his orgies and his swarms of female worshippers were tolerated, moderated, but not were never really held in high esteem. Osiris was the "cultural hero" of the whole of Egypt; he introduced vines and agriculture; the belief in the immortality of the soul was linked to his cult. The Zagreus of the Cretans (65) was virtually indistinguishable from Osiris, and it was from Sabazios and Osiris, linked by the vine, that the Greeks composed their strange and complex Dionysus, then made him the son of Zeus and Semele in the Olympian theogony.

Dionysus and Osiris

Zagreus, the god of the Mysteries, is completely different from the Thracian god of ecstasy and has nothing to do with the Olympian gods. In these three respects, he resembles, or rather, is identical to Osiris.

First of all, the god of the Mysteries is mortal; he is dismembered, dies and comes back to life. The Above all, the Olympians are immortal (athanatoi). For the Greeks, as for Christians, only the God who dies and comes back to life can bring the hope of immortality; the prototype of this god is Osiris, cut into fourteen pieces, put back together by Isis and resurrected. The barbaric story of dismemberment of Osiris and the rite it explains probably derive their origin from certain rites primitive burial methods. The first inhabitants of Egypt practised what is known as the "second burial", i.e. the dismemberment of the decomposing body. Later, probably as a result of borrowings from a race that had emigrated to Egypt, they adopted the practice of mummification, which fostered a doctrine of the immortality of the body.

Secondly, in the cult of the god of the Mysteries, the devotee becomes one with the god and therefore immortal. Has any Greek ever dreamt of union with Zeus or Athena or Apollo? But the worshipper of the Cretan Zagreus becomes Bacchos [66]. In the Mysteries of Demeter and those of Dionysus, the aim, for as the ceremonies are not simply agricultural, it is the union, always the union, in

eating the god, marrying him, being symbolically reborn like him. On an Orphic tablet, the initiated soul is greeted with these words: "You have become a god, from the man you were". In the Egyptian underworld, the pure soul becomes Osiris. "I am the child of the earth and the starry sky", says the Orphic.

Why? Because he is Osiris. Because he is Osiris, and Osiris is the child of Sibou, the earth, and Nouit, the sky.

Thirdly, the cult of the god of the Mysteries is ascetic. The Olympians were gods of this world, not the next. But the Egyptian religion, unlike the Greek religion, focused on a future life. This life was a long purification.

The soul in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, [67] after an almost endless negative confession [68], cries out four times, "I am pure". On the tablet just mentioned, the Orphic initiate says, "I come, pure from the pure"; the Cretan worshipper of Zagreus, when he becomes a Bacchus, is "clothed in white", he abstains, not really from wine - this asceticism is only for intemperate Norsemen - but from wine. It is only through this asceticism that he can hope to liberate the divine element within him and thus become one with the god. It is only through this asceticism that he can hope to liberate the divine element within him and thus become one with the god; it is only in this way that he can escape the judgement of Rhadamanthe (Ra Amenti) and go to the Elysian Fields, whose very name is borrowed from the Egyptian "fields of Aalu".

The Egyptian influence on the gods of the Mysteries

The ritual of the Mysteries is deeply influenced by Egyptian religion. Zagreus or Dionysus, the central figure, was modelled on Osiris, and this Egyptian influence was felt in the other gods. The Olympians were too strong, too deeply rooted in tradition, to be neglected, but they all blended more or less into the melting pot of the Mysteries. The mystical hymns known to us as "Orphic" do not show Olympians

They may bear Olympian names, but they are in fact interchangeable silhouettes, half-monotheistic, half-pantheistic. "In all the

initiations and all the mysteries, the gods present themselves in a variety of forms and appear in a variety of states, and sometimes, even, they present themselves to sight in a formless light; sometimes this light takes on human form, and sometimes also a different form [69]." It is almost as if we are reading a direct description of Egyptian pantheism, of gods who change and transform themselves, and of gods who appear in a variety of states.

sometimes human, sometimes animal, sometimes solar. If we deleted the names from the Orphic hymns, it would often be impossible to tell which gods were being celebrated. The same applies to the addresses to the Egyptian gods.

Orphic mysticism

In concluding his remarks on Hesiod and Homer, Herodotus says: "the other poets, who are said to have preceded them, came, at least in my opinion, only after them". He has in mind in particular the religious poets - Orpheus, Musaeus and the others - and this is the only allusion he makes in his sketch of Greek religion to the movement we know as "Orphism". To this day, everything suggests that he was probably right; we know nothing precise about "Orphism".

before its appearance in Athens in the 6th century, the religious century that saw the birth of Confucius in China, Gautama in India, Jeremiah and Ezekiel in Israel, Pythagoras in Greece and, most importantly for Athens sent Epimenides to Crete, the land of the Mysteries, to "purify the people".

The term "Orphic" is used to describe all the elements that are so conspicuously absent from These are the sense of evil, the need for purification, the idea of a God-man incarnate and suffering, and, closely linked to these, the idea that man is immortal and can escape evil once and for all through a new purification in another world.

As we have seen, these elements were, on the whole, non-Greek. They came from Crete and Egypt, and p e r h a p s in part from Thrace and Asia Minor; they merged easily with the Pelasgian religion. with the undifferentiated theoi and their semi-magical ritual. They were always foreign to the Olympian religion; but "what is important is that the mystical and 'enthusiastic' explanation of the world never lacked apostles in Greece, even if the main current of speculation, as indicated by Athens, was constantly moving in the opposite direction, with the aim of gradually penetrating the essence of things through reflection" [70].

Orphic mysticism and Greek philosophy

We noted above that Greek religion was largely a literary product. The various elements - Pelasgian, Oriental, Hellenic - were "agglomerated" by Hesiod and Homer. Orphic mysticism, largely ignored by poetry, at least by the poetry that is had a considerable influence on another branch of Greek thought, philosophy. The philosopher could make no compromises with Homer. Plato [71] complained that Homer's retelling of mythological stories "offends against verisimilitude" and is "[dangerous]". Long before Plato's famous accusation against the poets, Xenophanes, himself a rhapsode, had put his finger on the weak point of Homer's theogony - its anthropomorphism. Homer's gods were immoral, which was self-evident:

Homer and Hesiod attributed to the gods

Everything that is shameful and reprehensible in men

What is more, there were no gods at all, for they were many and God is one. [He praises Colophon for saying:]

Unique and all-powerful, ruler of the strongest,

God resembles us neither in spirit nor in body.

Humans, by making gods in their own image,

Lend them their thoughts, their voices and their faces

[Following Colophon, Xenophanes states:]

If cattle, horses or lions had hands Or could draw

with their hands

And carry out the tasks that fall to men,

Horses would draw their gods in the shape of a horse, And cattle

would do the same:

They would all give the gods their respective bodily appearances.

We are often told that the supremacy of Zeus was "the first step towards monotheism". Xenophanes achieved his goal by a shortcut.

Philosophy adopts the Pelasgian and Orphic religion instead of the Olympian religion

The Olympian Zeus was of no use to the early philosophers, but as it is in the nature of things that they do not completely break with religion, they return to the gods who were before Zeus, the indeterminate powers, theoi and forces of nature. Thales, the first to seek unity in things, taught that the world was born of moisture; he turned to Ocean, whom Zeus did not dare summon to the assembly of the gods - Ocean, the source rather than the father. Pherecydes tries to use Zeus, transforming him by a false etymology into Zas, "the Living One". The 'Hermes' reappear in the god of the Orphic Mysteries, Phanes:

With its four pairs of eyes

He [Phanes] looks here and there [72].

Empedocles' emphasis on guilt and purification and his cycle of reincarnation stem from Orphism. Plato owes a debt to primitive mythology and its Orphic developments [73]. His Cosmic Eros is an Orphic god; his inspired madness comes from the Thracian cult of Dionysus, his doctrine of Elenchus, of intellectual catharsis, is based on the purification of the mysteries; his anamnesis, "the action of recalling to memory", on the Orphic spring of Remembrance, Mnemosyne; even his Ideas have something of the "marvellous divine light" of beatific visions the initiates had. The mystery religions that inspired the poet-philosopher Plato had a less powerful, but perhaps more essential, influence on Greece than all the gods and goddesses that Homer fashioned.

CONCLUSION

The history of Greek religion has yet to be written.

This imperfect sketch will have served its purpose, if it has shown the extent to which Greek religion is something complex and changing, and that there is still a great deal of work to be done before a history can be fully explained. This chapter of its history, which relates to the pre-Homeric religion is still in its infancy. The materials needed to study the Mycenaean and Minoan religions unearthed on Crete have only just been brought to our attention.

Secondly, many aspects of Homer's and Hesiod's theogony are still problematic. We still have to examine the Olympians one by one to determine what is Pelasgian, Oriental, Hellenic or Nordic about Zeus, Poseidon, Athena and the others. As for Orphism, it remains problematic. What elements in the mysteries are of Pelasgian origin and what are imported; when and from where were they imported? How many were borrowed directly from Egypt?

How many to Crete, Phoenicia or Asia Minor? How did religion affect philosophy in its early stages, and how did philosophy affect religion? Finally, a difficult and delicate task, which has been neglected, except by Homer, but which is particularly important for Greek religion, we need to know the attitude of each author - from Pindar to the tragedians - towards the different elements of this religion. religion, his personal vision and his idiosyncrasy. To what extent did each of them modify the religious material?

J. E. Harrison, *The Religion of Ancient Greece*, London, Archibald Constable & Co Ltd, 1905, extracts, translated from English by B. K.

[1] Herodotus, II, 53.

[2] *Ibid*, 52.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Cratylus, 397 D.

[5] The developments in this paragraph apply only to savages. In reality, the cults derived from Indo-European 'religion' among white peoples have absolutely nothing to do with animism, as G. Dumézil has clearly shown. "... there is a word *deus* in Latin, and it is no small thing. Once again, we come across the Indo-European fact. The word is found in most of the Indo-European languages... The important thing is that, wherever it can be found, the word *deus* is used.

To specify the meaning, **deiuo-* designates an individual, personal, fully constituted being, - which is what it also designates in Latin (*deus*; plural *dīui*, normally reduced to *dīi*, *dī...*). This preserved term is enough to ruin the pre-Disney construction, since it proves that not only the oldest Romans, but their Indo-European ancestors were already in possession of the type of divinity that we are trying to derive before our eyes from a concept equivalent to *mana*, from this *numen*, diverted from its meaning".

(Roman Religion

archaïque, Payot, 1974, p. 47-48). [editor's note]

[6] Pausanias, VI, 22.

[7] *Ibid*.

[8] *Ibid*, IV, 33.

[9] *Ibid*, VIII, 48.

[10] *Ibid*, VIII, 32.

[11] Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I, 1-14.

[12] *Etym. Mag.*, sub. *voc*.

[13] Pausanias, X, 24.

[14] *Ibid*, IX. 18.

[15] *Ibid*, X, 12.

[16] "In regions with a megalithic tradition, trees or stones are worshipped as symbols of the past. divinities; they are sometimes considered to be the ancestors of the clan; sometimes a stone is even designated as the mother... The myth of the *petra genilrix* is found from Asia to Europe.

Mineure à l'Extrême-Orient" (<http://krapooarboricole.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/vade-yves-sur-la-maternite-du-chene-et-de-la-pierre-in-revue-de-lhistoire-des-religions-tome-191-nc2b01-1977-pp-3-41.pdf>, p. 8-9). On the other hand, it seems that the so-called Indo-European peoples did not originally know about this cult.

[17] Iliad, IX. 381.

[18] Odyssey, IV, 83.

[19] Iliad, XIII, 741.

[20] Herodotus, I, 52.

[21] Thucydides, I. 3.

[22] Studies in Homer, I. p. 553.

[23] Odyssey, VIII. 265.

[24] Iliad, XI. 152.

[25] Tacitus, Germania, III.

[26] Iliad, XIII, 11.

[27] Ibid, XIV, 276.

[28] Ibid, I. 580.

[29] Ibid, XV. 18-21.

[30] Ibid, IV 34-36.

[31] A. B. Cook, Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak, Cl. Rev. 1903, 1904.

[32] Iliad, XX. 7.

[33] Ibid, XXI. 195.

[34] Ibid, III, 104.

[35] Strabo, III. § 353.

[36] Brit. Mus. Cat, F. 331.

[37] Brit Mus. Cat F. 278.

[38] In fact, there's nothing like a hearty meal of roast meat washed down with wine to convince a Nordic god already partly subject to Mediterranean influences, wine being the quintessential Mediterranean alcoholic beverage. (editor's note)

[39] Herodotus, II, 43.

[40] Pausanias, II, 10, 1.

[41] Hesiod, Theogony, 535; and Schol ad loc.

[42] Pausanias, II. 5. 5.

[43] It is therefore absolutely false that prometheism is a specifically "Western" tendency.
". (editor's note)

[44] Iliad, XXIII. 75.

[45] Tacitus, op. cit., 27.

[46] Aeschylus. Choéphores, 64-68.

[47] Genesis, IV, 11, 12.

[48] Pausanias, VIII, 24, 819.

[49] Iliad, IX. 632.

[50] Tacitus, op. cit, XXI.

[51] Odyssey, XXII, 481.

[52] Plutarch, Quaest. Symp. VI, 8.

[53] Leviticus, XVI. 21.

[54] The Golden Bough, 2nd edition, III. p. 93 ff.

[55] Isocrates, Orat, V, 117.

[56] Plutarch, Life of Phocion, XXVIII.

[57] Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticon, II, 21, 2.

[58] Phaedon, 69c.

[59] Pindar, Frg. 102.

[60] Apollodorus, III, 14, 7.

[61] Diodorus, V. 27, 3.

[62] Isocrates, Panegyric, 28.

[63] Diodorus, I, 96.

[64] in W. Heinemann, Plutarch's Moralia, vol. 15: Fragments, Harvard University Press, 1969, fragment 178.

[65] Euripides, Frg. 475.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Chap. CXXV.

[68] Negative confession consists in declaring that you have lived according to certain principles, or, more precisely, that you have not broken them. (editor's note)

[69] Proclus, Commentaries on Plato's Republic, in H. Blavatsky, The Secret Doctrine, p. 270.

[70] G. Murray, History of Ancient Greek Literature, p 68.

[71] Plato, The Republic, II, 380.

[72] Hermias, in Plat. Paedr. p. 125.

[73] F. M. Cornford, Plato and Orpheus, Class. Rev, Dec. 1903, p. 433.

The trained man

In 1971, Esther Vilar published a book that is still talked about today: *Der dressierte Mann* (The Dressed Man), in which she presents and illustrates the provocative thesis that it is not women who are oppressed by men - as the feminist movement then in full swing maintained. essor - but the opposite, i.e. that it is the man who is oppressed by the woman.

Reactions were swift: for example, four young feminists assaulted Vilar in the toilets of Munich's national library, and she received death threats. Shortly before she gave an interview to the New York Times on 13 June 1972, which we publish in almost its entirety below despite the fact that it was obviously hastily edited and contains one or two Cioranian paradoxes that a reader who has never read Vilar will find difficult to grasp, a group of British matrons had come banging on the door of her London hotel room to calmly but firmly ask her to leave the country immediately.

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"'They get nowhere because they have a masculine conception of women. They make women the object of male charity,' says Miss Vilar [sic], who wrote her book to violently refute the doctrine of women's liberation two years ago, while observing the US from a small boarding house in Houston Street. Miss Vilar, who is 36 and divorced, said she doesn't think things are right the way they are. She accuses women of all the evils: laziness, selfishness, stupidity, insensitivity and so on.

"For Miss Vilar [sic], the heart of the problem is that men are slaves to women, working all their lives to provide for them, while women choose a life of domestic idleness, working intermittently or not at all.

"A married woman always has the choice of whether or not to work. Men never have that choice', says Ms Vilar, convinced that most women can do the essential household chores in two hours every morning.

"Women always work with a net under them; they can fall into it. Women work for luxuries, like lace curtains and carpets. Men work because they are responsible for providing for a family.

"What I want to see is just one woman who definitely agrees to let her husband stay at home to look after the children, while she goes to work," says Miss Viler [sic], pushing her light brown hair out of her face.

"Both in his book, which is not due to be published in the United States by Farrar Straus & Giroux until next January, and in his explosive interviews with the press, no one escapes his sagacity. icy, from the woman who has never married ('she is more honourable than the others, but she couldn't do otherwise'), to the housewife ('housework is so easy that, in psychiatric clinics, it is traditionally reserved for idiots unfit for any other kind of work'), to the emancipated woman ('the work chosen by the emancipated woman rarely involves effort or responsibility, although she imagines it involves both').

"But, according to Miss Viler [sic], if women are guilty, it's because men let them.

What man fears most is freedom," she says. He needs some sort of system that tells him he's worth something. A woman is a man's scale of values, but if he doesn't have a woman to manipulate him, he'll find another system.

"Born in Argentina to German refugee parents who separated when she was 3 (1) ('a broken home like Kate Millet's and Gloria Steinem's'), Miss Viler [sic] studied medicine at the University of Buenos Aires. She speaks fluent English.

"In 1960, she was awarded a scholarship to continue her studies in psychology and sociology in Paris. West Germany and worked for a year as a doctor in a Bavarian hospital. In 1961, she gave up the profession and has since worked as a medical translator, assembly line worker in a thermometer factory, sales assistant and secretary.

"She married German writer Klaus Wagn, from whom she divorced ('I didn't break up with the man, but with marriage as an institution') and now devotes herself to looking after their son Martin, aged

from the age of 8, to writing and the study of 'the pleasure man derives from unfreedom'. Man Manipulated is part of this study.

"Miss Viler [sic], who wore a blue T-shirt and blue jeans but no bra, is a delicate, soft-spoken woman. Yet she faced down the most militant supporters of women's liberation, the most smug housewives and the most provocative macho men.

People are afraid to read my book," she says. Women's liberation is much more flattering to men. They like to be told that they are tyrants because they have been brought up that way'.

"Ms Vilar's attacks on women extend to other areas:

"Her intelligence - 'the woman's stupidity is so extreme that anyone who comes into contact with her is somehow contaminated'.

"Her lack of sensitivity - 'If she allows herself to get sentimental, she could be wrong in her choice of husband and that's the most important choice she'll ever make.

"Her love of children - 'It's a selfish love; if women really loved children, they would adopt them instead of insisting on having them themselves'.

"Nor is she particularly fond of women who manage to work and bring up their children at the same time.

"Sending a young child to a kindergarten for the whole day is cruel, but why is it always the woman who stays at home to look after him?
always managed to write and translate on a freelance basis while looking after her son.

"It's a very brutal book. It's black and white. That's what I wanted. Otherwise, no one would have listened. I'm not interested in revolution. I don't want to change all the rules; people have to find their own solutions. I simply wanted to raise awareness of the fact that it's people who are the problem. enslaved, not women (2).

In January 1975, Vilar and the feminist Alice Schwarzer clashed on the WDR channel. The "debate" was broadcast on ARD on 6 February, in the middle of the afternoon, at a low viewing time, "as a precaution" (3). It made the headlines for days and weeks. Bild, in an article entitled "The battle Alice with high boots, a black skirt and, under the fringes, a piercing look through thick glasses. That's what

Vilar, on the other hand, was "gentleness itself" ("Streichelkätzchen"), he adds (4). Half a century later, Schwarzer still hasn't "

digested": "Esther Vilar, a few years older than me, sitting opposite me in a beige bucket chair, remained stoically calm for 45 minutes, despite my attacks. Only once did she almost seem to come out of her reserve, when I said: 'You're not just a sexist, you're also a fascist. I was referring to the parallel between sexism and racism. In retrospect, I wonder whether Vilar hadn't swallowed a good dose of tranquillisers before the programme - that's exactly the impression she gave" (5), she recounts in her autobiography, in which, on the other hand, she has no recollection of justifying the use of physical violence against Vilar during the "debate". For years, Vilar's conferences could only take place under police protection.

Tens of thousands of people wrote to the channel asking it to rebroadcast the debate, and petitions were even sent in. All to no avail.

Das polygame Geschlecht: Das Recht des Mannes auf zwei Frauen (Polygamous Sex: A Man's Right to Two Women) (1976) was presented as the highlight of the Frankfurt Book Fair. Visit Most of the reviews were unfavourable, even vitriolic. "The book barely fills the time between a Valium and its effects", writes Der Spiegel. It has to be said that the book, an extract of which is published in French below, pierces the journalists: the "public fathers", as she calls them.

In Das Ende der Dressur: Modell für eine neue Männlichkeit (The End of Dressur: Model for a New Masculinity) (1977), Vilar seeks to define masculinity, the conditions for a new masculinity, the consequences of a new masculinity and a feminism with femininity. She attacks the taboo of taboos in the 'Western' world, an occult pressure group to which even the 'feminine' are subject.

right-wing conspiracy theorists have never dared to attack: lesbians, whom she accuses of seduce heterosexual women, "who would normally be completely inaccessible to their extravagant desires" (6). In her view, the feminist movement is made up almost entirely of lesbians and heterosexuals. male feminists".

In 1980, she published "Alt". Manifest gegen die Herrschaft der Jungen ("Old". Manifesto against the domination of youth (1980) - followed by Alt heisst schön. Manifest gegen den Jugendkult (It's good to be old. Manifest against the cult of youth) (1995), in which she attacked the "youth cult". scavengers, gravediggers, heritage thieves, body snatchers - you have stolen our reason for living, robbed us of our pride, destroyed our wisdom and reduced us to servants". The manifesto didn't get much coverage in the German press, but a little more in Spain and Switzerland. The year had started badly for Vilar: his Zurich flat went up in smoke after his son Martin forgot to extinguish the candles in the living room before going out.

The End of Dressage proposed a fundamental reform of the world of work with the introduction of the five-hour working day. Husbands and wives were each to work five hours a day, so that one of them could always be at home with the children. Working hours weekly working time would be reduced to 25 hours per week for everyone, but working life would thus be extended. However, this would have to be done without salary compensation. Die Fünf-Stunden-Gesellschaft (The Five-Hour Society) (1981), followed by Die 25-Stunden-Woche: Arbeit und Freizeit in einem Europa der Zukunft (The 25-Hour Week: Work and Leisure in Tomorrow's Europe) (1990), develops this utopia. The subtitle of the first book was "Argumente für eine Utopie".

In 1992, she published Die Erziehung der Engel. Wie lebenswert wäre das ewige Leben? (The education of angels. Is eternal life worth living?) Fiona Lorenz (1962 - 2014), a German-British translator and member of the advisory board of the Giordano Bruno Foundation - to which Vilar herself belongs - asked her a couple of questions on this subject:

"I was born in Argentina and lived mainly among Catholics until I was 22. All my friends were believers and, at times, I even took religion classes. Throughout my life, I never believed for five minutes in a personal God. In fact, I'm not the sort of person who adopts an unquestioning belief in God. reflect on the ideas of others.

"In any area, if you don't have a God, what do you have? What gives meaning and support to life?"

"Nothing.

"Like everyone who loves to live, I have a terrible fear of death. But I don't think that justifies taking out survival insurance with one of the companies that offer it (Überlebensversicherungsgesellschaften). The offers are not serious enough. Eternal life also means life forever: a million years, then another million and another... Even if it existed in a paradise, we would beg our Lord on our knees to abolish it. I've written several books on religion. Today, I know that it was superfluous. You can't reach a devotee by arguments. It's a bit like living in a gigantic insane asylum. There are those who talk about how they'll come back later like any other animal. Then there are those who cover their faces with cloth or kneel five times a day in a specific direction. Or those who worship their cows as saints and burn their widows alive. There are those who build huge houses for an invisible being, where people in disguise assure them, in exchange for fees, that he at least sees them. Even the most harmless ones still boast about how, later on, at least their wonderful souls will be preserved. The fact that we have to die makes us sick with fear. We believe everything. In most parts of the world, people would still be stoned to death for saying such things. The fact that this is no longer the case here fills me with great gratitude, because it was bought at the price of the suffering of a long chain of intrepid ancestors. If no one takes advantage of the freedoms they conquered for us, we take them back (7)."

They don't need repeating, because, as she writes in the afterword to *Die Antrittsrede der amerikanischen Päpstin* (The Inaugural Speech of the American Papess) (1986), "[t]he fear of freedom . . . - the desire to place all personal responsibility in the hands of someone else, to bend over backwards to the will of God.

The fact that I've always been a writer - and in a way will remain so until the end - is that I've always been a writer.

In *Der betörende Glanz der Dummheit* (The Bewitching Glow of Stupidity) (1987), Vilar argues against too much specialisation. The book's epigraph is by Bertrand Russell: "The problem in this world the world is that fools are self-confident and proud as barnyard cocks, while intelligent people are full of doubt". The British mathematician died at the dawn of the "computer age" and, according to Vilar, in this age it is no longer possible to define stupidity in the same way as before. Given the performance of calculating machines

In the field of electronics, she advocates understanding intelligence as the interaction between imagination and sensitivity. Stupidity is characterised not by an inability to understand, reason with and apply simple numerical concepts, but by a lack of creativity and humour, as well as an insensitivity padded by mediocrity and the crassest egocentricity. But this "

New stupidity' is clearly a prerequisite for social advancement. Its brilliance is bewitching. And it's not just to be found among political leaders.

In 1994, she published *Heiraten ist unmoralisch* (Marriage is immoral). Vilar" describes marriage as a compulsive act, encouraged by churches and industry alike. She has no explanation for the comes as a guest to this grotesque event. Two people make a deal and, because they seal this agreement in a church and cover it with romantic embellishments, we are moved in spite of ourselves" (8).

In 1998, *Speer*, a theatrical dialogue between a fictional Albert Speer in the GDR after the Second World War and an East German Communist Party official who thinks he has finally found someone who can answer the questions he has about Hitler's self-mythologising, but discovers that Speer has not read *Mein Kampf*: "I still want to know: Who is lying here? Why is he lying? How ... This is not limited to the most recent period. It also concerns people like Ramses II, Julius Caesar, Napoleon. What happened on St Helena? Was he really ill or did they kill him? Or Elizabeth I... Mary Stuart... Schiller? Ridiculous, I know. Especially when it comes to people who have been dead for a long time. How can anyone know the truth? (9)."

In the same year, she published *Denkverbote*. *Tabus an der Jahrtausendwende* (No Thinking. Taboos at the turn of the millennium), in which she identifies new variants of journalistic double standards.

In 1999, *Eifersucht*. *Novel für drei Faxmaschinen und ein Tonbandgerät* (Jealousy. A novel for three fax machines and a tape recorder): Three women, who couldn't be more different from each other, have a lot in common. They live in the same building, which has over 600 flats. All three have fax machines. All three have the same husband. The oldest, aged 55, is married to him. The other two, aged around 35 and 25, are not. It was adapted for the stage under the title *EiferSucht*. *Drama für drei Faxmaschinen*. Vilar's plays, of which there are around twenty, have been performed in Germany and in more than one other European country.

In 2001, *Die sieben Feuer von Mademoiselle*: Catherine Loucheron, nicknamed Mademoiselle, attracts all eyes: seductive, charismatic and cultured, all men fall at the feet of this French nanny from a family of Argentine diplomats. But Catherine falls in love with a man who seems impervious to her charms: Nick Kowalski, a fireman, who, according to her logic, is the man who will make her dreams come true. perfect for her. But how can she win Nick over, when she's convinced that as a

that man needs to make the first move? To attract the attention of the man of her dreams, Catherine has come up with an idea that's a little out of the ordinary, in the truest sense of the word.

The judgement of the German women's magazine indicates either that Vilar has lost his sense of humour, or that he is insensitive to it: "This novel sends sparks flying and sets our hearts on fire". The first option can be ruled out, judging by this interview she gave to SRF on 15 April 2021

<https://www.srf.ch/play/tv/gredig-direkt/video/mit-bestsellerautorin-esther-vilar?urn=urn:srf:video:233988ff-ca18-4a87-8d39-4ed5b9d841ec>).

His works have been translated into several languages, including English, Spanish and French; in French, *Der dressierte Mann* was published as *L'homme subjugué* (Stock, 1972) and *L'homme manipulé* (France-Loisirs, 1972; Omnia Veritas, 2017); *Das polygame Geschlecht: Das Recht des Mannes auf zwei Frauen*, *Le Sexe polygame: ou Le droit de l'homme à plusieurs femmes* (Albin Michel, 1976, *Le Livre de Poche*, 1978, Omnia Veritas, 2017); *Das Ende der Dressur: Modell für eine neue Männlichkeit*, *Pour une nouvelle virilité* (Albin Michel, 1977; Omnia Veritas, 2017), *EiferSucht. Drama für drei Faxmaschinen*, *Jalousie en trois fax* (L'Avant-Scène, 2001; performed at the Petit Théâtre de Paris in 2001)? As we have not consulted the new edition of *L'Homme manipulé*, we do not know whether it uses the text published by Albin Michel and *Le Livre de Poche*, which often fails to convey the subtlety of the author's thought. In any case, we are publishing here our own translation of the fifth chapter.

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5. PUBLIC FATHERS - PUBLIC CHILDREN

5.1. JOURNALISTS AS PUBLIC FATHERS

The Western world is an unofficial matriarchy in which men play the role of patriarchs - without this game, matriarchy would be impossible. But the game must remain a game. If it suddenly became In reality, it would be the end of female supremacy. To ensure that this can never happen, women use the media: they train journalists to construct a false public image of women by illegitimate means. Their job is to make men believe that women are

women are weak and need a man's protection, and that a man's true love for a woman must be altruistic.

A true patriarch would be a man who

- a. provides for the needs of others and
- b. uses this as a pretext to tell them how they should live.

Women only want quality a), they don't need quality b). However, "a" does not go without "b": the man who earns money also wants to decide how it will be spent, otherwise earning money gives him no pleasure. In order for women to retain the patriarch's "a" quality, which is useful to them, the man must therefore believe that he also possesses the "b" quality.

In other words, for the economic exploitation of his labour power to go smoothly, the man must be convinced that he is oppressing his wife. He has to make her believe that he has forced her to perform sub-slave tasks for him and sexually exploit her in exchange for the money he earns for her.

In the private sphere, it is difficult to use this subterfuge: every husband knows that his wife is anything but a slave in his automated household. In the average household, it's the wife who makes virtually all the financial decisions. According to statistics, women alone decide on the They only consult their husbands when it comes to buying consumer goods that require technical knowledge, such as cars, household appliances and so on. The women make practically all the decisions in the social sphere: they determine the number of children through the targeted use of contraceptives, their education through their permanent presence in the home, and their social status. At home, she usually chooses the friends and relatives with whom it is best to associate. There is no question of sexual exploitation: the average frequency of sexual intercourse between a man and a woman after ten years of marriage is about twice a week in the United States according to Kinsey. Even for a frigid woman - and for another, it couldn't possibly be exploitation - this is not a particularly painful ordeal.

It is therefore much easier to deceive men about their role by influencing public opinion. Every man knows that he does not personally exploit or inflict sexual violence on anyone, but who knows? maybe other men do. If newspapers, radio and television repeat it every day, he'll come to believe it.

If educated men never cease to make the simplest people understand that ordinary sexual intercourse must be interpreted as the rape of the partner, that monotonous, short-time work in a The fact that the fully automated home, the full-time company of children and girlfriends, and the eternal wait for the husband to return are the most subtle form of human slavery that has ever existed, means that he too will come to see himself as one of those brutal men who prevent their wives from 'fulfilling themselves'. The search for daily bread for his adoptive family then takes on a whole new meaning.

Public fathers are men who misinform their fellow men about women and thus maintain women's status as protected objects (Schutzobjekt). They are the newspaper and magazine journalists who cover "women's issues", the radio and TV editors who produce soap operas about the "oppressed woman", the film-makers of all stripes who make films about the "emancipation" of women, the novice scribblers who document in the form of a novel or autobiography how they "sexually abuse" their innocent companions, and so on.

All these public fathers have one thing in common: they do not act for vile motives. Some are forced to tell lies, others would like to believe what they say themselves, and still others actually do. A distinction must therefore be made between :

involuntary public fathers

voluntary public fathers

public fathers on grounds of incapacity

5.2. INVOLUNTARY PUBLIC FATHERS

We are talking here about journalists who are forced by their publishers or producers to make false statements. A journalist who cannot risk losing his job - a journalist with a family, that is - has to write what his publisher expects of him. So it would seem that freedom of the press is only for publishers - but, in fact, it is not even that. A publisher who wants to sell its product must conform to the laws of the market, i.e. it will only write what the public wants to read. Freedom of the press is therefore ultimately the consumer's freedom to read his own opinion in his newspaper. For the reasons already given, both women and men want to read that women are oppressed - so a journalist will have little opportunity to publish the opposite. In a capitalist society, it is not the media that manipulate the people, but the people who manipulate the media.

Even if men wanted to read the truth about their role, women would still set the tone. Both are readers, of course, but women are the people who consume the most.

As we have already mentioned, purchasing decisions, from home furnishings to everyday consumer goods, are mainly made by women, and advertising campaigns are therefore aimed directly or indirectly at them. Since the Western press is largely financed by advertising, the day women stop buying a particular newspaper or magazine because they don't like the editorial content, it will automatically lose its advertisers. Visit men would never, even if they wanted to, have the slightest chance of publishing their own opinion on women in a press product aimed at both sexes, as is the case with most of these products.

The same applies to advertising-funded television programmes. In most countries in the West, television is advertising television. This means that, here too, you can only show what is readily approved by female censors. This is obviously not a censorship, but a posteriori censorship. This is based on the following principle: if the product does not find favour, its producer is finished. They try to avoid this by censoring themselves. Of course, you can take the risk of portraying a woman more accurately than usual. It may even be beneficial to a given newspaper and give it a temporary boost - but, at the end of the day, it's always the woman who has to win. For every article that criticises women, there must be a hundred more that glorify them.

Press products aimed primarily at a male readership show that men want nothing to do with their real role. A modern women's magazine, such as *Cosmopolitan*, might dare to make fun of fathers, because it is read exclusively by women who, at heart, all know what they have done to men. Men's magazines are the products of fathers for fathers: *Time*, *Newsweek*, *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel* have to portray men as men. brutal oppressor of the female sex. What would be the point of their subscribers' fight if the women they were fighting for didn't need protection and if they were told that, in reality, they were the most enslaved? The editors of men's magazines and women are pulling at the same rope: even if they knew who was oppressing whom, they would be careful not to get the truth written in their paper.

5.3. VOLUNTARY PUBLIC FATHERS

As soon as a person's intelligence exceeds a certain level, it can become dangerous for them.

As we have already mentioned, the average intelligence always sees only one aspect of a fact, so it can easily make a decision in a given situation and 'master' its life with relative simplicity. However, a fact has not just one aspect, but several.

The more intelligent individual sees them all at the same time: he is torn between contradictory opinions. Which is right and which is wrong? If he acts in one way or another, what will happen that would not have happened if he had acted differently? Excessive intelligence leads to indecision and existential anguish. The intellectual wants one thing above all: someone who will tell him how to behave. He's always looking for protection, but he can't find it anywhere. Who should he accept as his protector? It can't be a fool, and he's not about to meet anyone smarter than he is.

Just as a woman often owes the development of normal intelligence to her 'lack of femininity' - a lack of specifically feminine sexual characteristics - so a man owes the development of normal intelligence to his 'lack of virility' - a lack of specifically masculine characteristics.

development of superior intelligence. It is striking to note that a large number of so-called intellectual men do not denote physical strength. The inability to punch a classmate has probably produced more great thinkers than an interest in the mysteries of the universe: people automatically retreat into an area where they find the self-confirmation that is so important to them. refused elsewhere. Like, for example, young people who wear glasses are often tall people.

Many people believe that reading damages their eyesight. In reality, these people read because their eyesight is poor: they adopt a different scale of values because of their particular constitution.

The intellectual man has only one choice: either he admits his existential anguish, or he hides it behind a mask of bravado. Very few choose the first option. A woman can. She even has to show her fear; a man doesn't have to.

Just as the fearful man is not looking for an object to protect, but for someone to protect him - a mother - he'll find it even harder than the others to get it. A mother would have to be intellectually superior to him and physically totally different from him: he will have trouble finding a woman who fulfils both these conditions. The fictitious mother only comes with professional success. When an intellectual makes a name for himself as a writer or painter, director or composer because he has describes his existential anguish to other intellectuals in such a clear way that they could identify with him, he also finds, afterwards, the woman who 'protects' him. Now he can show his fear, it even makes him interesting. In his work, women are always the strongest and most powerful beings. men give themselves over to unconditionally. In their relationships with women, male artists are either worshippers or show-offs; they are an Ingmar Bergman or a

Norman Mailer - they are hardly ever on the same level. Of course, most intellectuals seem to prefer to look like Norman Mailer than the perpetual worshipper. Lest their fear be discovered, they imitate the men they would like to be at heart. Since few of them are good actors, they often overdo it. And, especially when it comes to large groups of intellectuals, the exaggeration sometimes reaches the grotesque. Today, anyone who enters a newspaper editorial office, a television studio or an advertising agency without being prepared for it - in other words, places where hypersensitive people are particularly numerous - must feel as if he or she has boarded a cargo ship. The men he meets in the air-conditioned, carpeted offices look as if they expect to be called back at any moment to shovel coal, load bales or drop anchor. With their worn leather jackets, rough corduroy trousers, beards or moustaches, pipes or pipettes, they resemble sailors, lorry drivers or construction workers, but never men whose only physical effort consists of holding a pencil between their fingers.

They are men who overcompensate - men who imitate men and do too much. Whatever others do, they do too, but because their actions don't correspond to any real need, they have no sense of proportion. Just because they think it's manly, they torture themselves with whisky and strong spirits, they're ruining their health with rolled cigarettes [the problem isn't Obviously not the cigarette itself, rolled or not, but what is added to the tobacco. N.D.T.]. They spend their Saturdays in the stands of football stadiums, whistling at blondes and screwing themselves into the uncomfortable seats of sports cars or BMWs. They, who are usually opposed to any form of bloodshed, are fanatically opposed to speed limits on the roads. They, who fear death like no one else - they're the only ones with enough imagination to picture it - and ensure their premature demise by chain-smoking cigarettes. They, who approach They are "versatile", "frustrated" and "progressive", and they know what that means too. They talk about each other in the most vulgar working-class jargon (women are "dolls" or "females" that he can't understand). and "fuck"). While their model, the worker, puts on his Sunday suit every Sunday, they also spend the weekend in his work clothes. They attend their meetings concerts, plays, art exhibitions - mostly in a suit of artificially faded jeans: the image of the wild man must be defended at all times.

It is only in areas where they fall short of their role models that intellectuals appeal to their superior intelligence and declare their weaknesses to be strengths. As a general rule, a intellectual is incapable of "hammering a nail into a wall", he "understands nothing about money matters" He "hasn't the faintest idea how a car works", and when he needs to change a fuse, he calls the concierge.

To be able to do such things would be a sign of mental primitivism... he may be a real guy, but that doesn't mean he's primitive. Just as a woman shouldn't know how to do anything because she's a woman, an intellectual shouldn't know how to do anything because he already knows how to do something else.

The fact that those who overcompensate work, because of their ability to abstract, where women need them most - in the press and publishing, in radio and television, in psychology institutes, opinion research institutes and advertising - and that they so willingly deal with "women's issues" is of course invaluable to women's goals. Because unlike the worshippers of women, they don't say to them:

"We're not coming to your ankles!

".

Of course, they also have to overcompensate - especially here, which is why they are so keen on "women's issues". They say to women: "You don't come to our ankles - don't you poor things notice how we exploit and abuse you?" It can't be any other way: in order not to show how much he needs protection, the one who overcompensates must portray as vulnerable those whose protection he hopes for. The average man always gives the impression of being strong; the intellectual needs to invent someone weaker than himself in order to appear strong.

Intellectual men are therefore the best allies women could wish for in defending their status as protected objects. Here, the interests of men and women converge like nowhere else. elsewhere: women need to appear weak, intellectuals need to appear strong. A journalist who writes every day in his newspaper about how cruelly men oppress women - without cruelly oppressing them himself - is the closest thing women have to a good journalist. A TV editor who resents being called a 'sex object' and advises his fellow journalists to practise the virtues of altruism - self-sacrifice, altruism, tolerance - in their dealings with women is the closest thing women have to an idea of what makes a good TV editor.

It's certainly ironic that it's the most vulnerable men who tell women how vulnerable they are, and it's the most sexually insignificant who tell them how men abuse them in bed. But, as they are acting in the interests of everyone - including other men - no one will look any further into the matter. Women who don't want to be protected - and who are the only ones in a position to oppose it - are too rare for their opinion to have any weight. importance.

5.4. PUBLIC FATHERS - TRUE BELIEVERS

There are men who not only say that women are oppressed by men, but who actually believe it. Public fathers are men who, through intellectual incapacity, are unable to interpret the simplest facts coherently.

This incapacity does not necessarily concern the entire mental process; it can occur at one or other of its phases. Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, August Bebel and Sigmund Freud were examples of intelligent men, but they clearly failed to analyse gender relations properly. This is because men brought up by women - who weren't brought up by

a woman? - are no longer in a position to give an impartial opinion of women. Current psychology assumes that most of a man's values are shaped from his earliest years by his role model, his mother. The great defenders of the rights of

Their mothers were protected objects of the first order, who of course defended their privileged status by using the well-known methods of brainwashing. They rarely saw the real family slave, their father, because of the work he had to do.

He was a slave to his wife and children. It is of course just as possible - as we have already explained - that these revolutionaries, skilful demagogues, invented the fable of the oppressed woman for political reasons. Given their intellectual capacities in other fields

In some areas, this explanation is plausible. The exception would be Sigmund Freud: if he was aware of the absurdities he wrote about women, it was probably because he was "overcompensating".

It has to be said, to excuse the historical defenders of women's rights, that when women did not have the right to vote and when the theory of drives had not yet been developed, men were more likely to see women as oppressed than they do today. But when such a prestigious intellectual as John Kenneth Gailbrath, a Harvard professor in 1975,

describes American women as servants of men, and writes sentences such as: "As a result of democratisation, almost the entire male population now has a

There are only two plausible explanations for this: either he does not want to see the

He either ignores the facts, or is incapable of seeing them (either he is being stupid, or he is stupid). He ignores at least the following facts, which apply to most western industrialised countries - and which he himself writes about:

1. Men do their military service, women do not
2. Men are sent to war, women are not.

3. Men retire later than women (although they are entitled to retire earlier because of their shorter life expectancy).

4. Men have virtually no say in their own reproduction (there is no pill or abortion for them; they must - or can only - have the children their wives want to have).

5. Men support women; women never - or only temporarily - support men.

6. Men work all their lives, women only temporarily or not at all.

7. Although men work all their lives and women only temporarily or not at all, men and women are the same. Men are generally poorer than women (in the United States, women own 61% of private wealth).

8. Men are "lent" their children, while women are allowed to keep them (as men work all their lives and women do not, they are deprived of their children - on the pretext that they have to work - in the event of separation from the mother).

The list of prejudices suffered by men could be extended ad infinitum. A journalist who, in the face of these verifiable facts, continues to assert - and even believe - that women are the slaves of the men, has missed his vocation: he is incapable of thinking logically.

5.5. PUBLIC CHILDREN (ÖFFENTLICHE KINDER)

What would be the point of an indictment without prosecution witnesses? If public fathers want to assert that they oppress women, they need women who will confirm this assertion, because where no one feels wronged, it is difficult to talk of a crime. The women who issue these fictitious certificates are the public girls. Self-proclaimed advocates for their entire sex, they assure men that women do indeed feel enslaved, abused, exploited, misunderstood and humiliated. A To this end, they deliberately provide false evidence, dramatise a particular situation or present isolated tragic cases as typical. Defenders of the rights of They dig a grave, kill a lizard, put it inside and start sobbing loudly.

It all depends, of course, on where the funeral is taking place. Children who want to draw their parents' attention to their grief scream where they can be heard, i.e.

as close to home as possible. Women who want to convince men that they are a sad lot bury their 'dead lizards' where they are most noticed: in the big cities - from preferably in New York, USA. The fact that this is the least appropriate place of all, because it is precisely American women who live most comfortably, does little to dampen the general emotion.

Public children perform in the neighbourhood of public fathers, and New York is home to the largest number of public fathers, and above all the most influential. New York is home to the most quoted (and copied) publications in the world: The New York Times, Time and Newsweek. The opinion of the American public fathers is therefore binding on everyone else: if American journalists claim that men enslave women, it is little wonder that they are not the only ones to have their say.

Europeans, South Americans and Australians are likely to contradict them. After all, it's in everyone's interest to think so: private 'fathers' everywhere want to read the same thing as North Americans.

The fact that the N.O.W. (National Organization for Women), the umbrella organisation of the American women's rights movement, has some forty thousand members is no proof of the validity of the idea it defends. When the American lout Alan Abel asked his compatriots to put clothes on their pets because the sight of naked animals offends human decency, he won the support of forty thousand people. You have to put things in perspective: in a country of over two hundred million people, nothing is too far-fetched to be considered a good idea. that people don't make a big deal out of it. It's obvious that the myth of the underprivileged woman must have found the most supporters precisely where women are doing best: where women are in the best shape of their lives.

The N.O.W. attracts more public attention than any other group of comparable size. If the N.O.W. attracts more public attention than any other group of comparable size - who in Europe has ever heard of Alan Abel's prudery test? - it is because men and women who are not members need to hear this opinion on the situation of women. Because, whatever the feminists dream up for propaganda purposes, however clumsy, tasteless or absurd it may be, you'll read it the next morning in your daily newspaper. Either because they have written it themselves - many of them are journalists, they have a hand in covering women's issues in all the major American newspapers - or because a public father quotes them

dutifully. The message then went around the world: that American feminists Whether you're for or against Kissinger, Marilyn Monroe, long trousers, short trousers, vaginal sprays, lesbianism or sexual abstinence, the European press is taking it seriously. Who can be so macho as to remove from the front pages of his newspaper information about the fight for freedom by these courageous women?

Why do these women do this? Why do women journalists and writers make members of their own sex look like social outcasts? Why do they want to play the role of victims everywhere? Do women benefit so much from men's guilty conscience, apart from the material aspect?

Women journalists are far from heroes. They take the easy way out and write exactly - with a few exceptions to be fair - what people want to read. They are not the ones who are to blame for this image of women, but those who bribed them. There is certainly not a single journalist among the most eminent of our time who seriously believes that women are oppressed, but they will continue to propagate this version as long as they are asked to do so. Women's liberation has become an organised industry, especially in the United States.

There are many specialist magazines, such as *Ms.*, whose business is so good that they can offer glossy colour photos to their oppressed and liberated female readers. The fairy tale of man's handmaiden competes with the Brothers Grimm.

Journalism that reports on 'women's issues' has the advantage of being particularly simple compared to other branches of this trade. To denounce slavery As a female witness, you don't need courage (since no one is against you, you have no enemies), style (it doesn't matter how you write, the main thing is to describe your sex as oppressed), technical knowledge (a vagina is enough to legitimise your profession) or ideas (it's always the men who come up with them).

The idea that women are oppressed is, as we've said on several occasions, an idea that has to be taken seriously.

of men. It does not come from Beauvoir, Friedan, Millet and Greer (how could women have the idea that they are oppressed?), but from Marx, Engels, Bebel and Freud. Intellectual women merely provide the "dead lizards" needed for funeral ceremonies. They do this by the following methods:

1. The factual report
2. Insider report
3. Reduced statistics

In the case of the factual report, a woman recounts her individual fate, which is often truly tragic. The others describe it as typical. In the insider report, the women describe to the men how they feel 'as a woman' in a given situation. Germaine Greer, for example, explains to Playboy readers that "for a woman", any sexual act is tantamount to rape. Gloria Steinem told readers of Der Spiegel that the reason there are so few female doctors is that, "as a woman", it is hard to imagine a female doctor. Ellen Frankfort explains the lack of female surgeons as follows: "As a woman, you avoid this profession because the Men tell us that we get varicose veins from standing so we're less attractive to the opposite sex. To show in a general way how we feel "as As a woman" in everyday life, we compare ourselves to racial minorities: American women say they feel treated in the same way as Negroes in their country, and women in other Western countries say they also feel treated like Negroes in the United States ("We are the nation's Negroes").

While the factual report and the insider report are presented in a dramatic way, the Statistical understatement is coldly scientific. It consists of quoting the first part of a study or survey and forgetting to quote the second, as if by chance.

We complain about the low percentage of women politicians, but we fail to mention that women, with their absolute majority of between fifty-one and fifty-two per cent of the vote, could nominate and elect any woman politician they wished.

The high percentage of working women is welcome, but it fails to mention that only half of the figures quoted relate to full-time work, that very few women are "permanent" employees (they are always the ones included in the statistics) and that women's professional activity is not at all comparable to men's professional activity from the point of view of the number of employees. statistics, because women never support their husbands and children.

The double workload of working mothers is condemned, but no mention is made of the fact that, according to the statistics, working fathers spend as much time as their working wives on ancillary tasks. - They take care of the paperwork, tax returns, home repairs, car maintenance, gardening and looking after the children. We accuse "male society" of sometimes offering even lower wages to women, but we fail to mention the fact that women's jobs are not always easy. collective agreements are negotiated between trade unions and entrepreneurs, and only a small proportion of working women are union members, let alone activists.

They prove that women - cleaning ladies, toilet attendants - perform unpleasant tasks, but they conceal the fact that all the really unpleasant tasks are performed by men - they are miners, refuse collectors, sweepers, sewage workers, gravediggers, undertakers, butchers, coroners, specialists in proctology, dermatology, venereology and anathomopathology.

Men are criticised for the fact that their legislation prevents abortion ("My womb is mine!"), but they fail to mention that, according to statistics, more men than women are in favour of abortion. the legalisation of abortion and that this is being obstructed by conservative parties, whose voters are still predominantly women.

Men are accused of having invented the pill for women rather than for themselves, but they conceal the fact that the international pharmaceutical industry has invested a thousand times more in the male pill, without success to date, than was needed to invent the female pill, and that the female pill enables women to keep men dependent on them. one-sided. The fact that more women than men undergo psychoanalysis is seen as proof of female despair, but the fact that more men than women commit suicide is hidden, and that in most cases they pay for expensive hours of confession.

Public children do not want to do away with the 'father'. On the contrary, by making the man responsible for everything that is unpleasant in their lives, they make him a real father.

It's not that they want to take responsibility, they just want an anti-authoritarian upbringing: they've had enough of the eternal dolls' houses and would like to finally, as the German nursery rhyme says, touch knives, forks, scissors and electricity, just like little boys. Their own gender makes public children into morons. There's a difference between saying that someone doesn't want to do things differently and saying that they can't do things differently.

If women don't want to do things differently, we'll put them on the same level as the rich: their stupidity is a consequence of their taste for luxury, their lifestyle a choice, their renunciation of functions and dignities proof of their sovereignty. To change their destiny, all they have to do is want to - it's up to them.

If women can't do otherwise, they'll be branded idiots from birth. If women, decades after gaining the right to vote, decades after becoming the vote majorities, having started out in a comfortable life and having been able to choose their education and career freely, still don't manage to break through despite their relentless efforts.

by congenital mental inferiority. These people cannot change their destiny themselves, but depend on the compassion and understanding of those around them: they need male altruism.

However, it is hard to believe that feminists are aware of what they are trying to do to women. They are children, even if they are public. We don't hold children to account, even public children.

killinj-2

@Killing Joke, 2023

The "housewife", who was still more or less the female model at the time Esther Vilar published her trilogy, has since been swept aside by her repulsor, the "outdoor woman", the "working woman". So the German-Argentinian writer is not describing a world that has disappeared, gone forever?

On the one hand, doesn't the constant increase in the number of women in the workforce and, consequently, in the number of women who are financially independent (from the man, not the bank) prove that women no longer expect a man, in Chinweizu's words, to "enjoy sufficient wealth, social status, power, fame, etc. to satisfy the wife's ambitions" and that they have finally decided to "roll up their sleeves" and achieve them themselves? and that they have finally decided to "roll up their sleeves" and achieve them themselves? The steady fall in the marriage rate, combined with the rising age of marriage, the steady increase in the number of divorces, the fact that more and more women are the first to initiate divorce or separation proceedings and the fact that, to cap it all, women, at least in the middle classes, remarry less than men.

men, does it not confirm that fewer and fewer women are willing to "nest", to want to attach themselves to the services of a "domestic slave" and that, once married, if they marry at all, far from doing everything to prevent their "slave" from running away from the "nest", they "nest" with their "domestic slave".

are increasingly seeking to rid themselves of him and intend to provide for their own needs alone? A superficial observer would answer in the affirmative, and perhaps the women themselves have become so suggestive that they believe it.

"The more things change, the more they stay the same", said the novelist and journalist Alphonse Karr (1808-1890). Since the 1970s, everything has changed (formally, including "pipes" and "pipettes", "

At the same time, nothing has changed (substantially). We will have the opportunity to show this unequivocally shortly in the afterword to the French edition of *Anatomy of Female Power* (in which another mirage will also be dispelled: women in the army and in the police profession). In the meantime, Vilar's following remark will have put the superficial observer off:

"the work chosen by the emancipated woman rarely involves effort or responsibility, a l t h o u g h she imagines it involves both."

Esther Vilar, *Das polygame Geschlecht: Das Recht des Mannes auf zwei Frauen*, Munich, 1974, chap. 5 :
"Öffentliche Väter - öffentliche Kinder, translated from the German by B. K.

(1) Esther Vilar was born Esther Margareta Katzen on 16 September 1935 in Buenos Aires. Her parents were had emigrated to Argentina after the National Socialists came to power in the early 1930s, because his father's family, originally from Erlangen, were Jewish. He worked in Buenos Aires as a violinist in cafés, before finding a job as an administrator of an agricultural estate. His mother, born in 1909, was originally from Nuremberg. Having found it difficult to acclimatise to Argentina, she returned there shortly after the birth of her daughter. After the destruction of Nuremberg, she returned with her daughter to her husband in Argentina, where she stayed for several years before returning to Nuremberg.

(2) Judith Weinraub, "She Says It's the Men Who Are Enslaved", *nytimes.com*, 13 June 1972, <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/06/13/archives/she-says-its-the-men-who-are-enslaved.html>.

(3) Alex Baur, *Unerhört - Esther Vilar und der dressierte Mann*, Salis Verlag, 2021.

(4) Alice Schwarzer, *Mein Leben: Lebenslauf und Lebenswerk in einem Band*, Kiepenheuer & Witsch eBook, 2022.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Quoted in Michael Kühntopf, *Juden, Juden, Juden: Ab 5. März 1909*, p. 243, Books On Demand, 2008.

(7) Fiona Lorenz, *Wozu brauche ich einen Gott? Gespräche mit Abtrünnigen und Ungläubigen*, Rowohlt E-Book, 2009.

(8) Rebecca Niazi-Shahabi, *Zweimal lebenslänglich: Von einer, die auszog, das Heiraten*, Piper ebooks, 2014.

(9) Speer. Mit Beiträgen u.a. von Klaus Maria Brandauer. Fotos von Jim Rakete. Transit, Berlin 1998, quoted in Marcel Atze, 'Unser Hitler': Der Hitler-Mythos im Spiegel der deutschsprachigen Literatur nach 1945, Wallstein Verlag, 2013, p. 26.

Sonic, infrasonic and ultrasonic frequencies: the use of waveforms as weapons, devices for psychological manipulation and instruments of physiological influence by industrial organisations, the entertainment industry and military organisations

The ear does not favour any particular "point of view". We are enveloped by sound. It forms a transparent web around us. We say: "Music fills the air". We never say: "Music fills a particular segment of the air."

We hear sounds from everywhere, without ever having to concentrate. Sounds come "from above". We can't mute the sound automatically. We can't mute automatically. We simply don't have earmuffs. Where a visual space is an organised continuum of a uniform and connected kind, the world of the ear is a world of simultaneous relationships.

Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding the Media*

For once, we will leave it to the author, Director of the School of Digital Arts (SODA) at Manchester Metropolitan University, to present his own text, a thesis submitted in 2011 to Liverpool John Moores University for the degree of Professor of Philosophy, not without first attempting to identify, or, to use a term that recurs frequently in the language he has forged for himself to meet the needs of the investigation he is conducting into the limits of perception, "... the limits of perception". locate" the character, by briefly tracing his or her current career.

Toby Heys is involved in a dozen projects, both subsidised and unsubsidised. Let's take a look at six of them.

"AUDIENCE WITH A HERO: INNOVATE UK AUDIENCES OF THE FUTURE", which benefited from a grant of £1 million, aims to "use virtual reality to develop and test new production processes inspired by history, to enable the public to meet a 'hero' in virtual space, who will tell his or her personal story and answer questions in real time. (The project) is based on a National Holocaust Center programme that allows the public to speak with a virtual witness to the Holocaust".

"LIKELY STORIES: AHRC FUNDED STUDENTSHIP" responds to a lack of research on the use of machine learning to understand the aesthetics of persuasion in

audiovisual narratives in the short videos that are commonplace in social media, particularly where marginalised audiences are concerned".

v UNHEALTHY BIAS: WELLCOME TRUST SEED FUND PROJECT " " uses media theory and its methods for informing machine learning approaches to the effectiveness of public health videos put online by the NHS for South Asian audiences".

"MOOD/MUSIC: HELPING YOUNG CARERS COPE WITH LONELINESS" is an artistic project (...) that seeks to get a small group of young carers to use artificial intelligence to co-create emotion-sensing musical tools that express their experiences as a group and as individuals.

"A HISTORY OF ACOUSTIC SURVEILLANCE: COLLABORATION WITH THE DIGITAL STORYTELLING LAB" is aimed at to "develop an interactive experience on acoustic surveillance and spying in the context of AI-activated listening devices that are ubiquitous in digital phones and homes".

"AUDINT-UNSOUND-UNDEAD" is "a research unit that studies how frequencies Ultrasonic, sonic and infrasonic sounds are used to demarcate territory in the soundscape and how their deployment in war and civil war modulates psychological, physiological and architectural states".

The second member of AUDINT (AUDIO INTELLIGENCE) is Steve Goodman, Senior Lecturer in Music Culture at the School of Sciences, Media and Cultural Studies, University of East London, member of the CCRU (Cybernetic Culture Research Unit) and founder of the Hyperdub label.

Not without humour, the only two current members of AUDINT claim that this research unit was created in 1945 by former members of the "Ghost Army", the US army unit responsible for conducting sonic psychological warfare operations against German troops at the end of the Second World War.
Second World War (a).

AUDINT releases "encrypted" records, has its own record label, puts on concerts and videos, holds exhibitions and art installations, gives lectures and maintains a website. computer software, etc., all forms of techno-cultural production that "bring together a blend of whispers and non-sounds in an audible journey that links the underground groove of the Large Hadron Collider to the vaults of the Bank of Hell (c); connects the Dead Record Network (d) to the Phantom Hailer (e); and traces the evolution of the Wandering Soul Tapes (f) into the viral dynamics of the spectral software (spectrumware) called IREX2 (g).

In other words, AUDINT investigates the ways in which "ultrasonic, sonic and infrasonic frequencies are used to demarcate territory in the soundscape and the ways in which their civil and warlike (martial) deployments modulate psychological, physiological and architectural states" (h). This exploration led to the publication of an anthology entitled *Unsound: Undead* (Urbanomic, 2019) (i), from which the following is an extract of the introduction: "Since 2007, popular culture has been marked by the phenomenon of dead rap and rock stars being revived by holographic technology. From Elvis to Tupac, these examples are emblematic of a necromantic culture. It is an emerging art form that problematises the taken-for-granted idea that artists shouldn't stop breathing, and thus disrupts the relationship between sound/music and life. This technology-induced renaissance raises a series of intriguing questions, informed by theories of the post- and the in-humanism, concerning artificiality, mortality and virtuality (what we call the living dead). High-frequency crowd-control systems and audio technology From ultrasonic directional sensors to haptic feedback devices using vibrations in the context of Virtual Reality, our understanding of sound is constantly being restructured. These extensions of hearing to the imperceptible and the not-yet-audible (what we call the Unsound), and their relation to the Undead, delimit the domain of the contributions (to this book). At the end of On this account, the book examines what it is about the sonic that has provided cultures throughout history with channels to the beyond.

Whether or not sound, infrasound and ultrasound - a hypothesis we took up in the second part of <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2019/04/25/marshall-mcluhan/> - offer the possibility, particularly when produced by electricity, of access to transmission zones between the realms of the living and the dead, the fact is that Heys is not the only one to believe this, nor to be experimenting in this direction, since what he calls the 'military-industrial complex' and the 'military-recreational complex' are conducting research in this field which, in turn, could lead to the creation of a new world. have led to the development and construction of acoustic, sound-wave, infrasonic or ultrasonic weapons whose power to bring the living closer to the dead is so great that some are capable of killing and others of manipulating crowds and individuals.

The scarcity of works published in French on acoustic weapons (j), fully justifies, despite everything (in particular, the samsaric and even demonic nature of the conceptual weapon, called 'transmitter-body', which the author proposes to build and use in order to retaliate against sonic, ultrasonic and infrasonic attacks), the publication of his investigation. It would be an understatement to say that, like all 'transcendental hysterics', an expression coined by Evola to designate those who have 'chosen' to be born into an era as chaotic as ours, to indulge in and revel in an external chaos that is merely a reflection of their massive inner chaos, - It would be an understatement to say that the author is on the same wavelength as his time, and that he is participating in the blindness of the human material that is massing there, as shown by his involvement in the development and application of sub-human technologies such as Virtual Reality and Artificial Intelligence, yet, most certainly in because of the predominance of "vertical heredity" over "horizontal heredity", lucidity o u t w e i g h s "bull-faced" blindness, making it capable of shedding light on shadowy areas

This is not only true for the most lucid of those who continue to insist on seeing, understanding and explaining the world through the sole prism(s) of facts, causes and actors that belong to the two superficial dimensions of time and space: never has the occult war raged so fiercely as it has since the introduction and use of the 'new technologies' on a planetary scale - but also to those who, while capable of reducing historical events to their hidden causes, in the case of those that are of a 'political' or 'social' nature, are able to see, understand and explain the world through the prism(s) of facts, causes and actors that belong to the two superficial dimensions of time and space.

political, cultural, economic or religious, lack the necessary knowledge of information and communication technologies to understand and circumscribe those that fall within the remit of the European Union.

this increasingly pervasive technology and, consequently, to gain an overview of the increasingly complex and virtual processes that are intertwining to give a truly monstrous and even, let's say it again, trisomic character to the conditions of today's world and of the future.

the corresponding state of existence.

The author is an insider.

The introduction, the literature review and the methodological section, in which the author exposes, or rather, to use a term dear to him, 'composes' his philosophy, which is neither a system nor even a doctrine in the strict sense of the word, are published to a certain extent to enable readers who so wish to familiarise themselves with the rather unique terminology (here, all terms that have a scientific and technical meaning - whether they relate to music, physiology, surgery, geophysics, architecture, electro-acoustics or telecommunications - must first be understood in this sense) and no less personal style of the author. If this is not the case, you can skip to the first chapter.

This study is a trans-disciplinary and trans-historical investigation into the civilian and military contexts in which loudspeaker systems have been used by the military-industrial complex and the military-industrial complex.

military-entertainment to exert pressure on mass social groupings and individual bodies. Inspired by authors such as the historian and sociologist Michel Foucault, the economist Jacques Attali, the philosopher Michel Serres, the political geographer and urban planner Edward Soja, musician and sound theorist Steve Goodman and cultural theorist and urban planner Paul Virilio, this study orchestrates his arguments by drawing on a wide range of texts. By presenting viral theory in new forms that resonate with the architectural, neurological and political domains, this research provides a new and original analysis of the composition of wave geography. Ultimately, this study investigates how the use of past and present of sound, infrasonic and ultrasonic frequencies as weapons and devices for The use of psychological manipulation and instruments of physiological influence by military, entertainment, civil and industrial organisations anticipates future techniques of socio-spatialised organisation. In the first chapter, it is argued that, since the appearance of wired radio loudspeaker systems in American factories in 1922, the development of sound strategies based primarily on the orchestration of architectural spatiality, the cycles of repetition and the enveloping dynamics of ambiophony can be attributed to the practice of sonic torture at Guantanamo Bay during the first decade of the 21st century. This argument is developed in the second chapter through an exploration of the FBI's use of surround sound techniques during the siege of Waco. In the third chapter, it is further argued that the acoustic techniques used in the torture cells at Guantanamo represent the final modality and logical conclusion of the strategies that have been developed in civilian and military contexts over the last eighty years. In the fourth chapter, the instrumentality of the loudspeaker system of the HSS ultra-directional sound generators - commissioned after Guantanamo - comes to symbolise an epistemic shift in the application of wave pressure; for the dynamics of directional ultrasound technology signal the orchestration of a new set of relations between the transmitter and the receiver, between the loudspeaker system and the architectural context, and between the civilian environment and the wartime environment.

The study's final proposition is that wave mapping - a representation by In order to achieve this, it is essential that the forms of recording, amplification and resistance be composed and arranged in such a way as to make them coherent. In view of the new set of non-sound policies announced by the HSS, this he philosophy of frequency mapping will need to reassess the taxonomy and indexical nature of spatial relationships. This discipline will be a wave psycho-geography, a frequency modality that heuristically maps spatial concerns relating to the neural environment as well as to the surroundings of the material and the built. As a field of research, it will have the ambitious task of exploring the spatial, psychological, physiological, social, economic and waveforms have on our subjectivity. Its methodology - as the structuring of this study suggests - will be multidisciplinary and multichannel. It will create new forms of knowledge about LRADs, iPods, Mosquitos, Intonarumori, megaphones and Acoustic Sequential Arc Discharge Generators (see glossary) - meta-network of

loudspeakers through which the rhythms and cadences of power are transmitted, connected and modulated.

This study begins its investigation into the orchestration and territorialisation of architectural soundscapes by the military-industrial complex at the time when, in 1922, cable radio was introduced into American factories to improve worker productivity rates. It then follows a line of deployments of loudspeaker systems throughout the twentieth century, during which wave strategies were implemented to reduce the number of bodies in spatially reduced circumstances - from the factory to the barracks, via the cell. The break in this frequency trajectory of sound effects came after the Guantanamo Bay detainees were subjected to sonic torture. After Guantanamo, there is no architectural space smaller than a cell in which a loudspeaker system can be used, and it is not possible to channelling music for more violent purposes than causing the psychological and physical collapse of a targeted body, as illustrated in the diagram below.

image

1. The radical change initiated by the military-recreative complex in the 20th century lies in the fact that loudspeakers were replaced by ultrasonic loudspeakers and that, instead of being arranged around the body, they are projected into the body or, to be more precise, into the skull.

Sound, infrasound and ultrasound

It is generally accepted that everything in the known world has a frequency of resonance. The frequencies that form our perception of sound, namely those between 20 Hz and 20,000 Hz, are only a small part of the complete spectrum in which we exist. There are three frequency ranges. Acoustic vibrations whose frequency is too low (20,000 hertz) to be perceived by the human ear are called infrasound. As the waveforms that are close to the ground, they are distinguished by their ability to travel long distances, through and around objects, with minimal energy dissipation. Natural phenomena such as earthquakes, tornadoes, waterfalls and volcanic eruptions generate infrasound, which animals such as alligators, elephants and whales are thought to perceive and use to communicate hundreds of kilometres away.

Acoustic vibration with a frequency in excess of 20,000 hertz is known as ultrasound. Because it is highly directional and very easy to control, the ultrasound range is used in medical imaging techniques such as ultrasound, to visualise internal organs and obtain information about somatic structure. It has been used by the "Acoustic Squawk Box" (Rodwell, 1973) (a British Army crowd dispersal unit first tested in 1973 in Northern Ireland) and as a non-lethal weapon/communication tool by the US Army in the form of HyperSonic Sound® (also known as HSS) technology (see glossary). The HSS system was developed by LRAD, which states on its website that it "uses ultrasonic energy to focus the sound of your choice on the intended listener and nowhere else". Ultrasonic waveforms are also exploited by SOund NAVigation and Ranging. This system, known as SONAR, was developed in 1918 and is now used by navies around the world. It is a technology that uses the propagation of sound (mainly ultrasonic frequencies) for underwater navigation and communications or for ship detection. Perceived by the whole body, these ranges of infrasound and ultrasound - the acoustic vibrations that we cannot perceive - which are called non-sound or Unsound sounds are imperceptible to the ear, which means that we are literally affected by this type of frequency. The notion of non-sound differs from that of unsound in that it echoes the geographical notion of non-place. It is therefore a sonic spatiality made up of transient behaviours and a negation of emotional associations. The notion of soundlessness can be understood as a vibratory cosmology of affect and proactive embodied cognition (1) at the periphery of perception (Steve Goodman discusses this in more detail in his *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect And The Ecology Of Fear* [2009]). Excessive or targeted amplification of any of these vibrations can cause unbearable nausea, relaxation of the body's organs and, ultimately, death. Research into the effects that these three frequency bands (infrasound, sound and ultrasound) have on humans was only institutionalised, in every sense of the word, at the beginning of the 20th century. Officially, infrasound was only discovered in 1883 following the eruption of Krakatoa, which shows just how new this field of study is.

While exploring the realm of sounds perceptible to the human ear, this study also investigates ultrasonic and infrasonic phenomena, in order to detect the ways in which vibrations (a term that refers to all frequencies in the infrasonic, sonic and ultrasonic) have been used as tools and weapons to demarcate physiological, spatial and psychological territories. This investigation calls into question the general cultural beliefs of the imperceptible phenomena and states of being and, by extension, underlines the importance of the importance of understanding marginal, liminal and peripheral phenomena. Adopting such a position means asking phenomenological questions about the effects of frequencies on the somatic. Taking this line of enquiry further will enable us to examine the following organisations military, industrial and civil technologies that employ frequency strategies (see glossary) - space technologies that reshape our understanding of the sound environment as audible. This study proposes to publicly amplify and make manifest those technologies which, like HSS,

operate at the limits of what can be perceived by the senses, so that our undulatory bodies can formulate their purpose, orientation and socio-spatial priorities.

Perception and the phenomenology of the wave body

The phenomenological terrain of the present study is briefly presented here to situate the arguments, questions and theories relating to the sensory perception of vibrations. The aim of this summary is to determine how, when and where we situate ourselves in frequency environments and to understand the ways in which strategies orchestrated by the military-industrial and military-recreational complexes have been (and will be) used to manipulate conscious hearing, somatic awareness and spatial orientation. From a phenomenological point of view, human beings understand themselves, their orientation and interactions in the world, as well as the world itself.

The senses themselves, through the perceptions transmitted to them by a number of organs and physiological sensory systems. Of all the senses that perceive, transmit and process information provided by the matrix of phenomena and stimuli in which man is immersed on a daily basis, those which have historically been the subject of the greatest number of studies, of books and experiments are sight, sound, touch, taste and smell. This traditional index of the sensory network can be traced back to Aristotle, whose three books *On the Soul* constitute a "masterpiece" of the senses.

meditation on the nature of living beings and on the theory of the five senses (Rorty and Nussbaum, 1992). While it is fair to say that this interactive set of perceptual systems provides us with the ordinary information we need to feel that we are in control of our actions, this is not the case. It is the information provided by sight that is privileged and that dominates the construction of our understanding of the world. "Sight has been the privileged sense in philosophical discourse since the Enlightenment," writes Sterne (2002: 3).

Historically ignored, sometimes marginalised and often poorly understood, other perceptive systems, such as equilibrioception (the sense of balance), proprioception and kinaesthesia (the sense of touch), are also important.

(sense of movement), nociception (sense of pain), magnetoception (sense of direction) and thermoception (sense of temperature), have been recorded and studied more recently, and have not been represented in the same way as sight. Nor have they received the attention they deserve, given their importance in our knowledge of our states and actions. Because that, culturally, the West tends to accept the belief that the known world can be explained by the sense of sight, it has, to a large extent, annexed a cartography, a history and a language of its own.

sociology of the perception, experience and interpretation of sounds, as the German sociologist Georg Simmel noted at the beginning of the twentieth century (Frisby and Featherstone, 1997: 109-120).

Discourses

that define the spatiality of vibrations and make up acoustic psycho-geographies (see glossary) continue to be discreetly excluded from our collective lexicon and practice individual. This study engages in discourses that attempt to help re-establish a sensory balance

within the philosophy of Western culture; to question, analyse and challenge the disproportionate importance accorded to ocular logic, with a view to elevating hearing and, in a lesser extent, the touch in critical phenomenological indicators of agentivity, urban spatiality, cultural chronology, collective psychological orientation and social relations.

Accordingly, the introduction to this study is based on the assertion that we need to locate and amplify a body of lost sonic, ultrasonic and infrasonic knowledge before giving substance, in the following chapters, to a wave discourse. Investigating this body of lost vibratory knowledge, which is at once autonomised, alienated and networked by frequencies, requires us to sketch out its characteristics sonically, in order to know what we are listening to and to understand the nature of the body that will come into play in our subsequent explorations of the soundscape. Foucault's notion of the 'oscillating subject' gives us, in relation to vibrations, an idea of this body of lost frequency knowledge. Believing that the individual acts not simply as a passive receiver but also as an active artisan - or transmitter - in a network of relations of power, Foucault asserts: "Power functions in a network, and in this network individuals not only circulate, but they are always in a position to undergo and also to exercise power; they are never the inert or consenting target of power, they are always its relays" (Foucault, 1980: 98).

As it exists within a network of power relations, this vacillating subjectivity transmits, transforms and receives information based on political micro-sound, noise and harmonies emitted by the surrounding network of embodied loudspeakers inside which it is located. It is within this distributed system of social influence that we are able to follow the evolution of spatial negotiations, methods of psychological alienation and strategies of physiological manipulation that simultaneously locate and displace our body of lost vibratory knowledge. Now that we have discussed the capacities of our mute subjectivity and its possible localisation, we can say that it is the body that will be studied, spatialised, historicised and ultimately enriched in the course of this study. We can also give it a name: the antenna body. The antenna body speaks to us of being-in-the-world of vibrations. It is imbued with an agentivity that is lacking in contemporary mediated bodies, in subjects such as those theorised by McKenzie Wark, who, living in virtual geographies, 'no longer have roots', (because) "they have antennae (aerials)" (1994: xiv), thus constituting themselves as somatic models that can only receive signals, communications and information. Conversely, the body as transmitter is a useful subjectivity for this study, because it constitutes the mode of manifestation of two states of being at once, those of reception and transmission, and in so doing reveals the power inherent in the fact of being both, of being neither one nor the other, and of being more than the two capacities that are part of his identity. Rather than being statically positioned, he argues that we live in the grip of Manichaean dualistic conceptions (see glossary) of good and evil, sound and silence, place and space; and, therefore, that we are constantly between stations and constantly changing channels. The modulating, transforming and propagating nature of the

The body as transmitter provides us with new ways of perceiving the social in wave space. And it is these past displacements, spatialities and mutations that form the body of lost knowledge we need to explore to determine whether they have already been perceived or observed. A broader interrogation of Western thought over the last two centuries - in the form of a frequency identification parade - will help to carry out this investigation and at the same time create a frequency episteme (see glossary).

The group of five thinkers who will provide us with insights into the identity of the lost body of knowledge has been chosen for a number of reasons. Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Adorno have all been chosen for their respect for musical sound and for those who have the ability to channel it. All these thinkers write about the mysteriously powerful effect that music has on its listeners, and thus confer special status, even genius status, on those who are able to compose and perform music. control these wave elements. In the scenarios presented by these three thinkers, the supposedly banal pattern of everyday life is transcended by the high art, metaphysical power and cathartic potential of organised sound.

This study looks at how these philosophies identify waveforms with power, but instead of delving into the idea of waveforms as a cause for revelation and celebration, it analyses how the whole range of frequencies is used to organise, influence and torture human subjects in the circumstances of everyday life as well as in those considered to be exceptional. Jacques Attali was selected because he broke with the line of thought and instead characterises music as the mechanism that defines the capitalist organisation of everyday life. Although Attali's sono-economic theory is not part of the trajectory followed by this study, his break with a multi-secular line of thought that attributed to music a special place inside and outside the social body (as well as, by inference, the capacity to bring society to a more utopian realisation of itself) is important for this text's investigation into the location of the transmitter-body.

The subject of the nineteenth-century German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, according to whom "music was the only art that did not merely copy ideas, but embodied the will itself" (Albright, 2004 253), is therefore the first wave body to appear in our modern historical range of frequency bodies of thought. Schopenhauer saw the will as the ultimate folly of a humanity whose spasmodic expression of its desires leads only to confusion. He claimed that living a life of observation and reflection with detachment was the only way to understand and make oneself autonomous from the seductive powers of emotional, physical and sexual desires; passions which, according to him, could never be actualised anyway. The fact that Schopenhauer's attuned body is much less concerned with external spatial preoccupations than with metaphysical preoccupations - those that circumvent the will of the conscious mind, making the somatic a

channel of pure expression - means that it cannot be the body that receives and transmits knowledge that we are looking for. Schopenhauer's body is presented as an instrument that channels the essences of humanity and, as such, emits a signal that is too pure to be the body. We are in search of a displaced sound that is as much identified, territorialised and shaped by dissonance, feedback and distortion as it is by harmony, melody and tonality.

The next possible witness/subject is the body of the unspeakable of Friedrich Nietzsche, a fervent admirer of the composer and conductor Richard Wagner. This is a corporeality initially saturated with musical adoration (Nietzsche, 1967). Wagner "infinitely increased the expressive capacity of the music", wrote Nietzsche passionately (1966: 919). Although this body of thought can help us express the ontological capacity of the unspeakable, it remains mute to the questions we ask it about our spatial search; such writings are incapable of locating our body in a place, space or environment that has witnessed military, civil or industrial sound strategies. However, the Nietzsche's reverence for Wagner eventually turned to disdain and embarrassment, and he distanced himself from the Wagnerian subject of his undulatory desires.

While the two bodies found so far have given us some aesthetic indications, they have hardly provided us with any socio-political or spatial bases on which to move forward. The three phenomenological bodies theorised by Maurice Merleau-Ponty in the course of his career are more relevant to our research. His bodies of thought - the 'lived body', the 'habitual body' and the 'flesh' - provide us with relevant insights into the role played by the senses in reintegrating the body into critical thought. The 'lived body' expresses ideas about the role that perception plays in the interpretation of being-in-the-world, and refers to the way in which the nature of the body influences perception in a 'real' world where realities are intimately linked. The 'usual body' is a somatic conceptualisation that receives information and acts on it. memories of identical or similar activities, in relation to external stimuli. In this way, previous modes of experience become sedimented in the behaviours of the 'habitual body'. Towards the end of his career, Merleau-Ponty developed the ontological concept of 'flesh' in order to study in greater detail the influence of perception on our understanding of existence.

The flesh is therefore a materialism of the body that assimilates somatic constituents to the physical composition of the external world.

These three conceptualisations form the basis of our wave body, open it up to examination and show that clearly that everything somatic exists in a continuous state of negotiation between subject and object. Understanding the way in which we interact with ourselves and with the world we live in is an essential part of this process.

(in a state of constant transition) is certainly useful, but, in the end, it is not in Merleau-Ponty's ocular metaphors, nor in his studies or theories on *The Visible and the Invisible*, that we find the most useful. *The Invisible* (1968), that we locate our wave body. While orienting ourselves towards observations that have been made of the body to which we are listening, the nature of the perception - the observation - of the somatic is precisely the problem here, because, as we know, our investigation is looking for phenomena that can be heard and felt, not those that are recorded by visual observation.

The Frankfurt School theorist Theodor Adorno's musically conditioned body symbolises the wounded and disenchanted witness to the emergence of mass culture in the twentieth century. Adorno's disgust with frequencies organised according to standard musical patterns - popular compositions that, in his view, denied the complexity, experimentation and critical analysis that high art could offer - increased as consumerism spread. Like many thinkers influenced by Marxism, Adorno's highly educated witness locates a utopian eschatology by establishing socio-historical trajectories in the wave environment rather than perceiving its topologies. psycho-geographical. Once again, spatiality is at the root of a temporal discourse that subjects our bodies to disappointing rotations, failing to strike in cadence with a promise musical emancipation from its mechanical functioning.

Adorno's critical consciousness of the body - an individual embodiment of choreographed needs - turns apprehensively in its box, worried about being placed in a chain of production of identities. acoustics. It is nonetheless revealing and informative about undulatory bodies, whose movements were first heard in the socio-economic, psychological, and political, begin to become perceptible. Adorno's musically conditioned body provides information on how frequencies are mechanised to make societies function in repetitive cycles. It tells us about the strategic fabrication of the collective psychology, orientation and physiology of the civilian population through music and the creation of desires that can only be fulfilled by a capitalist system that mutes those it cannot. into potential markets. In a world where culture is within everyone's reach, music is used as a socio-economic instrument to relieve and soothe people in financial difficulty, by enabling them to consume and identify with its expression. collectively commodified. Secret and insidious, the true objective of popular music is, according to Adorno, rendered imperceptible, camouflaged as it is by "the manipulation of taste and the pretension of the official culture to individualism" (1978: 280).

Manipulated and influenced by music, the mass social body of which Adorno speaks tells us about the capacity of frequencies - in the form of music - to organise spatiality and our movements within it. We are now in a position to perceive and monitor repetitive movements.

performed by our missing wave body, without however being able to listen to a more complex analysis because Adorno's interpreter only follows the binary rhythms that define either scholarly or popular culture. The antagonistic aesthetic of this body is seductive, because it echoes our concerns about manipulation through the airwaves, the cultivation of psychological needs and industrial strategies of pseudo-individualisation; but, in the end, the

The somatic character of the musically conditioned body rings hollow, because it does not allow us to spatialise its presence. It centres the body in the perceptible, thus denying the ostensible dynamic imparted to affect by the liminal, the marginal and the unknown. We cannot recognise any agentivity, influence or orientation, we can only listen to it through the logic of the totality of the locked groove from which it can never escape. Caught up in repetitive cycles of existence, sometimes tense, sometimes relaxed, Adorno's musical body of thought forms a schematic interpretation of the relationship between cause and effect, as its subject, sometimes lulled into the deep sleep of Stravinsky, or awakened by Schoenberg's revolutionary call (see glossary).

The three chronologically orchestrated witnesses of the economist Jacques Attali signal the last characters of our poster. The sacrificial body, symbol of the original body of music, "[appears] (...) as originating in ritual murder, of which it is a simulacrum, a minor form of sacrifice and harbinger of change. We shall see that in this it was an attribute of political and religious power, that it signified order, but also heralded subversion" (Attali, 1977: 10); the representative body - which, after having "(entered) into commodity exchange, (...) participated in the growth and creation of capital and spectacle" (Attali, 1977: 10); and the repetitive body, which saw music become "(a) a symbol of order, and (b) a harbinger of subversion" (Attali, 1977: 10). fetishised as a commodity' (Attali, 1977: 10); its consumption has become so widespread that it has become an object that '(is stored) until it loses its meaning' (Attali, 1977: 10).

While each of these bodies of thought is clothed in the characteristics of a different historical period, all three are designed together to suggest that music is the most socially revealing and significant form of cultural expression, "because it is prophetic. Since time immemorial, it has contained in its principles the announcement of times to come" (Attali, 1977: 8). Attali suggests that all the cultural modes of creating, perceiving and disseminating music are implicitly linked to - and, even more, symbolically foreshadow - the wider social practices of production, storage and distribution. Each body therefore represents a model of coordination

It is a model of future modes of social organisation. In the end, Attali's three models of musical and social organisation tend to reveal a model that is more in tune with the culture from which it springs. A body of thought without socio-economic theorising, which he called a 'body of composition'. Its analytical characteristics resemble those of the frequential subjectivity we are looking for. Basically, it is a body of thought that considers sound from the point of view of the logistics of social organisation, the restructuring of economic networks, the paradigm shifts it creates in socio-political registers and the speculative potential of waveforms.

In the end, Attali makes a socio-economic reading of the musical construction of the body and its capacity to be commanded, directed and monitored according to the needs of the labour market. Faint whispers of our lost body begin to resonate in Attali's statement (1977: 9) that he intended not just to "theorise about music but to theorise through music (...).

Today, theorising through language or mathematics is no longer sufficient, because it is too heavy with prior signifiers, incapable of accounting for the essentials of time: the qualitative and the vague, the threat and the violence".

These statements acknowledge the existence of the missing wave body and our collective need to define its capacities, movements and potentialities. If our dislocated subject shares some of the characteristics of Attali's compositional body, it still does not represent the one we expect. Urgent questions have still not been asked about the compositional body's acoustic capacity to organise itself in space - in the theatre of operations, i.e. on the field of

battle, in the workplace or in the street. Imperceptible waveforms are completely ignored by Attali, making his fourth model a one-dimensional body of thought devoid of the dimensions that ultrasound and infrasound entail. Most significantly, while detailing the socio-economic effects of music, Attali's missing fourth model makes no coherent statement about the body itself and the effect that waveforms on it.

The list we have drawn up of the somatic modalities of wave thinking has taught us a great deal about the areas in which we need to seek out our body of wave knowledge

We must now explore new fields and philosophical parameters in order to provide more information about the movements of the body-transmitter and the military, industrial and civil networks within which it exists. We now need to explore new terrains and philosophical parameters in order to provide more information about the movements of the body-transmitter and the military, industrial and civilian networks within which it exists. A new set of questions needs to be addressed in order to locate its agentivity, its potential and its socio-political register; the first of which is who is developing the frequency technologies for the purpose of capturing, indexing and exploiting the imperceptible frequencies and how they are used to shape social, temporal and cultural space.

private; how to define behaviour, the carnal interface and the extension of the body in a field of vibratory relations; how to name, record and cross the thresholds between sound and silence, between presence and absence. Only when we have answered these questions will we be able to say that we have begun to map the sensory topologies of the transmitter-body.

to draw up a map of influence, manipulation and torture that will enable us to better define its movements and transgressions, as well as our own sense of space and orientation in relation to it.

Wave language and hearing

We cannot hear others hear. We can watch others look and form an opinion about how they look, but we cannot do the same for sound. As such, the action of hearing is a mute interaction, because through the sensory register of hearing, one person can never perceive another perceive. Hearing is therefore a sense that serves as a refuge for what is hidden, liminal and auricular; it creates a contradictory sensory spatial dynamic that is hidden and unspeakable, but whose limits are porous and malleable. Consequently, it is permissible to bring other types of discourse into the same analytical space as that occupied by physics, phenomenology and neurology, in an attempt to describe the characteristics of hearing. The territorial boundaries of the perception of wave space cannot therefore be effectively sealed off by facts, observations or recordings. The intrinsic and constant negotiation of the unspeakable and the unnameable by the inhabitants of these environments means that the boundaries are constantly being recomposed and are never rigid. It is precisely this fluctuating dynamics that allow unofficial, unscientific and unrecognised languages to translate waveforms into exchangeable knowledge; narratives that tear apart and dislocate simultaneously the definitions of these translations. Subsequently, it was in this context - in which the oscillatory and transitory nature of meaning was highlighted - that conspiracy theories, conjectures religious discourse and science fiction attempt to explain the liminal states of frequencies. These discourses coexist with official bodies of knowledge, rubbing up against them and irritating them, because they undermine their rhythmic methods of erudition, their forms of rationalisation and their assumptions. epistemology of the soundscape.

Throughout this study, it is asserted that we have not yet fully developed a socially accepted language that explains the topological characteristics, psychological orientation and physiological violence of waveforms. The fact that there are no words to explain phenomena, whether they are based on frequencies, objects or actions, has the following corollary the attribution to these same phenomena of a meaning that is rooted in anxious discourse about the supernatural, apparitions and conspiracies. These shifted and misunderstood interpretations are often not translatable into the existing wave language that is supposed to evaluate them. By As a result, the narrative and interpretive discourses that aim to explain frequency phenomena are marginalised and attached to the nervous dispositions of culture. Not being able to name a thing, an experience or a vibration dislocates us as the rational and central subject of the world in which we live. Our comfortable position as individuals capable of understanding, judging and applying ideas to their environment on the basis that they are capable of knowing and naming is threatened by our inability to express what we perceive. It is the unspeakable that we bury violently in our subconscious, it is the unspeakable that we strive to forget, because what we don't remember talking about is what is half dead to us.

It is here, between the transfer of the signal and the monotony of the flat line, that undulating memories, channels between the expressed and the unspeakable, operate in the undead networks of perception.

Being on the periphery of the living and the dead is a power. The power of frequencies lies partly in their disorientating capacity to displace the language, description and perception of the two states of being. From a spatial point of view, Foucault defines the cemetery as "a space that is (...) in connection with the whole of all the sites of the city or society or village, since every individual, every family finds itself with relatives in the cemetery" (1967: 48). It is in this place of transition that he recognises that a change is taking place, a transmutation of understanding, of mapping and of the distinction between the living and the dead, because 'from the moment when we are no longer very sure of having a soul, that the body will rise again, we must perhaps carry a lot more of attention to this mortal remains, which is ultimately the only trace of our existence among the world and among words' (Foucault, 1967: 48). It is this sense of uncertainty that drives us to also to characterise the soundscape as a refuge from the dark, an ambiguous spatiality that harbours phenomena and interactions that we are unable to rationalise, whether they be the nocturnal noises that cannot be explained (and which are interpreted as being produced by the movements of the dead) or the inner voices that we attribute to the mentally ill to help us understand the noisy, multi-channel nature of schizophrenia (see glossary). If we take this account - which orders the sonic in the afterlife - to its abominable conclusion and When we listen to his musical composition, we find the typical example of our cultural anxiety and concern about the purgatory power of frequencies.

Allegations (often made by Christian-affiliated organisations) of messages recorded backwards on vinyl records reveal the full extent of our moral, social and bestial fears about music's ability to convey information from places of perdition. Many popular singers, including Britney Spears, ELO and Eminem, have been accused of recording songs using backmasking techniques. The most infamous trial of defendants who alleged that backmasking inspired their actions was that of Charles Manson for the murder of Tate and LaBianca in 1969. During the trial, it was claimed that Manson believed that an apocalyptic race war would engulf the country and that the Beatles had songs like *Helter Skelter* contain hidden messages that herald this violence.

Manson's delusional response (to these messages he thought he had perceived) was to record his own prophetic music and murder (among others) Leno and Rosemary LaBianca and actress Sharon Tate, in order to trigger the conflict in question. In 1985, Vokey and Read carried out psychological tests to determine whether subliminal messages in music influence behaviour. Their study concluded that there was no evidence to support such an idea and that the

The perception of such messages in music tells us more about a subject's will to invent than about the actual existence of implicit content (Vokey and Read, 1985: 1231-1239) (2).

Fears about the power of organised sound are only fully satisfied when subliminal messages (see lexicon) are credited with the ability to drive mentally unstable subjects such as US serial killer Richard Ramirez to commit horrific acts of violence. This anxious disposition then attributes to music - and by extension to frequencies - the ability to incite evil acts and, even more, the power to transfer the somatic and the spiritual to the vicinity of the underworld itself. In this context, music can be perceived as a phenomenon that operates in the conduit between psychological suffering and its physical expression; between the scientifically monitored state and the unthinkable act; as a force that transgresses the material world of things, while profoundly influencing and directing actions within it. It is, then, the contradictory symbolic index of music - as an expression of both religious celebration and transmission of the devil's will - which makes waveforms phenomena to be feared and venerated at the same time.

Anxiety about the way frequencies move and transfer us from one place to another are still inherent in Western culture. As we have already said, this is partly due to the fact that our ontological and epistemological lexicon lacks words for communicating and encourage feedback on the deadly, tumultuous, embodied nature of waveforms. If this is the case, it is incumbent upon the writer who theorises the spatiality of frequencies to understand why we need such words; to amplify the concepts already composed; and to create new syntax, vocabularies and registers for developing discourses about frequencies. In terms of creating words, terms and ideas about waveforms and their organisation, a number of thinkers have had an impact on the writing of this study.

R. Murray Schafer (1977) coined a number of fundamental terms that are used regularly throughout this thesis; "soundscape", "schizophrenia" and "auditory witness" are among these neologisms; "soundscape" can be paraphrased as meaning the whole world. Schafer defines "schizophony" - which is to sound what schizophrenia is to the psyche - as "the split between an original sound and its electroacoustic transmission or reproduction" (1977: 90); the "auditory witness" is "one who testifies or can testify to what he or she has heard" (1977: 272). The French composer, writer and engineer Pierre Schaeffer coined the term "sound object", later interpreted by Michael Chion (1983) to mean any sound event that can be interpreted as a coherent sum, independently of the production or interpretation of the sound.

There are already glossaries of terms relating to auditory effects, such as *À l'écoute de l'environnement : Répertoire des effets sonores* (2005) by Jean-François Augoyard and Henri Torgue. The recent publication of numerous dictionaries of this kind reflects a broader desire for indexes aimed at rehabilitating our knowledge of sound by acoustically mapping the daily soundtrack of urban space. Prior to these new manifestations of cultural interest in sound, Attali had reminded us of the need to develop new forms of language to explain the mutation of being-in-the-world-of-waveforms. He had suggested that visual languages had lost their reactivity due to overuse and the fact that they were overburdened by the belief that they could explain phenomena that did not fall within their remit. For Attali, this means that "(i)t is therefore necessary to imagine radically new theoretical forms to speak to the new realities (...) It (music) reflects the making of society; it is the audible tape of the vibrations and signs that constitute society. As an instrument of knowledge, it encourages us to decipher a sound form of knowledge" (1977: 9). As we have seen, this sound form of knowledge remains necessary, but there are two other registers of understanding to which Attali makes no allusion, those of the ultrasonic and the infrasonic. So the new form of knowledge conveyed by this thesis is thirded knowledge, because it is made up of the three registers of wave perception; and it is the socio-spatialization of wave perception that is explored by the deploying neologisms such as 'thirdsound', which refers to a sonic spatiality that challenges our dualistic understanding of waveforms as heard/unheard, real/imagined, painful/pleasant.

The study is indebted to a number of theoretical developments in the concept of "tiercéisation". "thirding" as a methodologically and analytically formatted tool for dismantling the dualistic thinking. Of particular note is Michel Serres' suggestion that noise is the inevitable 'Third Man' between two interconnected parts. He suggests that, in an exchange of sound information, noise is in an ambiguous position, being a presence
 We are immersed in the noise of the world (...). Serres writes that "... we are immersed in noise (...)
 We are in the noise of the world, we are not in the noise of the world.
 In the beginning is noise" (1980: 170). The dynamic of 'tiercéisation' employed by Hélène Cixous in her novel *The Third Body* (1970) is also useful. She introduces it (on the first page of the text), in order to define the somatic relationship
 between two lovers, thus breaking down the dualistic understanding of agentivity and sublimation, as the two bodies, at once identical and other, end up constructing a third identity. For Homi K. Bhabha (1994), the third space represents a hybrid spatiality of antagonisms, constant tensions and potential chaos. He argues that, from this place, it is possible to destabilise the binary oppositions that construct the First and Third Worlds, including those that exist between the First World and the Third World. centre and margin, civilised and savage, capital and labour. Through this theoretical act of associative dislocation, he argues, it would be possible, by employing techniques of tiercéisation, to reconstruct discursive political discourses that would help to disempower systems of colonisation.

The viracoustic channel

The viracoustic channel of this study is a formalised instrument for investigating how viral dynamics can be mapped from the sonic environment to provide new methods for navigating its shifting marginal and miasmatic territories. Given that the modality of the virus within somatic, computational and capitalist networks is generally recognised as the most efficient vehicle for propagation, it is useful to examine how this infectious paradigm operates in the organisation of frequencies. Using the conceptual apparatus of viral modulation to analyse waveform phenomena we will

allows us to understand the perpetual changes that occur in the way humans perceive the world. Documenting the transient and constantly changing nature of the soundscape also amplifies the problems inherent in virology, particularly those relating to prediction, detection and protection. The complex and difficult issues involved in attempting to classify the spread and dissemination of viruses can therefore be understood as analogous to those that arise in exploring the evanescent nature of frequencies. Ultimately, it is the dilemmas and paradoxes implicit in deploying a viral approach as the viracoustic channel which, as much as the most obvious metaphors that can be drawn from such an analysis, define its relevance for this wave study.

The term "viracoustics" is a cross-breed of "viral" and "acoustics". It is a conceptual methodology which, in this study, provides information throughout the four chapters. From a conceptual point of view, the word 'viracoustic' suggests that the itinerant nature of frequencies gives them the amplitude they need to mutate, modify and reconstruct

systems of thought that give voice to space and its territorialisation. The new discourses that emerge from listening to the viral nature of space aim to reveal the networks of transmission that have been orchestrated...

by the military-recreative complex to infect the social body with its psychological, socio-economic and physiological objectives. By deploying the viracoustic channel, we infect ourselves with a viral discourse that gives us critical power - the ability to understand how volumes of dissonance, amplitudes of violence and levels of behaviour are modulated by the organisations that seek to delimit the sonic environment. The transient, transmitting and dislocating spatiality expressed by the second part of the term - 'channel' - is based on an inversion of the 'channel'.

Paul Virilio's notion of the vector. The present study suggests that the dromological non-place of the vector no longer speaks to us of our socio-spatial environment or of our being-in-the-world of waveforms. Our embodied world of frequencies is the one that is spatialised by the discursive nature and

of the viral; and the absolute importance of speed (arrogated by the projectile) has been supplanted by the systematic breaking down of linearity - by the techniques of deception, contagion and of changes in production that capitalism has brought about throughout the world.

A transitional device between the chapters, the viracoustic channel links the third sub-section of each chapter. It connects disparate chronologies, spatialities and events, and forms the centrepiece of the work.

transmission of the conceptualisations, arguments and speculative hypotheses of the thesis. It tells us of the unrealized possibilities that waveforms offer for constructing viral spatiality; communicating wave networks that could help resist those who would stifle the body-transmitter's capacity to emit. The study argues that we will understand the organisation of social space better through a viracoustic channel than through a reflection on the temporal modality of the vector (see glossary) so ardently defended by Virilio. Attali's suggestion that critical analysis and philosophical disposition should be created on the basis of undulatory thought is very interesting, because "it (music) is a means of perceiving the world....

(and significantly) is there to make mutations heard" (1985: 9). What is interesting here is the testimonial character of Attali's 'audible mutation', for it suggests that change can only be communicated through the composition of new ways of perceiving. Three leitmotifs shape, modify and transform the content that is introduced into the viracoustic channel. As critical codes of conduct, the three spatial concepts explain the topology (see glossary) of the waveforms and their potential to shape space, networks and bodies. The three leitmotifs are Foucauld's conceptualisation of the 'heterotopia', Marc Augé's conceptualisation of the 'non-place' and Edward Soja's conceptualisation of 'thirdspace'.

Originally, Foucauld's concept of the heterotopia was that of a space existing between real" space and "utopian" space. As such, it is an 'other' space that operates beyond the hegemonic order - a space that is both real and imaginary, mental and material, here and elsewhere. Examples of this are the mirror, the asylum - where deviant bodies are placed - and the ship. In his short article *Des espaces autres* (1967) (published after his death), Michel Foucault set out the blueprints for what we now call heterology: the study of the other. This has been used as a tool for critical analysis by a range of academics and film specialists,

poetry, urban planning, contemporary art and cartography. Architects such as George Teyssot (1977) express the heterotopia's potential to communicate the socio-political dynamics of the built environment, and thus reveal the subversive spatial critique underlying this notion. It is useful to this study because it suggests that the identity, socio-political structure and power relations of any undulating space are in a state of constant mutation and renegotiation.

The term 'non-place' was coined by French anthropologist Marc Augé in *Non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (1992). He sees the non-place as a spatiality of transience; as social spaces that are devoid of emotional investment, have no cultural significance and therefore do not meet the definition of a place or a space. According to Augé, "If a place can be defined in terms of identity, relationships and history, a

A space that cannot be defined in terms of identity, relationships or history will define a non-place" (1992: 100). He cites motorways, airports and hotel rooms as perfect examples of non-places, which, in his view, are becoming increasingly symptomatic of the "new world".

supermodernity - a post-modern era which (from Augé's point of view) is deeply devoted to technology, transport networks and the transfer of information.

Edward Soja conceptualises 'third space' as a principle of his postmodern geography. The term refers to spaces that are both imaginary and real. He defines it as follows: "'Third-space' is a deliberately provisional and flexible term that attempts to capture what is in fact a milieu of ideas, of events and appearances that are constantly evolving and changing... there's a growing awareness of growing awareness of the simultaneity and interweaving of the social, the historical and the spatial, of their inseparability and interdependence.... The challenge posed by Thirdspace is therefore transdisciplinary in scope. It affects all modes of thought" (1996: 2-3).

These three meditations on lived space, imagined space and traversed space act as conceptual vectors in the viracoustic channel. They raise questions such as whether 'audiotopias' (a wave-like version of heterotopia, in which a sonic spatiality comes to represent other frequency sites within a culture, while being itself deliberately

If so, how do they function conceptually; how do we perceive a non-sound in a non-place; where do we critically situate the socio-political register of the third-sound. Such investigations suggest that the sound environment must be textually re-mapped, and audible and inaudible mutations recorded, in order to produce new forms of language. Consequently,

The messenger in this study is never static, disciplined or susceptible to instructions. He is a corrupted carrier of perception, mutating what he comes into contact with, hybridizing existing terminologies, notions and formulations from various fields of study in order to form its own dynamic, complex and abstract character. The messenger of this study can then be analysed and diagnosed as what we call the viral waveform; a contingent phenomenon that moves and modifies itself in order to compose a space where its frequency discourses can be reproduced culturally.

The viral waveform

Many terms are used to describe the multiple carriers of viral culture - worms, malware and Trojan horses, in computer systems; bacteriophages, micro-organisms and pathogens, in the body matrix, where they are carried by fluids and air; and worms.

earworms, influencers and sneezers, in the social networks targeted by viral marketing strategists (see glossary) (who look for the people with the greatest Social Networking Potential [SNP]), in order to persuade them to pass on the message.

popularity of demographically relevant products. Such a taxonomy of the liminal, of the barely perceived, could also be attributed to the thresholds of oscillation, which refer to sound; to those margins that

become blurred in the non-audible spectra of ultrasound and infrasound, particularly when used by those working for the military-recreational complex to experiment on unsuspecting targets. The notion of the barely perceived also evokes these thresholds, which lie at the intersection of the the living, the undead and the dead, and the cultural belief that viruses and waveforms can open conduits between these states of being. Viruses, like waveforms, are difficult to control, map and detect. As such, they both have the ability to travel

imperceptibly, to infiltrate and unlock as well as to enter without authorisation, creating networks and unidentifiable evidence. Similarly, we can think of the virus that stealthily penetrates computer systems; renegotiates and rewrites network protocol on the sly; creates cultures of fear and paranoia at the mere mention of its name. As for waveforms, we can ruminate equally on: - the long-range waveforms of infrasound and their propensity to travel thousands of kilometres without being noticed by

the capacity of ultrasound to scan and make visible that which cannot be perceived by the naked eye; the anxiety culture of fear and suspicion that envelops the wave body and its vulnerability to the power of frequencies. So it could be said that waveforms and viruses have the capacity to propagate behaviour of a transgressive nature. The fact that these behaviours are orchestrated in networks where it is difficult to perceive where the action of the living ends and that of the living begins is a sign of the transgressive nature of these behaviours.

power of the dead gives them the right to be explored in greater depth throughout the thesis.

Eugene Thacker (2004: 43-47) analyses the mediated links between living and dead communication networks, when he writes: "The horror of the contemporary 'living dead' is not only the fear of being reduced to being only a body; in the 'network society', the horror of the 'living dead' is undoubtedly also the fear of being reduced to being only information - or not to being able to distinguish between contagion and transmission. In this sense, the paradox of the living dead is also the paradox of 'vital statistics', a kind of network of the living dead that exceeds and even replaces the 'pure and simple life' of the organism".

If we take this meditation on the disappearance of the body in the data and the associated fear of losing the ability to perceive the somatic threshold of presence and transfer it to the networks of ultrasonic, infrasonic and sonic waves of the soundscape, it gives us more...

useful indications of the liminal nature of frequencies and their connection with the viral. We mainly perceive hauntings through the vibratory capacity of an entity to discreetly penetrate the network of living beings through the manipulation of voice and objects. Our fear is fuelled by the threat of being touched and infected by liminal presences, of being transmuted ourselves.en

waveforms. It is the difficulty we encounter when we try to contain, control and map the ephemeral nature of the viral and the waveform that makes these phenomena so distressing, because this difficulty reminds us of the existence we lead at thresholds oscillating between the sonorous and the silent, the ephemeral and the static, the living and the dead.

Ultimately, in this thesis, the viral is speculatively formatted as a mode of communication; a discourse that mutates and propagates meaning between technological, somatic and social networks; the enfant terrible of a capitalist system that reproduces itself through channels of absolute transience, sublimely expressing the breathless movement and inevitable crisis of stasis in exchange systems. It is at once the perfect model of a socio-economic system that drives its activities through the flexible organs of distributed power and its destroyer. Similarly, "music is the medicine of the mind" (Storr, 1992: unnumbered homepage) and the killer of the mind, all at once. In this respect, it has a similar capacity to be the ultimate celebration of the sound transmission as well as the ultimate agent of silent suffering. Through the combination of these apparently oppositional phenomena, which symbolise both creation and destruction, a critical modality of discursive reasoning takes shape in the present study. A modality that is called the viral waveform and that constantly modifies its manoeuvres, transforming itself according to its needs; highlighting the channels in which this power resides, all in (dis)order to render in-communicable the changes in the environment in which it finds itself.

REVIEW OF DOCUMENTATION

This review reflects the transdisciplinary nature of this thesis, as it includes texts by historian/sociologist Michel Foucault, economist Jacques Attali, philosopher Michel Serres, political geographer and urbanist Edward Soja, musician and sound theorist Steve Goodman, and cultural theorist and urbanist Paul Virilio.

The first text to be examined will be 'Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la Prison', as its methodology and theme have been essential to the whole process of constructing this thesis. The archaeological-style methodology he employs to study the formation of knowledge enables him to trace the beginnings of loudspeaker system technologies and their use in conjunction with electronic amplification. While Foucault's investigation of the French penal system has a narrower focus than the present study, his systematic analysis of how articulations of power allow certain changes to occur and others to be thwarted has been a useful technique for revealing how the strategies and technologies of loudspeaker systems have been developed and transformed over the last century.

The Foucauldian technique of mapping power relations along a continuum of thought and then explaining the epistemic change that mutates the expression of that power has been a particular methodological help.

The structuring of this thesis is primarily based on this type of dynamic, as it traces the use of loudspeaker systems that are used to transmit sound waveforms in the factory, around the barracks and in the cell, before examining, in the fourth chapter, the change that occurs, when a new loudspeaker system exploiting ultrasonic frequencies is introduced into the military and civilian domains of conflict relations. While *Surveiller et punir* examines the ways in which the body is subjugated and transformed into an object of knowledge under the impetus of a range of techniques, it offers little insight into the ways in which these strategies can be thwarted or diverted. Although this thesis is not a manual of resistance frequency, it challenges Foucault's lack of commitment to tactics of resistance, suggesting how wave power could be used to question, re-map and challenge the hegemonic mapping of the soundscape currently orchestrated by the military-recreative complex.

Jacques Attali's seminal text *Bruits: Essai sur l'économie politique de la musique* is also available in French. important for this thesis for structural reasons. Attali constructs his study by dividing the history of waveforms into three distinct periods - characterised respectively by 'sacrifice', 'the representation' and 'repetition' - and suggests that a fourth period, yet to be defined and which he This study therefore adopts a trans-historical approach, dividing the process of deploying loudspeaker systems into three eras. Accordingly, this study takes a trans-historical approach, dividing the process of deploying loudspeaker systems into three epochs, opening respectively with the commissioning of the Fordist factory, the siege of Waco and the invention of the Guantanamo Bay torture cell, and then anticipating and theorising a new period of wave transmission and politics, initiated by directional ultrasound beam technology. While Attali links the formatting of music to revolutions in capitalist modes of production, this study links the strategic deployment of waveforms and the technologies that transmit them to the changing symbiotic relationships between military and civilian organisations.

Attali's maxim that music is prophetic and predicts future forms of social organisation is important to this thesis, as it makes the study of waveforms a discipline that can expose and create knowledge about the past, present and future. It has been useful in conveying the ways in which the rhythms of the wave strategies employed by the complex military-industrial complex became the capitalist model for marrying military and civilian contexts; future rhythms are examined in the

fourth chapter. The most valuable lesson drawn from Attali's book and elaborated in this thesis is that it is no longer possible to depend on the eye to accumulate essential forms of knowledge needed to understand the world in which we live, because ocular information has been theorised into an incomprehensible and excessive abstraction. This task, he believes, must be accomplished through the ear and the action of listening, for we need a new philosophy that is open to listening to the changes predicted by musical production. The problem with the philosophy of noise that Attali sets out in *Bruits* (a philosophy that this study challenges) is its reluctance to examine the role that waveforms not perceptible by the ear play in our understanding of the future world, the present world and the past world. Attali's philosophy is based on sound theory, not on the inclusive theory of waveforms proposed in this study; and this philosophy depends on an understanding of the roles of sound and non-sound in our perception of being-in-the-world.

Le Parasite (1982) has influenced the overall transdisciplinary approach adopted in this thesis. Serres theorises the relationship between parasite and host across a wide range of disciplines, including theology, information theory, political economy, anthropology and philosophy, and through literary works such as La Fontaine's *Fables* and Molière's *Tartuffe*. The present study also draws on a wide range of fields of study (including philosophy, sociology, psychology, musicology, physics, theology and geography) to examine the relationships between the different disciplines.

between waveforms, spatiality and human presence. Serres uses this great diversity of knowledge to trace the convergences between the natural sciences and the humanities.

Philosophically, however, the most important argument advanced throughout his text is that the relationships between parasite and host should not be taken for granted, as the dynamics generally attributed to each of these positions can easily be reversed. At this As such, individuals and groups perceived to be disenfranchised and disempowered (individuals and groups which, for Serres, are represented by the plague) can also become voices important in wider public discourses, as they represent diverse and essential perspectives and ontologies. For the purposes of this study, this discursive model of social inclusion and empowerment of parts of the social body that were previously conceived of as passive and dependent is important to the composition of the transmitter-body; a subjectivity that is set in oscillation by external phenomena, but which also retains the power to orchestrate movements and rhythms of activity within any network of relationships in which it finds itself.

The transmitter-body - the protagonist of the present study - is a model of undulatory power, as it receives and transmits information, presences and affects in the sound environment. In this way, the transmitter-body is analogous to Serres's plague, for both subjects embody the capacity to resist, divert and assimilate the technologies of subjugation and the political pressures that writers like Foucault identify as controlling the somatic. Serres's notion of parasite as the third man in all acts of communication is a proposition

crucial for this study, in relation to the discourse initiated between the potential convergences of waveform theory and viral theory. The formatted relationships between music and the mass social body in the first two chapters of the thesis refer to the relational compositions of noise, which Serres defines as an inevitable third presence, but, in the fourth chapter, HSS technology refutes these assumptions, as noise/the third man is theorised as the third voice channelled towards the subject. Thus, instead of being externalised in acts of communication, the noisy third viral subjectivity is theorised as constituting psychological ammunition. transmitted in the interior of the communications inside a subject's skull.

Methodologically, Edward Soja's text *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real- and Imagined Places* is central to the construction of this study. In *Thirdspace*, Soja adopts a trialectical approach based on Henri Lefebvre's (1991) notion of the spatial triad in order to reinsert spatiality into the lexicon of Western philosophical thought. By explaining the tiercéisation as an othering methodological approach, Soja proposes to dislocate the dualistic ways of thinking that have reduced spatial theory to a footnote to readings of the world and of human presence and movement within it. This study accepts Soja's hypothesis that space is a crucial and implicit constituent of the way all living things structure their lives, and applies this spatial logic to the analysis of the geography of the soundscape. Therefore, the present study extends Soja's ideas to the field of sound studies by suggesting that composing a wave geography is essential to be able to explore, map and resist the territorialisation of the soundscape by organisations and individuals dedicated to achieving the aims of the military-recreational complex. It is argued that this mapping index would facilitate our understanding of waveforms, which are too often conceived binary as heard or unheard, noisy or silent, painful or pleasurable.

If it is to be able to produce original knowledge, it is crucial that the present study apply the Soja's methodological technique of tiercéisation, because it uses a discursive geographical instrumentality as an analytical tool to uncover new relationships between periphery and centre. Since this study explores both the wave phenomena that are essential to our understanding of the world - sound phenomena - and those that do not reach our perception - ultrasound and infrasound - it is essential to compose a cartography of these phenomena. enveloping the hinterland in wave phenomena. Soja, drawing on theorists such as Bell hooks, recognises that the periphery or margins are spatialities in which modes of resistance can be formatted and arranged. Soja's exploration of the phenomena that oscillate at the periphery of the social body is an important line of inquiry that will be followed throughout this study, as we assess how the boundaries of power are agitated by oscillatory movements, inverted and driven by undulatory techniques. The post-modern fragmented body that Soja argues exists within these marginal spatialities is, however, criticised in

this study to be an inadequate model of transmission and reception in the soundscape contemporary. The thesis suggests that this fragmentary clue has been assimilated by a US army determined to break down the psychological structure of the Guantanamo detainees. In this study, what is being composed is the model of the transmitter-body that transmits and receives the complex arrangements of the sonic environment, the synthetic body that will in future reveal the peripheral and central concerns of a wave ecology.

As well as theorising historical and current forms of wave-like affect, organisation and violence, this study speculates on the future of frequency ideologies and technologies. For these reasons, Attali's writings have played an important role in constructing the proactive sonic discourse of this thesis, but it is Steve Goodman's *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear* (2009) that first provides a futuristic wave theory (or vibratory ontology, for paraphrasing the author) which is based on both non-sound and sound. To trace the ways in which the logistics of perception have been, are being and will be modulated by the military-recreative complex, Goodman

draws on authors such as Kittler, Whitehead, Bergson and Eshun, and in so doing offers a segmented history that reveals the violent organisation of the soundscape, while investigating the rhythmic orchestrations of fear that accompany these manoeuvres. The trans-historical approach adopted by Goodman has an influence on the idea, developed in this study, of the viracoustic channel - a meta-chapter device that functions as a textual brewing board through which any event or phenomenon in time or space can connect to the undulatory ideas to which it serves as a transmitter.

If Goodman uses a fragmentary historical model in which each module can be read separately and in any order, this postmodern approach fails to tell the whole story. sequencing and connection of the sonic strategies developed in the name of war by the military-industrial and military-recreative complexes. Ultimately, Goodman's indifference to narrative arrangement means that he does not place the emphasis that should be on the sonic torture strategies employed in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay, where many of the sonic trajectories of control, fear and violence that have been followed over the previous century find their logical conclusions. This study then orchestrates a third-party methodology that tracks the evolution (and connection) of loudspeaker system techniques and wave ideologies that influence, manipulate and torture the social and individual body. The usefulness of Goodman's text in the construction of this thesis lies in his realisation that a new language and a new set of concepts such as his notions of 'non-sound', 'vibratory force' and 'audiovirology' must be devised in order to compose a wave philosophy that explains to us the potential for anguish, violence and pressure that frequencies entail.

Given that this study focuses on the technologies of loudspeaker systems that have been developed and used by the military-industrial and military-recreational complexes since the installation of cable radio systems in American factories in 1922, it was predictable that it would draw on Paul Virilio's *Vitesse et Politique* (1977). Virilio's reputation as a philosopher of technology is comparable to that of any other post-war thinker and, as such, his proposition that the history of progress, of modes of perception and information are directly linked to the speed of development of weapons systems, convinced us to make it the starting point for the study of the strategic relationships between military and industrial organisations and the entertainment industry. His statement that a city lives constantly as if preparing for battle is seen by some as an invitation to technological determinism. For the purposes of this study, it is argued that this statement does not go far enough, as it is suggested that this state of readiness is more akin to ambient violence in its own right, manifesting its undulatory intent at every level of civil life. *Speed and Politics* is of great importance for the present study.

Virilio's study, given its interest in the notions of pure and total war, the speed of the war machine and the logistics of perception, but many of Virilio's hypotheses are called into question throughout the thesis.

The Virilian hypothesis that, in times of conflict and urban preparation, the importance of spatial concerns fades in the face of the importance of vector trajectories and the speeds associated with them is clearly problematic for a study that proposes the composition of a new cartography of waveforms. This paper therefore argues, from a

The study's focus on frequency echoes the view expressed by Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) that geographical preoccupations are never completely foreign to us. As the peripheral terrains of ultrasonic and infrasonic vibrations are modulated by the military-recreational complex, the study suggests that it is imperative to compose an embodied spatial index of undulatory pressure, cadence, violence and movement. In *Speed and Politics*, the Virilio's excessive dependence on visual tropes (which are more particularly developed in later texts such as *The Machine of Vision* [1988] and *Aesthetics of Vision* [1990]. disappearance [1980]), obliterates the vital roles that waveforms play in the composition of conflict (both in the city and on the battlefield), in perceptions of war (on the internet, television and film) and in the potential capacity of sound and non-sound to map future theatres of violent engagement. This study therefore runs counter to many of the ideas of

Virilio examines the way in which conflicts are generated, maintained and modulated, and develops a wave theory to explain the *raison d'être* and future of the war machine.

As for the texts that had a (negative) influence on the writing of this thesis, we should mention *Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War* (2009) by Jonathan Pieslak. This text reinforced the idea that deploying a system of musicological/sociological methodology to

interpreting the use of music in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay is inadequate for deciphering such complex phenomena.

The lack of theoretical analysis of the methods of sound torture used on detainees and the absence of serious documentation on those who were subjected to torture make Pieslak's book a schematic and biased (from the point of view of the US soldiers who perpetrated the torture) account of sound torture. *Sound Targets* was useful to this thesis in that it provided a contemporary example of the academic pitfalls into which a study of sound can fall. As such, the book's shortcomings have confirmed the idea that a transdisciplinary approach offers the most coherent mode of enquiry for creating original knowledge about the organisation of the soundscape.

Unlike *Sound Targets*, Suzanne Cusick's essay *Music as torture / Music as weapon* (2006) is a very engaging and clear account of sound torture at Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib. It is a concise overview of the noise pressure exerted by the military. Written from the perspective of socio-political, psychological and gender studies, it stands out as one of the first works to be published on the subject.

The book is the result of a series of academic essays on the use of music as a weapon in the US military's 'fight against terrorism'. While posing a plethora of questions about the undulatory affect of torture practices, the book's brevity prevents it from analysing the cultural significance of music as a weapon in the fight against terrorism.

how music and other forms of culture have recently been assimilated by the military.

The third chapter of this study takes up the questions posed by Cusick in 2006 and extends their scope to look in more depth at the cultural, psychological and physiological contexts of applied wave violence and the co-option of culture by the military.

The critical review of the literature relating to the subject of this study concludes with Julian Henriques's essay *Sonic Bodies: Reggae Sound Systems, Performance Techniques, and Ways of Knowing*, published in *The Auditory Culture Reader*. Underlining the disembodied and embodied potential of waveforms; the role of music in changing the relationship between the rational and the irrational ;

The idea that music is an essentially transgressive phenomenon in all social, somatic and spatial contexts, Henriques's essay stands out as a conceptually influential text. Henriques's formation of the highly relevant concept of the 'sound body' and his no less influential analysis of the 'sound body' are both highly influential.

(2003: 471) - the creation and analysis through which the acoustic pressure systems at reggae concerts in Jamaica are examined - have had a considerable impact on the composition that this study undertakes of the historically indexed wave body, of the body as a whole.

The body of sound is a combination of the transmitter currently in use and the futuristic body of synthesis in mutation. For Henriques, the sound body is literally "the body touched by sound. It is a resonant, specific body,

shared, social, immediate and carnal. The term 'sound body' implies either the body of sound, or the sound of the body, or both. The corporeality of the sound body expresses itself in sound and is achieved through sound.

" (2003 : 471). By broadening the historical, geographical and conceptual scope of Henriques' sound body, the new body of multidisciplinary knowledge that is composed in this study amplifies the silences, oscillations and noises that have served, serve and will serve to delimit the spatialities of the soundscape.

By orchestrating the aforementioned viral theory, postmodern geography and sono-economic philosophy into an interdisciplinary research apparatus, this thesis will studies the soundscape and its territorialisation in order to highlight the wave trajectories that have informed the deployment of loudspeaker systems since their introduction to industrial work place at the beginning of the 20th century. As the constituents of the undulatory cartography that are developed throughout the study are informed, oscillated and modified by a wide range of pressures, the methodology deployed is necessarily composed of such diverse knowledge systems. The new and original knowledge derived from the use of this These methods provide us with information on how we understand and pass through frequencies that are considered local frequencies, but above all they amplify the frequencies that we understand and pass through. concerns with waveforms perceived as peripheral and liminal. As such, the present study develops new theories of soundscape that advance the discipline of sound studies, laying new foundations for thinking about wave-like spatiality and the presences and pressures that shape it.

METHODOLOGY

Composition

This study is a trans-disciplinary and trans-historical investigation into the civilian and military contexts in which loudspeaker systems have been used by the military-industrial and military-industrial complexes.

military-recreational to exert pressure on mass social groupings and individual bodies. The thesis asks how past and present deployments of sonic, infrasonic and ultrasonic frequencies as instruments of torture, devices of

Do psychological manipulation and physiological influence mechanisms presage future techniques of socio-spatial organisation? It is argued that, since the introduction of wired radio loudspeaker systems (see glossary) in American factories in 1922, the

development of sound strategies based primarily on the orchestration of spatiality

It is also claimed that the acoustic techniques used in the cells, the repetition cycles and the enveloping dynamics of the surround effect can be attributed to the introduction of sound torture practices at Guantanamo Bay in the first decade of the 21st century. It is also claimed that the acoustic techniques used in the cells

The torture facilities at Guantanamo Bay prison represent the final stage and logical conclusion of the strategies developed in the civilian and military contexts over the last eighty years. years. The instrumental character that the loudspeaker system took on after the Guantanamo Bay episode therefore comes to symbolise an epistemic change in the application of wave pressure; for the dynamics of directional ultrasound technology mark the orchestration of a new set of frequency relationships between transmitter and receiver, loudspeaker system and architectural system, civilian context and war environment.

The methodological approach deployed throughout the thesis reflects the transdisciplinary nature of The first is an epistemic approach based on Michel Foucault's research methods. The first perspective is an epistemic approach based on Michel Foucault's research methods, which document the changes and differences that occur over time in a given system; the transformations that occur in a specific context that favours certain mutations, while preventing others. In this way, Foucault's methodological approach is one of A historical approach, albeit a radicalised one, which reveals how truth is conceived and how circumstances are designed to authenticate and propagate certain discourses, certain techniques and, ultimately, certain truths. The second perspective, a political-geographical one, is based on Edward Soja's conception of trialectical efficacy. The study employs a trialectical model that is based on Soja's reinterpretation of Lefebvre's concept of the spatial triad. In Soja's trialectic system, three forces influence each other, eliminating the fixed nucleus of sublation ("Aufhebung") located by Hegel in his dialectical model (in a Hegelian framework, the conflict between thesis and antithesis is resolved by synthesis). According to Soja, "the starting point for this strategic reopening and reconception of new possibilities is the provocative reintegration of epistemology into ontology, and more precisely into the trialectical ontology of Spatiality, Historicity and Sociality. This act of ontological rebalancing induces a radical scepticism towards all established epistemologies. Of all the means of confidently acquiring knowledge of the world" (1996: 81).

Thus, in this thesis, a trialectical model of analysis is used to initiate new methods of interpreting undulatory spatiality and sociality. The third perspective is a viral approach that refers back to Michel Serres's transgressive reading of the oscillating power relations between host and parasite (1982).

This multi-channel methodology was chosen because the present study, with its emphasis on temporality, technology, geography, politics and somatics considered from the point of view of frequency, has a vast field of application. To explore the spatial, physiological, viral and psychological effects of the deployment of loudspeaker technology in the past in the United States, in the present Cuba and in the future globalised world, the only academic logic capable of tackling a

research on this scale is a multidisciplinary system of investigation. As a result, it is by deploying a coherent multi-channel methodology that the sprawling information networks studied will be made perceptible and can then be analysed; that the points of connection, of transformation and disruption of waveforms within these information networks will be amplified in a coherent way in order to compose and transmit new and original knowledge about the organisation and territorialisation of the soundscape.

The use of this multi-channel methodology makes it impossible for the present study to become simply a historical cultural survey of waveforms. If this study explores the past convergences that legitimised the evolution of loudspeaker system strategies from the factory to the globalised torture cell, it also speculates on how the rupture constituted by the HSS ultrasound technology compared with sound technologies and their coercive ideologies will change our perception of frequencies, presence and reason. In this sense, the research carried out in this study is trans-historical, focusing as much on the future as on the present and the past. This temporal channel is combined in this study with a spatial channel that links divergent geographical contexts and borders.

The spatial approach adopted by the study, like the temporal approach, sees its taxonomic criteria of investigation mutate in the epistemic rupture that occurs between the third and fourth chapters. Thus, the mode of wave geography which maps surround-sound loudspeaker systems in the first three chapters has to be transformed into a neural mapping of the skull (fourth chapter), to give it the capacity to analyse an ultrasound technology which rewrites the rules of distance, connection and spatial transgression.

So far, it has been argued that the temporal and spatial channels of investigation constitute the methodology of the thesis. The viral channel, the third and final mode of examination, completes the mise en structural form of the text. It is convened to contribute to the transmission of original knowledge on the co-development, propagation and mutation of ideologies and wave technologies through the interaction of civil and military contexts; on the subtle and impressive movements that have denied our ability to differentiate clearly between the two spheres. For the arguments put forward throughout

Throughout this study the viral channel does not become a dualistic discussion between the temporal and/or spatial nature of waveforms, it is a third-party analytical device that helps to circumvent binary thinking about the soundscape. Avoiding such structural failures is crucial for develop a coherent discourse that is sensitive to and aware of its own capacity to transform itself by studying the oscillating, malleable and mobile nature of the soundscape.

The three-channel methodology formats the study in such a way that the first part of each chapter establishes how the physiology of the mass social body and the physiology of the individual body have been influenced, manipulated and tortured by techniques based on loudspeaker systems. Theoretically (not literally), the next part of each chapter is the third part (called the viracoustic channel), which bridges and blurs the distinctions between mind and spirit, propagating a spatial discourse that challenges the binary conception that mind and spirit are differentiated elements. The third sub-section is placed conceptually between the first sub-section, which examines the physiological effect of waveforms, and the second sub-section, which explores the psychological transformations that occur in those subjected to frequency strategies. Just as the sonic range of frequencies lies between the oscillation thresholds of infrasound and ultrasound, so, by analogy, this sub-section spreads its conceptual charge by elaborating the synthesis and dislocations that occur in the sub-sections that flank it. In this way, the viracoustic chain re-evaluates the divisive Manichean axioms used to explain the soundscape, such as heard / inaudible, internal voice / external command, music as torture / music as pleasure.

Arguments

As indicated above, the central argument of the present study is that an epistemic break in the ideology based on loudspeaker systems occurs between the deployment of torture sound at Guantanamo Bay (Chapter 3) and the future direction of sonic pressure exerted by HSS technology (Chapter 4). It is argued that the torture techniques deployed at Guantanamo Bay signify the unravelling of repetitive strategies that - ever since, with the invention of the phonograph in the 1870s, sound could be recorded and reproduced - have themselves become important wave tropes in Western culture. On the radio, we constantly hear songs in 'heavy rotation' (see glossary), a sales technique deployed by record companies. This study argues that this civil technique of repetition has been co-opted by the increased rotation, the elimination of silences or conversations between musical transmissions transforms an infectious sales technique into a weapon of torture designed to infect the mind's rational system.

Considering that repetition is the most visible organising principle of production, storage, distribution and social control in the twentieth century, Attali writes: "The establishment of general replication transforms the conditions of political control. It is no longer a question of making people believe, as in representation. Instead, through direct, channelled control, through imposed silence instead of persuasion, *de Faire Taire*" (1977: 242). The repetitive broadcasting of songs from Western musical genres - such as heavy metal, disco and country - night and day, with the aim of depriving people of their right to listen to the music of their own country. Inmates, disorienting them and ultimately driving them insane is the perfect embodiment, in these

torture practices, the sentiments expressed by Attali three decades earlier. An important aim of this thesis is to monitor, record and analyse the mimetic behaviour of military and civilian networks in order to understand how undulatory strategies and techniques are programmed and transmitted between these coding organisations.

This notion of cultural co-optation brings us to the second important argument made in this study. It is argued that the equation of popular music with a weapon of torture at Guantanamo Bay is emblematic of a more widespread integration of cultural practices, products and tactics into the *modus operandi* of military organisations. The art installation techniques used in military training camps in the United States and Canada (Heys and Hennlich, 2010) and the exploitation of the philosophy of writers such as Paul Virilio, Deleuze

and Guattari by the Israeli Defence Forces (Weizman, 2006) come to represent an organised movement of cultural ideology into military practice. This study argues that this radical shift - implemented by the military-recreative complex - in the way that culture (its products, ideas and behaviours) means that culture can no longer be seen as indebted to the resistant, anti-hegemonic, left-wing ideology with which it has traditionally been associated. In other words, it is argued that, after Guantanamo Bay, we will never be able to look at music (and by extension culture) in the same way again.

The third major argument of this study is that, from 1922 onwards, a network of undulatory techniques and strategies (which reflect corresponding wider cultural practices) has been integrated into capitalism - through the effectiveness of the military-industrial and military-recreational complexes - to separate, isolate and alienate the subject from the social body of which it is a part. From the example of the factory and its *workforce* in the first chapter to that of the barracks and the extended family that is the cult in the second, it is shown that waveforms are deployed to manipulate the subject's social and cultural identity.

behaviours of a smaller number of subjects at increasingly decreasing spatial scales, while in the third chapter the example of the torture cell and the isolated prisoner illustrates the culmination of this strategy. Unable to further reduce the space occupied by the targeted subject, the new wave techniques and technologies - symbolised by the HSS - are composed to go beyond open surround environments and penetrate the hidden cranial spatiality of the subject's brain. Although the single subject remained the target of the military wave instrumentality, the external spatiality in which he was affected was reversed. The ultrasound beam therefore prefigures the alienating environment - the future internalized geography of neural flows and transmissions - that its target will inhabit.

The crucial proposition of the present study is that wave mapping - mapping of the territorialization of the soundscape by the military-recreative complex - must be composed and arranged in order to render coherent the forms of recording, amplification and resistance. Given the new set of wave politics heralded by HSS technology, this philosophy of frequency mapping will have to reassess the taxonomy and indexical nature of spatial relations. This discipline must therefore be a wave psycho-geography; a frequency modality that heuristically traces the spatial concerns of the neural environment as well as the environs of the material and the built. As a field of research, it will have the ambitious task of exploring the spatial, psychological, physiological, social, economic and sexual effects that waveforms have on the environment.

on our subjectivity. Its methodology - as the structuring of this study suggests - will be multidisciplinary and multichannel. It will create new forms of knowledge about LRADs (see glossary), iPods, Mosquitos (see glossary), Intonarumori (see glossary), megaphones and Sequential Arc Discharge Acoustic Generators (see glossary) - the meta-network of loudspeaker systems through which the rhythms and cadences of power are transmitted, connected and modulated.

Location

This study is methodologically situated on similar oscillating grounds to those of wave psycho-geography explained above, more specifically at the crossroads of spatial, psychological, physiological and viral disciplines. It is an interdisciplinary approach that draws on all these fields of knowledge but is not subservient to any of them in the sense that it does not defer to predetermined sets of principles or expectations. Steve Goodman's text entitled *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect and the Ecology of Fear* mobilised related modes of enquiry, which, crucially, were deployed from a radically methodological point of view different from that adopted in the present study, resulting in the creation of divergent forms of knowledge. Whereas Goodman chose to propagate his ideas by presenting fragmentary modules of post-modern style, the present study develops original knowledge by tracing the undulatory trajectories that led to the techniques of sonic torture deployed at Guantanamo Bay. In this sense, the methodology of this study presents a meta-narrative of wave pressure, whose origins it locates in the factory, the conflicts to which it is currently prey in the (crucial) epistemic rupture provoked by the Guantanamo torture cell, and the future in the ultrasonic heciticity of ventriloquistic transmissions.

While creating a viracoustic channel that functions as a non-linear and ideologically shifting device that allows the boundaries between chapters to be crossed, the overall structuring of the present study is sequential precisely because the scope of the research threatens to divert it from its narrative axis, an axis that finds its fullest expression in the passage from

sound efficiency to ultrasonic efficiency. The three fundamental arguments (cited above) of The study depends on being able to follow ideological, spatial, technological and political trajectories, to highlight their evolution from the military to the civilian sphere and to amplify subsequent changes in the evolution of wave techniques, which are being occur when the old strategies have reached the peak of their usefulness. The methodological imperative of the study - the driving force behind this research and the desire to create original knowledge of the soundscape - explores the complex synthesis of phenomena, interactions, perceptions and indexes that make up any wave event, from listening to music on the radio to the ultrasonic diffusion of information camouflaged in the skull.

This is why the traditional meditative philosophical methodology of writers such as Anthony Storr in his book *Notes for Music and the Mind* (1992) is not used in the present study; it does not have the capacity, unlike multidisciplinary enquiry, to explore the convergences, mutations and ruptures that constitute the organisation of the sound environment (of the whole range of frequencies and not just audible frequencies). These are only perceptible when they are listened to from a wide variety of research perspectives. A new methodology, such as the one presented in this study, is necessary to understand the infectious, disembodied and transformational nature, not only of music, but also of other forms of expression. waveforms at the limits of perception. For similar reasons, a musicological/sociological methodology such as that used by academics like Jonathan Pieslak in *Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War* (2009) was not chosen for the present study, as the results of this approach are the presentation of models statistical analysis of behaviour based on an extremely schematic analysis of wave causes and effects. The creation of original knowledge and detailed theorisations about waveforms, which are necessary for a better understanding of the ephemeral and transformative nature of the spatiality of the soundscape, cannot be recorded by means of digital diagrams and anachronistic modes of musical analysis, which are in particular musicological approaches that do not come to grips with the somatic index of multiform frequency pressure.

After being considered, the wave philosophy linked to the methodological imperatives of socio-economic theory was rejected because it was not considered to have the qualities required to study the spatial and viral composition of the soundscape. While the temporal structuring of theories proposed by Jacques Attali in *'Bruits'* is important for the methodology of the present study, his arguments about the functionality of music are too determinate. Attali's assumptions turn composition into a fait accompli, making the (only) instrumentality of sound too smooth and linear from the point of view of the fiscal relations that, according to him, exist between the musical forms of production and the distribution and rhythms of the social organisation they announce. Waveforms bleed and spread, that's their nature. As such, the

A philosophy that expresses all their possibilities will be able to convey their disordered and chaotic tendencies, as well as their ability to be controlled and directed.

The approach adopted throughout this research is imbued with an ability to discern the spatially transgressive disposition of frequencies and the strategies that exploit them. In fact, the methodology employed - although multidisciplinary - owes much to the modalities of investigation passed on by geographers such as Henri Lefebvre in texts such as *La Production de l'espace* (1974), by Edward Soja in *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real- and Imagined Places* (1996) and by Foucault in his essay 'Des autres espaces' (1967). Alongside thinkers such as Foucault, Soja and David Harvey (2001), Lefebvre presented philosophical reflections on what a methodology of wave psycho-geography might look like, when he developed his theory of 'rhythmanalysis' (see glossary) and suggested that Space is first perceived by the ear (1974: 200). It is precisely because waveforms must move in space that, more than any other phenomenon, they express the nature of space. the violence inherent in the transgression of borders.

The pressure and force expressed through waveforms always seek to extend the interests, presence and action of those who transmit them, and they do so in a way similar to that in which territory and space are the object of conflict and contestation. The methodology used in this study explores the claim that frequency violence is inextricably linked to the notion of extension and, by association, geography; for wave pressure is always exerted in and on space and, whether static or transitory, what inhabits it. Wave pressure inevitably means the dynamics of spatial conflict, whether that space is interpreted as psychological, geographical, social, sexual or economic. This study indicates that the associations between sonic warfare, wave pressure and frequency violence have not previously been linked to the dynamics of geographical theory at such an essential level. This is why a multidisciplinary methodology with a main channel of spatial analysis is the investigative modality chosen to amplify and conduct original knowledge on the soundscape and its organisation. The Postmodern geography and critical reflection on spatial analysis lacks in-depth investigations into how space, territory and place are denoted by waveforms. This investigation of how architectural space has been, is and will be amplified, decomposed and modulated by frequencies offers unprecedented insights into wave spatiality that advance the disciplines of geographical, architectural and sound studies.

How the transmitter body works

It is the discipline of the study of sound which is supposed to represent mainly the fields of the sound environment. Given that sound, infrasound and ultrasound territories are constituted by physical, conceptual, ephemeral, political and geographical attributes, this field of research is necessarily interdisciplinary. This study creates new knowledge in the field of sound studies by amplifying this diversity of channels of investigation and conveying new theoretical orientations within the field. A vehicle

body" is used to explore these new evolutionary trajectories and is subsequently exploited throughout the text; its conceptual anatomy has been reformatted and those of its resonant parts have been transplanted, so that it echoes and reveals the synthesis of the constituent elements of wave environments.

If the skeletal characteristics of the political anatomy of this investigative body have been retained, his consciousness, limbs, desires and nervous system were removed and a set of philosophies taken from the somatic were grafted onto him.

The conceptual surgery performed throughout this study makes the proposed body a kind of wave mutant - a theoretical Frankenstein constructed from parts of a divergent range of writers' thoughts on the somatic viewed from a frequency perspective. It is essential that the body spatialised by waveforms be grafted into the larger body of Western philosophy (just as it was recognised that the 'body of space' needed to be inserted into the tradition of Western thought at the turn of the last century). Our mutant form will be the sworn enemy of the post-modern pin-up - the fragmented body - because it will incorporate a plethora of wave components and the

It will orchestrate a coherent voice. In so doing, it will contribute to the formation of an undulating ecology that neither disdains nor shies away from blending the perceptions, pressures and arguments of all the different players.

fields of research - from neurology to geography, from sociology to legal studies, from musicology to thermodynamics.

This conceptual surgery begins with the thinker who not only links the spatialised body to the synthetic body, but who has also played a decisive role in efforts to introduce their presence into the continuum of critical thought. So it is from Henri Lefebvre that we transplant the first part of the body of our undulatory mutant, the man who teaches us that "... the spatialized body is the body of synthesis".

space does not consist in the projection of an intellectual representation, in readable-visible, but that it is first heard (listened to) and acted upon (through physical gestures and displacements)" (1974: 231; http://www.uppae.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Uppae_LeBris_Espace-et-politique.pdf). Initially, then, space for Lefebvre is heard rather than seen, and it is this essential affirmation that increases the effectiveness of the synthetic body as a cartographer and wave ecologist of wave environments. In a spatiality where listening constitutes the mode

In the case of the predominant cognitive association, it is the ear of Lefebvre's somatic modality that will be grafted onto our carnal structure.

The next procedure concerns the replacement of the eyes, and so it is to Michel de Certeau that we must turn, since the ocular system - the cornea, iris and pupil - will not be the dominant form of the sensory apparatus that informs our bodies. The hierarchisation of the perceptual apparatus requires a radical overhaul, given that for de Certeau - who has a perceptive view of our sensory behaviour - "our society carcinises sight, measures all reality by its capacity to be seen".

It is an epic of the eye and the urge to read. It is an epic of the eye and of the impulse to read" (1980, t. 1: 23). The new system of measurement proposed by this body of synthesis is vibratory in nature and concerns both what we can perceive and what we cannot register through our sensory organs. De Certeau explicitly states that it is necessary to compose an alternative set of relationships to be able to understand and speculate about our environment and our movements in our environment. As our mutant subject anticipates new ways of perceiving spatiality, the self and the evolution of all the relationships that carry presence, the transmitter-body offers an infectious and affective channel for re-imagining the practices of everyday life.

For our investigating body to be fully aware that it can transform itself again, its cognitive apparatus will be provided by the British anthropologist Gregory Bateson, who asserted that the "the mental world - the mind - the world of information processing - is not limited by the skin" (1973 : 429). For Bateson, the notions of perception and activity are not only orchestrated by They also depend on the subject's modulating and oscillating presence in the environment and on the relationships that are formed between them. They also depend on the subject's modulating and oscillating presence within the environment and relationships that are orchestrated by this form of incarnation. The synthetic transmitter-body will never be limited by its dermal interface. It will be constantly listening for connections, confluences and echoes, as its nervous system must be stratified by the novelist Thomas Pynchon. The modes of The instrumental neurosis which will subsequently occur will enter into sympathetic resonance with the general constitution of the body, which, provided by Michel Serres' modality of the parasite, will be indispensable to the transmissible disposition of the subject, since all the newly grafted parts will be able to be transmitted.

depend on their relationship with the new host organism and their relationship with each other. Thus, the flows of the body will be viral, because they will link together the new undulatory organs that have been surgically combined; any idea of prosthetic anatomy is negated, because the viral plasma of the body-sender gradually gives it a coherent form, without borders and without extension. It is not so much an assembled body as a positively infectious body - saturated subjectivity. viral associations and mutations and third-party extremities.

Our body's essential instincts will be replaced by Spinoza's appetites, "the conatus bodily, the body's effort to persevere in its power to affect and be affected, to persevere in its possibilities. Whereas instinct generally refers to a closed, pre-programmed system where there is no room for change, appetite is forward-looking and always in harmony with the body's relationship to an evolving ecology, with its open relationality" (Goodman, 2009: 70). If our changing subject is to transmit information to us about the diversity of modulating factors within the new wave ecology, it will need such a system of innate sensitivities. For we need to equip our bodies with an unshakeable capacity to connect and mutate in relation to their environment and the pressures it exerts, so that "the emphasis is no longer on the body, even in its broad, technological sense, but on its powers - what it can do" (Goodman, 2009: 36). For our transmitter body to be able to ask itself where it can be, it must have a curiosity - an intense desire to understand the hinterland of the sound environment and all those phenomena that teeter on the edge of perception. To give us the last organ we need and thus conclude our first theoretical operation, we turn to the radio wave specialist Heinrich Hertz (see glossary), who "spoke of the narrow frontier of the senses" between consciousness and the 'world of real things'. He stated that 'for a proper understanding of ourselves and the world around us, it is of the utmost importance that this boundary be fully explored'" (Johnson and Cloonan, 2009, p. 13).

As mentioned, the transmitter body will have to undergo a further transformation in order to amplify, record and modulate the wave ecology. However, the operations undertaken will not will not free the somatic from its carnal and intense relationship with the world in which it lives. finds. For what we are proposing is a frequential fiction of the carnal that avoids the fetishism of the 'transhuman' predictions (see glossary) of writers such as Hans Moravec (2000), who eulogises the eschatology of the body (and its difficulties) through an upgrading of man - done by scientific and technological means. On the contrary, we are in the process of composing a body that listens to the way in which the political technologies of the somatic are implemented, for it is these extensions and restrictions of the subject that threaten to "(invest) it, (mark) it, (train) it, (to) (torture) him, (to) (force) him to do work, (to) (oblige) him to perform ceremonies, (to) demand signs from him" (Foucault, 1975: 30). When the protagonist of our frequency fiction can detect these perceptible and imperceptible external pressures; when he can hear the inaudible, touch the untouchable, and that its viral mechanics will enable it to predict the future. future forms of socio-spatial organisation, it will have heeded the signal of the undulating forest (3) - a clarion call, not only to arms, but also to ears, skin, hair, bones, neurons, muscles and nerves, to mutate - "the imperative to develop new organs, in order to expand our consciousness and our bodies into new dimensions, hitherto unimaginable and perhaps, ultimately, chimerical" (Jameson, 1991, p. 80).

CHAPTER 1: The convergence of electricity, network amplification and music: the influence of muzak in the Fordist factory

Section 1: The first movements of the musical body

At the beginning of the 20th century, following the start of the second industrial revolution (see glossary), there was an explosion in the mechanisation of European factories, largely as a result of the pressure exerted on the rhythms of agriculture, the economy and crafts by the advent of the First World War.

The Mexican philosopher Manuel De Landa alludes to the need for fluid technological production systems in times of conflict when he writes: "as the last two great wars have shown, victory goes to the nation best able to mobilise its industrial power".

(1991, p. 34). While the war accentuated the need for industrialisation to organise a large number of bodies in the form of labour, the cultural and political will to maintain regular production of goods and the techniques for improving industrial efficiency took on a new importance.

importance. The social sciences, for their part, were mobilised in this effort to organise and systematise the most economical means of making the individual and social body capable of carry out specific tasks in the workplace. Methods for locating, ordering and disciplining the mass body - what Michel Foucault called the body politic - had already been institutionalised within the prison system and would then be transplanted to the industrial environments. Foucault defines this somatic order as the "set of material elements and techniques that serve as weapons, relays, channels of communication and points of support for the relations of power and knowledge that invest human bodies and subjugate them by making them objects of knowledge" (1975: 33). Nowhere is the desire to mark the industrialised body as a knowable and controllable capital more apparent than in the monograph published by the American mechanical engineer Frederick Winslow in 1911, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (*The Principles of Scientific Management*), which sets out the technique, later known as Taylorism, that did most to shape twentieth-century capitalism.

Influenced by military forms of command structures and by the inventions and writings of Charles Babbage (1835) - in particular his defence of the advantages of the "division of labour" - the Taylorism was dedicated to organising bodies and maximising their work potential. This is clearly indicated by De Landa, when he states that "the methods developed by the military to shorten the chain of command were later exported, through people like Frederick Taylor, to the civilian sector" (1991: 229). In the United States, it was the industrialist Henry Ford

which employed the techniques determined by Taylor's studies of time and motion (see glossary). By the time Ford became aware of Taylor's research, he had already initiated and developed the construction of mobile assembly lines in his car factories, which led to a substantial increase in production and sales. In 1914, he was responsible for introducing a revolutionary systematic revaluation of wages, which enabled skilled workers to double their salaries. It took another eight years for the shortened working week to come into effect, which only added weight to Ford's observations that the rate of labour turnover in his manufacturing plants had become so low as to be unworthy of evaluation (Ford and Crowther, 1922). Not only did Taylor's monograph become the industrial handbook of scientific rationalism, helping to shape what was to become Fordist capitalism or

fordism, but it also heralded the use of the musical media inside the factory for the purpose of achieving the manufacturing targets and comply with the industrial practices set by management. Although it is acknowledged that the successive transformations of the organisational principles of Fordism became the dominant model for the practice and understanding of production and distribution in the workplace, it is also true that it was not until the end of the twentieth century that the principles of Fordism became the dominant model for the practice and understanding of production and distribution in the workplace.

With the advent of mass consumption in the United States between the 1940s and 1960s, it's fair to say that workers were influenced by this model at an earlier stage. The significant increase in the weekly wage (which doubled to \$5 a day) and the radical reduction in the price of cars were designed to enable workers to have enough money to buy their own cars and thus stimulate the potential impact and growth of the car market. In line with this fundamental improvement in workers' conditions was the strategic restructuring of the working week (shortened to 48-40 hours) and the introduction of the principle of guaranteed employment. By 1922, these three anxieties - about money, time and the future - had disappeared and the resulting employment practices became the dominant principles within the Fordist factory.

Despite these advances in working conditions for unskilled workers, many began to criticise the problematic labour dynamics within the Taylorist-inspired Fordist factory. None was more incisive than the political theorist and

Gramsci, who became famous for declaring that industrialisation had succeeded "in making the whole life of the country (the United States) revolve around production. Hegemony is born in the factory" (quoted in https://cras31.info/IMG/pdf/gramsci_textes.pdf). In one of his many analyses insight into the plight of the worker in his degrading role as machine, Gramsci eruditely deconstructs the suppression of certain important psychological aspects of the labour process and their subordination to the singular capacity of the body to perform monotonous and repetitive actions within the framework of the work process.

the anaemic technical regime of the conveyor belt and the mechanisms associated with it. In the following summary, Gramsci makes it clear that he considered the process of body-building Taylor, he argued, was expressing the idea of the impersonal, standardised mechanical - which in many ways reflects the status of the objects produced - as a process that began with industrialisation. Taylor," he asserted, "expresses in effect

with brutal cynicism, the aim of American society: to develop to the highest degree in the worker mechanical and automatic attitudes, to break the old set of psychophysical links of work

It was a question of reducing the production process to its purely physical and mechanical aspect. But, in reality, these are not original innovations, they are only the most recent phase in a long process that began with the birth of industrialism itself (...)"

Womack, Jones and Roos sum up the historical and enduring importance of Ford's industrial methodologies when they suggest that "twice in this century [the car industry] has changed our most fundamental ideas about how we make things. And the way we make things determines not only how we work, but also what we

Our way of thinking and our way of living" (1990: 11). Most relevant to this thesis is the way in which, in the early days of the car industry, factories, among others, shaped and industrial workspace, the rhythms of work, the psychological breakdown of workers subjected to alienating work, the collective and individual movements of the workforce in relation to automated processes and, ultimately, the relationship of workers to the soundscape at within the factory. All the relational dynamics shaping these criteria were irrevocably altered when the introduction of the electrically powered mobile assembly line was presented as the automated conductor of workers' rhythms, techniques and power. As the worker's sound environment changed from natural to mechanical, the continuous flow of the conveyor belt became a sonic signifier of this change. Never allowing for silence or interruption, the industrialised sound environment had become repetitively noisy; it constantly marked out the territory of the factory and spilled its contents out into the street and beyond.

In 1922, the very year in which the Fordist doctrine of functional specialisation and division of labour was propagated, and at a time when working conditions for the workforce had deteriorated, the company was in the process of implementing the Fordist doctrine of functional specialisation and division of labour.

With its relatively improved technology, wire radio was put at the service of the spatiality of the automated factory. Created by the American Major General George Owen Squier, this technology made it possible to connect factories, restaurants, small businesses and individual subscribers to radio broadcasts. Having overcome the problems of signal loss that affected too many regularly transmitted by radio waves, wire radio provided a continuous programme of music, without commercials or interruptions, for which Squier made no secret of his contempt. Nor could he stand the waves of privatisation that had slowed the development of the telephone industry. So he patented his invention on behalf of the public

in the hope that, by legally authorising any American to explore and develop it, improvements would be made.

Radio is often praised for the driving role it played in creating a social body by the simultaneous transmission of sound communications to a large number of listeners.

people over long distances. This desire to destroy space and time by technological means has long been a priority in the continuum of human ambition (this desire to break the linearity of space and time is illustrated by the public development of the Internet by the US military over the last three decades). The invention of wired radio would to some extent contribute to the formatting and shaping by sound of this coherent social body in the form of a workforce in its industrial environment. Squier did not live to see the first successful application of his broadcasting technology - at which, in the meantime, he had given the name muzak, by which it has been generally known ever since (see glossary) - in commercial outlets in New York in 1936. Shortly after the sale of The Second World War broke out, and the ability of muzak to help orchestrate and direct the rhythms of factory work became clear as it became the natural soundtrack to the manufacturing environment.

The electrically-powered cabled arteries that broadcast music to every part of the workplace became the sonic equivalent of the electrically-powered assembly line that used and defined every space in the factory. The whole space of the building was composed around the sequence of the assembly line production process. No industrial production area was spared the logic of movement, rhythm and repetition of the assembly line. In this way, the factory space and its open layout deconstruct the cellular logic of spatial organisation, because the assembly line must be freely accessible to mark and touch each space, each subjectivity, and its vocation is to bring together all those present around its modal logic of diffuse transience. The repetition imposed on this flow brings the body into a The music orchestrates the body in a long symphony of staccato manoeuvres.

In the new musical soundscape, rhythms, spaces and workers were linked by a cellular melodic structuring of time as the workday was reorganized and the work of the day was transformed. categorised by the harmonious formulas of the muzak and by the (musical) "silences" (the word is put in inverted commas because a factory was never silent unless the machines stopped working) between the musical programmes. This is how the architectural form of the cell, which is so important in Foucault's analysis of the history of the prison in "Surveiller et punir" (to the extent that he declared that "the space of the disciplines is always, at bottom, cellular" [1975: 145]), came to be used as a "space" in the history of the prison. redeployed by the muzak in a comparable way, i.e. in the form of waves, in the temporal ordering of the factory's sound environment. As a result, the cellular programming of silence became a means of producing temporal, physiological and psychological effects within the factory, and a way of classifying the logic of the sound that preceded or followed them.

Analogous to the conveyor belt's capacity for spatial networking, the loudspeaker system's wires construct and rationalise the architecture of the industrial sound environment by means of a new trans-cellular ordering system. The loudspeakers at the end of each

A set of wires became the sound portals through which workers entered and exited the tangled soundscapes of natural machine noise and the amplified camouflage of the parasitic musical programming. Viral in nature, the epistemic modality of the soundscape created by the loudspeaker system required the systemic architecture of the spatial logic of capital to function as a vector.

Under these conditions, the factory found itself dotted with a new nervous system, a network of wires capable of propagating and redistributing its sound charge. The first nervous architecture of the industrial workplace was now able to respond to those within its walls. From the outset, this sensory apparatus was effectively capable of restructuring the factory's sonic spatiality, which until then had been embodied in the dislocated and chaotic sonic by-products of the machines, was made submissive and predictable. Just as Ford was the first to use an electric motor to drive the assembly line, Squier's muzak was the first functional industrial music to be amplified and broadcast throughout the working environment by electricity. In this way, electricity radically re-spatialised the flow of manufacturing in the Fordist workplace and, for the first time, allowed a piece of music to circulate simultaneously in all the spaces of its architecture. In this way, the spatial code of the industrial soundscape was rethought by Squier as the relationships between the peripheral latitudes of the factory and the centralised concerns were recomposed by the radio-controlled pathogens of the muzak.

The rhythmic sequencing of audio-analgesia

The rationalisation of time and space by the logic of capital had found its soundtrack in the muzak. For writers like Joseph Lanza, however, muzak in the factory was more about healing workers than organising them, as evidenced by his assertion that "music was not entertainment but 'audioanalgesia' to kill the pain caused by the urban din" (2004: 11-12). In this analysis, the diffusion of muzak in the workplace is presented as a gesture of harmonic empathy on the part of management, an undulating method of soothing the body in its new inhuman relationship with machines. This statement is problematic in more ways than one. To begin with, it is extremely revealing that the pain to which Lanza alludes was not so much caused by the fact that the body was being subjected to a new mechanical soundscape as by the need to respect these new noisy territories. composed of staccatos that made the body a numb note in the overall symphony of the

production line. The muzak would eventually become the automaton's lullaby, the dystopia of random noise covered by the capitalist utopia of repetitive melody. The factories were the places where these incongruous modalities of sonic spatiality would merge for the first time to produce bodies subjected to a rule that went against their natural rhythms; it was therefore the forced industrial choreography of the working day that demanded a musicality in the sonic environment to shape the body's new rhythms and mechanised movements. The

territory of the soundscape was skilfully understood by the French politician and economist Léon Faucher (quoted by Foucault [1975: 246-7]) as being the spatiality in which it was easiest to perceive the disjunctive power relationship between the machine and the body, when he invited us: 'Enter a spinning mill; hear the conversations of the workers and the whistling of the machines. Is there a world a more distressing contrast than the regularity and predictability of these mechanical movements, The predictability of mechanical movements became the kinesthetic cornerstone of industrialisation's relationship to the body. The predictability of mechanical movements became the kinaesthetic cornerstone of industrialisation's relationship with the body, structuring and domesticating its activities from the minute employees arrived at their workplace to the minute they left. According to De Landa

(1991: 138), this process of subjecting the organic unpredictability of the human body to the logic of the machine had been part of army practice for a very long time. He states: "The military process of transforming soldiers into machines, combined with campaigns to organise the management of human bodies (in military hospitals), made it possible to obtain a great deal of information about the internal mechanisms of the organism. The 'great book of the man-machine' was both the outline of the human body created by doctors and philosophers and the instruction manual for obedient individuals produced by the great Protestant military commanders - Maurice de Nassau, Gustave Adolphe and Frederick the Great, etc.". De Landa maintains that the military-industrial complex had materialised after centuries of dialogue, practice and logistical exchanges between the civilian economy and its military apparatus (its army). As the economic and social organisations of the military inventions, such as the muzak, could also contribute to the organisation of a country's economy.

of the workforce in direct support of the war effort. The ultimate aim was to mass-produce objects made up of interchangeable parts using a workforce that would was itself dispensable and - through music - standardised; a set of precursory techniques that highlight the contemporary obsolescence inherent in the production and distribution of music, architecture and objects in general.

The standardisation of music marked the first historical attempt to quantify, categorise and classify waveforms by their functional arrangement in a industrial environment. This ordering of frequencies also concerned the movement of workers' bodies at specific times of the day (and night) and, as such, found its *raison d'être* in work. the 'scientific' logic at the crossroads of industrialised temporality, somatic engineering and architectural routines. While elucidating the founding principles of the penitentiary system, Foucault (1975: 139-40) identifies the disciplinary strategies and techniques that

would then be transferred to the industrial domain of the workplace. In the following quotation, he clearly explains how the body was to be subjected to utilitarian political, social and political methods: "The human body enters into a machinery of power that searches it, it disarticulates and recomposes it. A 'political anatomy', which is also a 'mechanics of power', is coming into being; it defines how we can take hold of the bodies of others, not simply so that they do what we want, but so that they operate as we want, with the techniques, according to our will. the speed and efficiency that are determined. Discipline thus produces submissive, exercised, 'docile' b o d i e s ".

To explore the 'docile body' further, it is useful to refer to De Lanza's concept of audio-analgesia and explore the composition of the numbed body. Lanza inadvertently stumbles upon the notion of the sedated body - the body that wants to kill pain by using music to soothe its industrial organs. The body is laid bare, vulnerable in its new composition, in waiting for sound operations. What is interesting here is that the process that Ford applied to mass production and consumption, namely its system of standardisation - of manufacturing techniques and components - was also applied to the sound environment in order to achieve a recorded interchangeability and repetition. Serial numbers were inscribed on objects such as firearms and cars, so that they could be classified and easily changed or repaired if necessary. In the production of the undulating object that was the muzak, all the shifts of the working day were also serialized and categorized in much the same way, so that muzakal shifts could be broken down, replaced or repaired if they were deemed dysfunctional (for example, because they were too stimulating or too unstimulating for the workers). In the same way that the conveyor belt moved the object repeatedly so that it would could be processed step by step, so the muzak transported sound pieces one after the other in fifteen-minute cycles, at the end of which a sound object was produced that acted on the employee. The process is almost an inverted reflection of the conveyor belt technique, an embryonic wave-like heterotopia in which all the parts of the scientific logic of the muzak can be included in any song, because each of them propagates a particular functionality linked to all the other songs broadcast during the fifteen-minute segment, hour after hour, day after day. At the same time, on the fringes and at the crossroads of music, the industry and of the social sciences, the muzak becomes an audiotopia - the sonic equivalent of the contradictory mirror that Foucault makes the paradigm of the heterotopia. The muzak reflected the power of music to unite, to motivate, to shape patterns of economic and social behaviour and to compose somatic rhythms, but nevertheless it had no social connotations outside the workplace, w h i c h made it at the same time an unreal undulatory spatiality, because its contradictory identity, which resided in the fact that it expressed both the unity of employees and a logic of industrial work, meaning that it was both a utopian analgesic and the dystopian agent of embodied discipline.

By attempting to quantify, temporalise and rationalise what was previously considered to be the most unscientific of spaces - the soundscape, muzak aimed to make wave territories knowable, controllable, perceptible and available for the purposes of indexing and stimulating human actions within their emotional boundaries. The body becomes the object of scrutiny, affect and, ultimately, control within these newly defined sites of experimentation that constitute the industrial workplace.

"The body

Foucault, by becoming a target for new mechanisms of power, offers himself to new forms of knowledge. The body of exercise, rather than of speculative physics; the body manipulated by authority, rather than traversed by animal spirits; the body of useful training and not of rational mechanics, but in which, by that very fact, a certain number of natural requirements and functional constraints will be announced" (1975: 157). The useful body of the worker, alienated from the objects he produces and, to quote Georg Lukacs, "incorporated as a mechanised part in a mechanical system" (1922: 95), finds itself in a new sound environment composed of new collective rhythms and coordinated movements. Such somatic organisation echoes the strategy of the production line, a context that Georg Lukacs defines as "completed and functioning in total independence from it, to whose laws it must submit" (2002: 95). As the muzak ensures that these new laws, charts and maps are consigned to the libraries of knowledge, which aim to perceive, predict and, ultimately, know the behaviour of the organism, the somatic is recomposed in hitherto unknown waves of industrial movement. Thanks to the filter of muzak, music was designed to draw the body into and bend it to relationships with disciplinary methods that would render the industrial subject even more incapable of acting independently in the workplace.

Transnational harmonies

Just as the 'multiplexing' technology of muzak (see glossary) became cable - one of the ubiquitous communications technologies that gave rise to the notion of the global village (see glossary) - so the Fordist techniques of standardisation became the modern practices that led to what we now call economic globalisation within capitalism. Just as Squier dreamed of being able to amplify music in workplaces and homes across the United States and around the world, so Ford contributed to the advent of a set of economic principles that defined an era of transnational trade. It was through the introduction of information systems such as cable and the industrial processes of mass production (in Starting with Fordism) that notions of what constituted a nation, a territory and a community changed irrevocably.

The American sociologist Saskia Sassen (1998: XXVIII), who follows a similar line of reasoning, points out that "(l)oglobalisation - as illustrated by the spatial economy of the advanced information industries - is a key factor in the development of the information society.

denationalises the national territory. This denationalisation, which to a large extent is taking place in the big cities, has become legitimate for capital and has indeed been presented in an advantageous way by many government elites and their economic advisers".

By redefining the spatial dynamics of the soundscape and the landscape, industrialisation and its and productivist technologies that went hand in hand with it, definitively abstracted our culture. relationship with the body and its place among wave forms. For the first time, sound - with the secret intention of organising the rhythms of the workers in space - was amplified on a large scale, announcing

in the sound environment the ways in which bodies would be displaced en masse through globalist-inspired treaties such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (see glossary). Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848: 18) were the first writers and philosophers to realise that capitalism would turn into a system of global expansionism in the long term, when they perceptively predicted: "The hallmark of the bourgeois age is the incessant upheaval of production, it is the relentless shaking of all the conditions of production.

The result is perpetual insecurity and turmoil. Gone are the social bonds, unchanging until then and frozen in their rust, with their trail of ancient and respectable ideas and beliefs; worn out without even having had time to ossify solidly, the bonds of recent formation... The need to open up ever-wider outlets for its products incites the bourgeoisie to a frantic race to the bottom.

surface of the globe. It must insinuate itself everywhere, establish itself everywhere, hang up the network of its exchanges everywhere" [1901: 17-8]. Particularly relevant to this study is the last sentence of this article

a quote that could be applied to the muzak and its creator's desire to correlate a dense mass with the programming of a scientifically produced sound environment. The range of musical programmes offered by the muzak - soundscapes designed for the workplace,

home and free time - required those who listened to it to be permanently connected and validated, so that it could spread and proliferate. Adherence to globalisation does not require as much, according to Marx, for whom history would come to an end when Western technological development took place at an exponential rate. The rapid expansion that would follow

would lead to replication of the same processes and a subsequent fall in manufacturing and selling costs, which in turn would lead to a fall in profits. Thanks to his perceptive economic analysis, Marx predicted that the entrepreneurial answer to this conundrum would be to have goods manufactured in less technologically developed countries, in regions where labour, land and available resources were cheaper, thus guaranteeing entrepreneurs higher profit margins and at the same time allowing them to create economic systems based on global logics of geographical appropriation. By transforming the least developed cultures with which it came into contact, the process of globalisation would inevitably reproduce the dynamics of the global economy.

This, in Marx's mind, would lead to all nations dissolving into a progressive global matrix before the inevitable transmutation into a world communist system. This, in the spirit of Marx, would lead to all nations dissolving into a progressive global matrix before the inevitable transmutation into a world communist system.

For theorists of globalisation such as Sassen, "globalisation is a process that generates contradictory spaces, characterised by contestation, internal differentiation, the emergence of new identities, and the emergence of new forms of social cohesion.

continual crossing of borders' (1998: XXXIV). This notion of connected spaces that are by definition contradictory is reminiscent of the soundscape of the muzakale factory - the master plan of the industrial globalisation - and the attempt to suppress noise and dissonance through melody and harmony. Muzak proposed to deny the random, chaotic and disquieting nature of the industrial soundscape, arguing instead for military-inspired technologies that could produce new malleable soundscapes; frequency formulas that could be arranged to work in any geographical context and orchestrated to bring orderly collective reasoning and harmonious compatibility to all that touches life.

or working conditions. The context of the soundscape created by muzak is thus a context that produces new, contradictory compositions, based on dynamics that were previously understood to be oppositional, that of noise (of machines) and that of melody (of muzak). Through electricity, the spatial partitions of the juxtapositional aesthetics we so readily accept today - that of harmoniously organised sound (i.e. that which is connected) and that of randomly discordant cacophonies (i.e. that which is alienated) - were forged into each other for the first time within the factory, the worker's body becoming the anatomical mixer that served as a channel and amplifier for all frequencies.

Section 2: The "it's all in the head" industrial logic

At the end of the 19th century, cathedrals and churches were the places where the mass of society gathered. Within these buildings, religious practice, instruction and community ties were made manifest and validated by groups of believers who celebrated the visible signifiers of faith - the cross, the paintings, Scripture - and, perhaps more importantly, the signifiers of faith in the church. frequencies - choral singing, organ recitals, prayer, the very low infrasonic roll frequencies of the low notes of the organ, which created a sense of fear and apprehension in many believers. When industrialisation arrived and factories and workshops offered the

By creating new architectural gathering places for the mass social body, the wave techniques used to organise large numbers of people were transferred from the place of worship to the workplace. Aware that the methods used by religion to spatialise and territorialise the soundscape were assimilated by industry, Lanza asserts that "modern capitalism has beaten religion to a pulp. If background music was enough to orchestrate the houses of God, why can't it orchestrate the houses of commerce? (2004: 11-12) Another way of looking at this rhetorical question would be to rephrase it as follows: as religious values were pushed into the background of everyday life by modern capitalism, how did music help to orchestrate the psychological demands of the houses of commerce in the 21st century?

To the detriment of the needs of the houses of God? As a space for broadcasting the airwaves, the church - previously socially consecrated as the most important sound producer in every town and village

- lost its domination of the architectural soundscape to industry. Suddenly, the frequency plans that had been developed by religion were orchestrated by the socio-economic imperatives of capital. Of particular interest for our purposes are the wave techniques that aim to influence and psychologically manipulate the mass social body; practices designed to unite the individual in a collective composition of beliefs, while alienating him through the negation of space.

necessary for individual expression. As workers took on new

In their relations with machines, they were driven by the rhythms of automation rather than by those produced by nature. This meant that they had to react to the demands of a factory manager or foreman (who did not want interaction, but simply submission) and no longer to the signs that had previously prompted them to sing collectively in the fields or repeat the words of a priest. It was at this point that the industrial worker began to question the rural and religious belief systems that had previously defined the architectures of his life.

It also began to break down its relationship with the old wave structures of perception.

In the factory, a whole new world of spatialities, temporal modalities, soundscapes and social relations came into being. These were partly the result of the repetitive organisation that religious systems. As Foucault remarked, "(t)he use of time is an old heritage. The monastic communities had undoubtedly suggested the strict model. It spread quickly. Its three main procedures - establishing scansions, forcing people to determined occupations, regulating rehearsal cycles - were found very early on in colleges, workshops, hospitals" (1975: 151). He continues. "For centuries, religious orders were masters of discipline: they were specialists in time, great technicians of rhythm and regular activities" (1975: 151-2). As a new dictator of social and work rhythms, Fordist capitalism entered into competition with religious organisations; it was a matter of who could win the most followers. Instead of a church and a set of beliefs for life and a factory and a job for life; instead of pious congregations of the faithful, trade unions brought employees together to give them the means to fight against unjust forms of oppression. The preacher was supplanted by the foreman and, more pertinently for this study, the promise of God's omnipresent heavenly voice by omnipresent music that similarly encompassed the entire space at all times as it emanated from the factory's network of elevated wired speakers. The arrangement of the wall-mounted loudspeakers at head height thus imitates the religious longitudinal order of waveforms in which the "voice of God" comes from "Heaven", a predetermined arrangement that has its frequency origin in the Psalm 18:13 ("The Lord thundered in heaven; the Most High uttered his voice").

It is no coincidence that the frequent power relations that were established between the Church and its subjects - the huge organ pipes that make up the psychologies of respect and fear within the congregation - can be found in the factory. The architecture of the cathedral is partly based on the function of getting the faithful to adopt collective models of associated behaviour by generating

a sense of threat by the sheer size of the building in which they are transmitted.

The same applies to the factory. Foucault acknowledges this in part when he states that

"The factory explicitly resembles a convent, a fortress, a walled city" (1975: 144). What is obviously problematic about this statement is its blatant disregard for the divergent sound architectures of the two structures. The factory at that time was perhaps the most

The cathedral was the noisiest environment ever created by man outside the tumultuous cacophony of war, and was in no way comparable to the hushed soundscape of the monastery. The cathedral was part of a radically different sound policy to that of the monastery, a dynamic that was to be relayed by the industrialists who filled the vast airspaces of the factories with amplified waves of authority. The presence of a power superior to the collectively alienated singularity of a human body was thus represented by music, which existed in the space previously reserved for the voice of God.

The spatial sanctity of the cathedral, and in particular the area higher than the average man, was and still is reserved for surveillance and sound expression.

of omnipresent intelligence. In the early 20th century, this dynamic was strategically deployed in the churches of capitalism - the factories. While transmitting supposedly 'comforting' psychological messages to workers as they toiled among the machines, networked loudspeakers subtly reminded each employee that a power greater than themselves possessed the power to amplify their presence in every square centimetre of the building, from wall to wall, ceiling to floor. In this set of architectural relationships, the presence of an invisible intelligence is announced. An undulating phenomenon that can extend to any place at any time, and that can choose to provide an audible sanctuary or a sonic battlefield at its own discretion. It is precisely this composition of a frequency presence that creates a

A feeling of self-monitoring in the industrial subject, as he is constantly informed that he has a passive role - that he is liable to be recorded and that his capacity for action is stifled - within the envelope of the factory's loudspeaker-fed power relations.

An important point to make here is that the installation of networked loudspeaker systems in factories at the beginning of the twentieth century made it possible to control the sound architecture of a given space and thus allowed authorised individuals to influence, direct and manipulate the physiology and psychology of its inhabitants. Just as important as the quantitative and qualitative claims about how networked loudspeaker systems influenced workers through their musical content is the observation that this technology worked covertly. By their very nature, the wired auditory arteries of the transmission network allowed authorised individuals to do things that were once considered supernatural, i.e. to have the ability to be present in many spaces at the same time. The orchestration of this decentralised spatiality and

The architecture of the factory became the dynamic theatre of industrialisation, in which the owner sonorously attributed several roles to the worker as an individualised and alienated actor on the stage.

a crowded stage. This worker performs contradictory roles on an oxymoronic stage that encourages speech as a source of pleasure, yet inhibits it by stifling silence with a camouflaged soundtrack. Extending the metaphor chronologically and technologically, the notion of the factory as a theatre of industrial operations could lead inversely to the notion of the factory as a theatre of industrial operations.

factory as a silent film, in which the worker/actor, directed from above - the parts of the role that a character speaks in a theatrical dialogue being replaced by the parts of the assembly line - finds himself performing an atomised set of actions and activities that have no discernible meaning in the final production, in front of a (hidden) audience of consumers with whom he has no apparent relationship.

Top of the hit parade - The emotional terrain of the worker

In large industrial production plants, the shifting terrain of the status of workers' emotional and psychological states was objectified as a subject for phenomenological study in its own right. Research and tests were undertaken on the cognitive dynamics and behavioural patterns of workers faced with repetitive tasks, and taxonomies of interpersonal relations were drawn up.

formatted to help systematise harmonious functionality. In short, the worker's psychological landscape was identified as a source of natural energy that had to be cataloguing and understanding so that plant owners can make the most of its brand new status and potential. In this way, the emotional reserves of This resource was channelled through the distribution of muzak.

In the factory of the 1920s, we hear one of the first attempts to connect a neural mass network of productivity to the influence strategies of the muzak; each mind became a functional reference point of ultimate industrial efficiency. Just as each worker is simultaneously subjected to the same sonic influence for the same length of time, so the soundscape acquires the status of a systematic field of relationships applicable to all those who exist within it. In the acoustic laboratory of the Fordist factory, the epistemological strategies of localisation, of recording and manipulating mass psychology mark out the sonic colonisation of a somatic industrial rhythm. As a distributed system, muzak was formatted to rationalise activity and presence, capturing and influencing the minds and bodies of those forced to listen. The network system created by Squier had produced a recordable soundscape and It was in this psychological spatiality, now cognisable, that the sequencing of somatic tempo could be programmed and the rate of productivity controlled. It was thanks to this psychological spatiality, now cognisable, that the sequencing of somatic tempo could be programmed and the rate of productivity controlled.

As already mentioned, with the advent of industrialisation, the emotional and psychological behaviour of the body during periods of pressure, stress and calm became objects of scientific study. A myriad of laws, theories and experiments were presented under the name of industrial psychology to prove that the human mind could be influenced and manipulated in the workplace and that the resulting rates of bodily efficiency could be 'improved'.

The idea of using music as a stimulant in the workplace had been proposed before many of these theories were developed and, before 1915, the inventor Thomas Edison had developed some a number of ideas about the power of music on the individual as well as the mass body. He conducted experiments to determine whether or not the use of music could reduce or suppress the specific frequency ratios of the factory's big machines, and to see whether it had any influence on the way the machines worked.

music had a positive or negative effect on the morale and motivation of workers. Encouraged by his early discoveries, Edison recognised music's ability to influence the listener's behaviour and began to take a close interest in its capacity to direct emotions and actions in the workplace.

The criteria for the experiments undertaken by Edison as part of his research into how formatted music programmes (broadcast by a phonograph) could be used in an industrial environment included indications of how to camouflage the humming and pounding of industrial machinery with sound.

Trials in the factory's newly compartmentalised workspaces failed because of variations in signal strength in the emerging transmission and loudspeaker technologies. However, it is in this industrial context that we can place the first notes and amplified compositions of the psychological manipulation of a distributed workforce via a

networked system of electric loudspeakers. Never before had it been envisaged to be able to simultaneously transmit music to a plethora of different spaces. So, for the first time, the burgeoning technology of loudspeakers allowed engineers to think about building soundscapes in multiple spatialities with identical or different content over orchestrated durations.

Edison's research into the controlled psychological manipulation of the mass body and its repetitive routines was the first of its kind and provided the superficial 'acoustic' (see glossary) fingerprints of the functional use of sound in industrial architecture.

Two years before George Owen Squier's loudspeaker technology became commercially viable in 1922, Edison and his Compagnie Nationale de Phonographie had carried out a series of studies on the use of loudspeakers.

intensive research into the heuristic application of music. Incidentally, Edison motivated his employees and collaborators to derive as many functionalities and utilitarian applications as possible from all his inventions. Given his desire to market the multifaceted effects of music to a wide range of industrial, social and cultural groups, he employed Walter Van Dyke Bingham, assistant professor of applied psychology at the Carnegie Institute of Technology (later to become an industrial psychologist). With regard to the company's rich archive of phonographic recordings, the young psychologist's contract led him to study and quantify the effects of music, defined by three fundamental criteria: research into song selection, research into mood changes and research into the influence of music on muscular activity. Bingham's earlier psychological and philosophical research revolved around the question of why certain sound arrangements constituted the melodic and musical unity of the music.

how these melodic stimuli then influenced human motor movements. This convergence of interest in the functional quality of somatic and industrial motricity between 1910 and 1920 was not without significance for authors such as Eleanor Selfridge-Field, who documented the efforts to rationalise movement within the industrial workspace. In her research, she traces how Bingham exploited the potential of the motor and reconfigured the incoherent zones of industry into a fluid spatiality of perpetual monophonic flow. Selfridge-Field (1997: 293) goes on to explain how these movements are mapped analogously to the movements of the nervous system of the human body, when she quotes Bingham's conclusion that 'the motor theory of melody provides a clear explanation of the nature of melodic 'relation'. Two or more tones are considered 'related' when they trigger the same organic response (...) The origin of (...) feelings of 'relationship' (can be attributed to) two main forces (...) The first of these, the phenomenon of consonance, is innate (...) But, a l t h o u g h the basis of consonance is inherent in the structure of the nervous system and the acoustic properties of vibrating bodies, the history of music and observation show abundantly that these same innate tendencies are subject to enormous modifications in the course of existence.... "

The discursive locus inferred from all this is the distributed sensorium of the resonant body. The body, historically influenced by external stimuli, is placed by Bingham at the crossroads of scientific, phenomenological, musical and industrial discourse. His tests consisted of assessing the way i n which his subjects' moods changed as they listened to music recorded by Edison; he represented the results in the form of graphs and tables; he had accumulated a large number of them. In a follow-up report to Edison dated 1 February 1921, Bingham expressed his hope that his research would produce "new information on the power of music on the mind (Selfridge-Field, 1997: 297). On 13 October 1920, Bingham announced that a prize would be awarded to any researcher who had undertaken a 'meritorious' investigation into one of the following 'appropriate subjects

:

1. Classification of musical selections according to their psychological effects.
2. Individual differences in musical sensitivity.
3. Types of listener.
4. Validity of introspection in the study of affective responses to music.
5. Moods altered by music.
6. Effects of familiarity and repetition: durability of the emotions produced by different types of selection.
7. Effects of different types of music on muscular activity.
8. An experimental study of music as an aid to the synchronisation of routine industrial activities.

In 1921, dissatisfied with the direction Bingham's research was taking (the fact that the results of the study of subjects' responses to tests could not contribute directly to the distribution of the results of the tests), Bingham decided to launch his own study.

Edison's catalogue of specific recordings), a company vice-president by the name of William Maxwell took the initiative of creating a Change of Mood Chart to remedy this apparent deficit of utilitarian spirit. In a single-page chart, the subject is asked seven simple questions, including the following:

"What is the most noticeable change in mood that has occurred in

(Did you go from serious to happy, from happy to serious, from worried to carefree, from nervous to calm? Etc.) and "please comment on how your mood changed".

(Maxwell, 1921). Maxwell's 'mood tests' were taken so seriously that they were conducted at Yale University, although the analysis of these sound surveys was reported somewhat fancifully by the New York Sun, whose prediction Eleanor Selfridge-Field (1997: 300) quotes as follows

The day will come, Yale predicts, when pneumonia will be treated not only by fresh air and malted milk, but by

a few discs of winged waltz. If a man has broken his arm and is worried about it, a military march or perhaps an excerpt from a comic opera could be given to him after each meal. Another article on the Yale experiment was published in the Journal Courier on the 22nd, which expanded on the idea by stating that 'the tests were intended to determine what kinds of music can be used in the treatment of neurotics' "

By the 1920s, the desire to understand, classify and explore the psychology of the worker had become firmly rooted in socio-scientific research. The presence, movements and rhythms of the physical body were no longer the only characteristics of the worker that management wanted to understand.

was careful to treat and order. From a psychological point of view, the directive that explained management's desire to change a worker's mood is analogous to the way a supervisor can speeding up or slowing down a conveyor belt or a phonograph. This desire to increase the company's levels of psychological influence over its workforce was disguised to achieve the apparently harmless objective of "boosting morale"; by effectively presenting phenomena such as music as collective experimental stimulants that would shape and improve a person's behaviour, and implicitly holding out the prospect of an improvement in their emotional life, as if the act of listening were more beneficial to workers than to companies.

By redefining the temporality and spatiality of the factory, the muzak can be perceived - through its the results of Hawthorne's experiments (see glossary) and, by extension, through the 'school of the In this sense, the muzak becomes the inversion of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon (see glossary) in industry. In this sense, the muzak becomes the inversion of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon (see glossary) (4) in industry. Networked loudspeakers are dispersed, amplifying and inhabiting every space. They propose a peripheral ideology in the workplace rather than the centralised organisation of the penitentiary panopticon, which observes the surrounding cellular spatiality. The behaviours that resulting from being subjected to these systems - if read in the light of the conclusions of Hawthorne's studies - are similar. What is most important here is the redefinition of the psychological spatiality of the prison in the case of the panoptic and of the factory in the case of the muzak. In the prison, it is the panopticon that threatens to transform the voyeur's vision into a relationship with the prisoner's activities, while in the factory, it is the loudspeaker system that propagates the sound of authorised persons into the spatiality of the workplace and the emotional terrain of the workers' minds.

Systematic attempts to rationalise and predict the physiological and physical mappings of the Psychological studies of the worker had been undertaken before the invention of the muzak. For example, James-Lange's theory (see glossary) proposed that emotions were triggered by changes in the way we perceive the world.

that are manifested in experiences in the world, whereas the theory of Cannon-Bard's theory of emotion (see glossary) argued exactly the opposite. The aim of the multitude of theories of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that attempted to understand, systematise and organise the mental behaviour and psychological activities of mankind was to rid men and women of their chaotic states of mind, their capricious habits and their rebellious social behaviour in order to regulate everyone's movements of them and to drive them by a set of socio-scientific motivations. To make all minds think and all bodies move in unison was and still is the dream of those who want to persuade, produce and distribute the mass body, which is linked to capitalist and military concerns. In the factories of the twentieth century, we can hear how the industrial elite standardised the irregular body (of each individual) into a repetitive and reproducible production cell. We can listen to how they exploited cultural production to influence outcomes economic. Orchestrated by the rhythms, tempos and spatial timbres defined by their mechanical partners and accompanied by the muzak, the mass industrial body of work was recomposed and reinserted into the psychological roles that had just been composed within the Fordist chorus of the conveyor belt. The attempt to psychologically condition the masses through sound was heard not only in the factory or in the Stuka-dotted skies, but also in the radio propaganda that the British and German governments regularly broadcast in an attempt to deceive each other and to increase the degree of confidence of their own population in the State and the degree of camaraderie that was theirs. With regard to the ability of frequencies to promote cooperation and to facilitate the compression of multichannel frequencies into a singular rhythm, De Landa (1991: 64) argues that "(p)any population whose individual members oscillate or vibrate is capable of reaching a singularity and thus of beginning to oscillate in a synchronised manner. When this singularity is actualised and the rhythms of the population as a whole are The individuals who make up the 'team' acquire a natural esprit de corps. This 'team spirit' enables them to behave as if they were a single organism".

Although it is clear that De Landa is analysing here the ability of military groups to move It is in the sound environment that we can hear these strategies and techniques bleeding noisily between the military and industrial bodies of thought. It is in the sound environment that we can hear these strategies and techniques bleeding noisily between the military and industrial bodies of thought. In the present study, it is the transmissions of the military-industrial complex that we set out to amplify and record as they are transmitted. find a new expression and a new effectiveness in the organisation of space, bodies and time by military-recreational complexes.

Section 3: Disconnecting the global village

Throughout this thesis, it is argued that, since 1922, frequency strategies have been used to disconnect and alienate individuals, families and groups from their belonging or their relationship to their social networks, architectural contexts and socio-cultural affiliations. For thousands of years, the auricular frequencies of music have been understood to have the capacity to bring people together to dance, sing and work. Given that we routinely see music's ability to unite humans in a wide range of cultural endeavours, it's logical to think that such an effective and influential instrument could be used to accomplish a number of things.

activities of a less convivial nature. The muzak broadcast in the industrial factories of modernism could be interpreted as a source of camaraderie or consolation, but this interpretation would be superficial and would overlook the fundamentally (in)social elements of muzak, which silenced the workforce so that there was less communication between workers. Previously, on farms, the songs that spoke of suffering and of

emancipation through religion and death were commonplace, but on the factory floor, these kinds of soundscapes - like any songs that might incite revolt or dissent - were frowned upon. New machines were more important to the industrialists than the well-being and health of those who operated them. Most of the time, all forms of music created by employees were seen as interferences and distractions in the workplace.

the work process. In this sense, the frequencies injected into the factories could be perceived as as the initial melodies of alienation. In this way, the muzak came to supplant a sonic space full of stories, complaints, laughter, collective dissonance and chatter.

sound components of relationship-building and social cohesion that are common among groups undertaking long, repetitive tasks.

As a viral soundscape (one that is composed and transmitted to complement, hide or mutate another set of frequencies in an urban or naturalistic context), the muzak also dissociated workers from their architectural surroundings and from the internal and external sound markers that made up a sense of movement throughout the day or night. By distancing the

The muzak contributed to the creation of a set of disconnected and autonomous working conditions, the success of which depended solely on the relationship between the worker and the machines associated with him.

As employees could no longer relate directly to the sounds emitted by the equipment in their workplace, by people coming and going in the stairwells and corridors, or by the sounds of the people in their workplaces, they could no longer relate directly to the sounds emitted by the equipment in their workplaces.

work, nor to sounds outside the factory, they were, each individually, brooded over by the muzak, which tried to suppress all the factors that could help the worker to adapt mentally to the new situation.

industrial space and time. Lanza acknowledges this attempt to alienate the worker from everything that was not linked to the workplace in his daily life, when he writes: "If Taylorism could evaluate the time lag between when the clerks picked up their pencils and when they used them to produce their paperwork, the sound engineers could also produce their version of the optimum working range" (2004: 27).

Once the external or internal sound markers of temporality have disappeared, a new temporality is created. dependence on the factory owners orchestrated the conditions that signalled break time, lunch time and departure time. This new wave of dependence on management led to a further loss of independence for the employee. Without a clear conception of his relationship to the spatial and temporal conditions with which he is involved, it is more difficult for an employee to "get on with his job". to have the feeling of being able to influence the world and others, especially if this feeling is based on resistance to or questioning of those who construct and apply the rules of the said work environment. As the movement of machines reaffirmed the employee's sense of disorientation by forcing him or her to move in an automated fashion, the worker was forced to live at the pace of their blind synchronicity. The machine's ability not only to As a result, the mechanical robot became the fantasy of the production line in the industrial factory. As for muzak, it became the sonic fantasy through which robots danced with capital, even though, at the time, they were still the only robots in the world. chaperoned by workers; the fifth wheel of the carriage who didn't want to take part, but who had no choice because their hands were tied by the choreography of progress.

As the newly mechanised factories buzzed with manufacturing satisfaction, the muzak technology that would help give birth to the collective notion of a global village was developed. actively used to alienate employees from their colleagues and, more importantly for our purposes, from their architectural sense of space and place. The muzak, with its duality of capabilities and purposes, is the first example of an electrically generated soundscape to play on both the desire for mass communication and the discomfort of alienation. As indicated in the introduction, music had always had this dual potential in the past, but it had never had such contagious potential. Now, in fact, it aimed to affect simultaneously massive groupings of people in divergent geographical areas. The fact that these new radio musical soundscapes were unknown to the workers was also a factor. important, because the first reactions they provoked must have been waves of disorientation and surprise. When a technology of this kind is implemented, there is always a initial period of adaptation and learning for those who came into contact with it and, in the case of the inexperienced wave bodies born in the factories, there was a time of cultural and somatic metamorphosis.

Emily Thompson (2004: 2) comments on this intrinsic modulating and transitional characteristic of the industrial soundscape as follows: "A soundscape, like a landscape, ultimately has more to do with civilisation than with nature, and is therefore constantly under construction and in flux. constantly evolving. The American soundscape has undergone a particularly the early years of the twentieth century. In 1933, the nature of sound and the culture of listening were both different from anything that had gone before."

The introduction of muzak into the citadel of spatially controlled repetitive work processes - the factory - was approved and ratified at a time in history when the sonic territory of the workplace was relatively unexplored, poorly mapped and politically untouched. In 1922, there were few directives, regulations or laws relating to the soundscape and what existing within it meant psychologically, physiologically, politically or legally for the body.

In Squier's 'Tayloresque' strategy of connecting through the ubiquity of musical cycles every worker in the soundscape, there remained a meta-objective, which was to compose within the factory global patterns of repetitive action, production and payment that would subsequently extend into a global context as the repetitive ideology informed the modalities of distribution and marketing. Such viral coordination and classification of time and space, from the factory to the global networks of expanding industrial capitalism, is the embodiment of Foucault's idea that the micropolitics of the local is transplanted and etched onto the logical map of global capitalism.

Depending in part on the sonic-political virginity of the workforce, the first muzak networks were not interested in the exchanges of micropolitics; what interested them was defining the mass subject and manipulating it as a single body. The muzak headquarters - where the networks originated and escaped from - was hidden from the workers and out of their reach. Exposed to the music broadcast over the loudspeakers, the workers could not change the sound, slow it down, manipulate it or destroy it, because they didn't even know where it was being transmitted from. Just as the machines in the factory alienated workers from their work, so networked music similarly separated the body from its architectural environment by distancing workers from the hidden and inaccessible 'transmission centre' of control (see glossary). Within these dystopian schemes, the muzak bunkers of avarice gave rise to transmission networks that directed information. and influenced behaviour - cementing the perception of geographical and psychological control that amplified the ideological domination of the factory owner. It was precisely detachment - being aware that you existed on the other side of the network interface - that made the worker a passive subject and put the 'mass industrial body' (see glossary) in the disadvantageous position of having no power over the composition, distribution or destruction of (wave) information.

The carnal cadence of the body-antenna

To paraphrase Schafer (1970), the universal symphony that is the soundscape is an incessant undulating spectacle that simultaneously makes us an audience, a performer and a composer. In the newly composed soundscapes of industrialisation, it is useful to situate the emergence of the body-antenna in an industrial context. Energised by electricity, the body-antenna alternated between the promise of future information exchange systems and the usefulness of the strategies then in force to persuade workers to surrender to the machine's embrace. Factory workers were able to become the first bodies to generate these antithetical, wave-like ontologies.

divergent, because they were both programmed in such a way as to install silence between The first effects of the public address system - its development, in resonance with the body-antenna, into a carnal industrial operator that depended as much on sound as on visuals - had far-reaching repercussions. The initial effects of the wired public address system - its development, in resonance with the body-antenna, into a carnal industrial operator that depended as much on sound as on visuals - had far-reaching repercussions. The electrical amplification of sound in private, public and interstitial spaces had the twentieth century. Ultimately, as we will see in the course of this study, the ideological, technological and psychological itineraries of loudspeaker systems will take us on a diversion through an undulatory network that includes Waco, Guantanamo Bay and the ultrasonic spatiality of the HSS. By linking these points of reference through the soundscape, we will come to learn how the capabilities of the body-antenna offer alternative readings of the world of sound. world events and predicts future models of social organisation.

In the factory, the body-antenna finds itself in a socio-political interstice between the promise of technological emancipation from the confines of geography and temporality and the reality of being linked to a rhythmic attrition of industrialised production targets. Spatially displaced and mechanically repositioned in the categorised segments of 15-minute muzak, this body is disciplined through and by waveforms propagated electrically for the first time. It is observed, documented and analysed in a new factory, which, scientifically designed, joins the laboratory as a modern place to study the physiological and psychological activities of the body. While learning a spatialised sonic discourse that is organised through the vocabulary of timbre, rhythm and

In the instrumentation, the body-antenna is invited to perceive its new role as that of an element as replaceable as it is subordinate. Foucault (1975: 147) describes the oscillating position of workers in the factory, when he talks about the composition of the unit in conjunction with the organising principles of discipline: "In discipline, the elements are interchangeable, since each is defined by the place it occupies in a series, and by the distance that separates it from the others. Unity is therefore neither territory (a unit of domination) nor place (a unit of residence), but rank: the place we occupy in a classification, the point where a line and a column intersect, the interval in a series of intervals that we can traverse one after the other... Discipline individualises bodies by a localisation that does not implant them, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relationships."

The negation of static location locks the body into a nebulous relationship with its newly mechanised environment. Connected to everyone and everywhere via the conveyor belt, the worker becomes a replaceable singularity in this industrial composition of space, redefined as it is by the new sound discipline orchestrated by muzak.

Occupying the zones between silence and mechanically produced sound, the muzak functioned by synthesising the loss of verbal language and the creation of a definitive undulatory cartography, and, in doing so, it was able to create a new sound. In doing so, he provided another reading of sonic spatiality, an unconscious topography of frequencies that could be defined as a 'third sound'.

Muzak allows us to perceive a soundscape designed to amplify and exist between the undulating spatialities of noise and non-sound. In the beginning, the industrialised workplace inspired fear, because the absence of noise meant stasis, an undesirable interlude in the symphony of noise. industrial processes of constant mechanised movement.

Silence meant an interruption in the production chain and therefore a halt in production. A progeny of the military and entertainment industries, muzak was born by adopting the rhythmic nature of production line needs. It has developed by channelling the desires of workers and buyers, and has led us to equate silence with death. Lanza recalls this industrial fear of non-sound when he notes that, "as the revolution introduced the roar of the internal combustion engine and the hum of the generators, ventilation systems, riveting machines and low-frequency electric lighting, silence, where it existed, became an undesirable anomaly" (2004: 11). The muzak gave rise to dualistic assumptions about industrial sound and silence by offering new ways of thinking about how spatialities, psychologies and presences in the workplace might be orchestrated by waveforms. Just as silence gives meaning to sound, muzak has given impetus to the notion of the third sound and, in so doing, has asked us to renegotiate our cognitive relationship with it. with each other.

Cognitive mapping of audio architecture

The prophetic hymns to future cultural survival that were the work songs were followed by symphonies in preparation for the industrial environment. This spatial reorganisation in the he soundscape tells us about the transition from the field and agrarian civilisation to industrial civilisation and the factory, and informs us that we need to find new ways of mapping the world we live in.

psychology and physiology of the workplace and to think about our relationship with waveforms. So how do we explore, map and analyse the third sound? How do we map frequency, which expresses the displacement and mobilisation of waveforms at the time when a society that was essentially agrarian became industrial (it has now become a leisure society)? A look at the Muzak website is instructive here, because to market their product, 'Audio Architecture' (see glossary), it expresses the mapping of space through constructed material metaphors and speculative sound psychologies (see glossary).

Muzak is clearly announcing its intention to make functional use of music in the contemporary society and the composition of their audio architectures leaves little to the imagination. She talks about bypassing the conscious mind and targeting the lesser-known realms of the subconscious and emotions. The sound-mapping system she has set up in factories has now been extended to the rest of the world.

has gone beyond the workplace and extended its acoustic roots into leisure venues, shopping centres and hospitals. For this study, Muzak's most relevant early intention was its attempt to map the soundscape in order to make it knowable and manageable.

in a predefined field of recording and observation. It was thought that, when these criteria were met - when sound could be rationalised - the visual and material domains within the factory would find it easier to accept the flow logic of the production chain. This form of The reasoning, which initially concerned the workplace, was later applied to other locations.

As the first electrically powered waveform mapping system, the muzak inaugurated new ways of thinking about space, time, function and presence in relation to the wave body. It developed topographic strategies for mapping and orienting the subject. rather than exploring or liberating it, as the third sound proposes.

To enrich a mapping system capable of exploring the abstract territory of the third sound, we need to be attentive to other theoretical systems of orientation. Amplified to confer a certain freedom of action on the subject, Fredric Jameson's notion of cognitive cartography encourages the undulatory body to redefine its presence in a network of global relations, thereby escaping the subordinate role assigned to it by muzak almost a century ago. Colin MacCabe describes the concept of cognitive cartography in the preface to Fredric Jameson's book *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*. Cinema and Space in the World System, as "the missing psychology of the political unconscious, the political limit of the historical analysis of post-modernism [...] The term is taken from geographer Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (MIT Press, 1960). He uses it to describe the phenomenon whereby the people give meaning to their urban environment. Indeed, it is an intersection of the personal and the social, enabling people to act in the urban spaces through which they move. For Jameson, cognitive mapping is a way of understanding how the individual's representation of his or her social world can escape the traditional critique of representation because

that cartography is intimately linked to practice - to the individual's ability to successfully negotiate urban space. In this sense, cognitive mapping is a metaphor for the processes of the political unconscious. But it is also the model for how we might begin to define the local and the global. It connects the most intimately local - our particular path through the world - and the most global - the crucial features of our political planet (Jameson, 1995: xiv) ".

Cognitive mapping goes further in the reification of vibratory politics, transforming our undulatory body into a socially and politically conscious subjectivity. endowed with an implicit perception of space and time, and the pressures exerted on it by those who wish to blunt these tools for understanding the urban. It is in the ruptures of this It is through a process of transformation, from subjection to frequencies to understanding our position in the mix of the social score, that our wave subjectivity becomes coherent.

By being connected to the independently connected domain of the active loudspeaker instead of waiting to be connected - as its passive, submissive twin would have it - the body-antenna signals its desire to communicate and broadcast, to transmit as well as receive.

If the idea of using cognitive mapping to distinguish the third sound seems at first sight be linked to a sensibility too visual to discern the echoes of an abstract wave theory, to guard against this interpretation, it is to Wegner's (2006: 267) analysis of Jameson's ideas that we must turn: "Jameson himself warns against this idea that 'since everyone knows what a map is, it should have been added that cognitive cartography cannot (at least in our time) involve anything as simple as a map; indeed, once you you know what a cognitive map is for, you need to put out of your mind all representations of a cognitive map.

It's time to stop thinking about your own maps and cartography and try to imagine something else. To slip into the language of the map is then, Jameson argues, to give in to the hegemony of the image and the visual (marked also by a resurgence of traditional aesthetics and ethics), which is a central dimension of postmodern ideology.

This reference to the over-reliance on essentially visual tropes warns us a g a i n s t making the same mistake about the notion of cognitive mapping, and is the reason why this notion lends itself to theorising the soundscape and exploring more precisely the practical parameters of the third sound. The third sound requires us to understand, negotiate and listen to the historical, present and future soundscape in an entirely new way. As

As Wegner (2006: xiv - xv) helpfully explains once again, "it is a question of ensuring that the information

(, which will always be limited,) are nevertheless sufficient to produce a map that will be superimposed on other interpretation grids at certain crucial points, creating the conditions for an analysis of the situation.

political and economic. Theoretically, cognitive mapping requires more than simple development - it is fundamentally a metaphor that needs to be decompressed into a series of concepts that would link the psychic and the social. For an exhaustive understanding of

Thirdly, the 'other interpretive grids' should surely include networks of sexual, aesthetic, somatic, historiographic, emotional and spatial discourses. It is only when we interpret according to such a multidimensional network of perceptions (the range of

We will then be able to 1) understand the historical importance of muzak and its role in shaping the parameters of sonic cartography; 2) renegotiate the intimate affiliations we have with the visible and material world; 3) understand the role of muzak in the creation of the world of sound.

sound landscape in which we exist every day; and 3) to anticipate the way in which our involvement in the third sound can be mobilised to resist those who set up this undulatory spatiality in order to control the absences and presences within it.

Toby Heys, SONIC, INFRASONIC, AND ULTRASONIC FREQUENCIES: The Utilisation of Waveforms as Weapons, Apparatus for Psychological Manipulation, and as Instruments of Physiological Influence by Industrial, Entertainment, and Military Organisations, translated from the English by B. K. (*).

(*) In 2018, Heys published a revised, reworked, abridged and slightly simplified version of his thesis entitled *Sound Pressure: How Speaker Systems Influence, Manipulate and Torture Output Type*. (Rowman and Littlefield International Limited, London).

(a) See The Dead Record Office, *Art in General*, New York, USA. 2014.

(b) Commissioned in 2008 in the border area between France and Switzerland, the Large Hadron Collider is the world's largest and most powerful particle accelerator.

(c) "Bank of Hell" is the term used to describe the simulacra of banknotes burnt at funerals in many Asian countries to symbolically provide the deceased with money and possessions in the afterlife; invented in China at an unknown time, this "currency of the dead" is now used to pay the bills of the dead.

the origin of the "currency of the living", issued for the first time on earth at the beginning of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127) (see Marc Montoussé, *Économie monétaire et financière*, Éditions Bréal, 2006)

(d) Dead Record is AUDINT's record label (see <https://c-cyte.blogspot.com/2011/06/audint-dead-record-office-at-art-in.html>).

(e) Phantom Hailer" is the name AUDINT has given to the third phase of the "global militarisation of vibrations", in other words the process of deploying "strategies, technologies and tools" to create a "global vibration militarisation".

frequency programmes of mystification developed by military organisations to orchestrate phenomena of tactical haunting in conflict zones" (Steve Goodman, Toby Heys and Eleni Ikoniadou [eds.], AUDINT-Unsound:Undead, Urbanomic Media LTD, 2019, p. xi). AUDINT names

The study of this process is known as 'martial hauntology'. Hauntology is a neologism coined by Jacques Derrida in his essay *Spectres de Marx* (1993). As a philosophical concept, it refers to elements of the past which, because they persist or recur in the present, can be compared to ghosts.

The first phase, known as the "Ghost Army" after the name of the US army unit which, according to AUDINT (*), was the first armed force to use tricks and sound decoys in a military theatre in 1944, lasted until 1965.

Vietnam by the psychological warfare operation called "Wandering Soul", during which, exploiting the Vietnamese belief that the soul of anyone not buried in his native land will wander forever, the US army broadcast through loudspeakers channels that

imitated those of fallen Vietcong (see <https://vinageoblog.wordpress.com/2019/09/15/raffinement-macabre-vii-operation-wandering-soul-the-americans-make-vietnamese-beliefs-a-psychological-weapon/>), ended in 1991, when, thanks to Washington's "War on Terror", the US army was the first in the world to use its own weapons.

the first in modern times (**) to experiment with sound torture techniques using loudspeakers on combatants held captive in military compounds

and, using high-powered directional audio systems such as sound cannons, on crowds. AUDINT calls this third phase 'Phantom Hailer'.

The fourth, according to AUDINT, will last until 2056. AUDINT calls it Ghostcode, the title of a cartoon transposed by AUDINT from a novel by R. M. Gonzales entitled

Holo.wars: the Black Cats (2014) and set precisely in 2056: "... societies and nation-states have merged into a single economic and political entity. Human flesh has been removed from the messy equations of political turbulence, leading to the unleashing of conflict by holographic and holosonic forces. The film follows the exploits of Irex2, an intelligence

who tries to escape his undead creators to create artificial intelligence, before a Colombian Black Hat by the name of Sureshot does so, fighters...

holographic weapons called AlHolos. Powered by the sound of human pain, AlHolo weapons require massive injections of recorded suffering. As torment becomes a

An economy in its own right, Pain © Amps is built to generate a source of sonic energy. By amplifying the logic of the most successful recipe of the twentieth century music industry, Pain © Amps (Pain © Amplifiers) is a source of sonic energy.

century - to record and sell the sound of poverty-stricken urban areas (some urban areas: as far as we know, coal miners' songs were never of interest to houses

of records, unlike, by virtue of the alliance between the scum from above and the scoundrels from below, rap. N.D.T.) - the functionality of suffering has been pushed to the limit. The needle is in the red,

but it is pain that is sought, not blood...". (<http://www.audint.net/www/ghostcode/>; see also Steve Goodman, Toby Heys and Eleni Ikoniadou [eds.], op. cit.)

(*) In fact, the Russian army had already started deploying sound weapons during the siege of Stalingrad. To destabilise the German soldiers, a special unit was tasked with broadcasting particularly gloomy tango tunes over loudspeakers, as well as the throbbing ticking of a clock, interspersed with the following message every seven seconds: "Every seven seconds, a German soldier dies in Russia. Stalingrad is a mass grave" (see Antony Beevor, *Stalingrad: The Fateful*

Siege: 1942-43, Penguin Books, 1998; John Naughton, "War mentality: How a man boosted the morale in Stalingrad", 28 February 2013,

https://www.rbth.com/arts/2013/02/28/the_stalingrad_battle_how_snipers_boosted_soldiers_moral_23337.html#:~:text=The%20ferocious%20Battle%20of%20Stalingrad,a%20savage%20war%20of%20attrition.&text=To%20the%20background%20sound%20of,Stalingrad%20is%20a%20mass%20grave.%E2%80%9D)

(**) The idea of producing sound waves, shockwaves or other sounds to cause damage to a vehicle or to the environment.

damage is nothing new. In addition to the famous trumpets of Jericho, the ancient Chinese, as far back as the Han dynasty (200 BC - 200 AD), used to fly kites over their enemies, the bamboo pipes of which were attached to the kites when the wind blew them.

(Richard C. Levy and Ronald O. Weingartner, *From Workshop to Toy Store: A Fascinating Inside Look at how Toy*

Inventors Develop, Sell, and Cash in on Their Ideas, Simon & Schuster, 1992, p. 46; Sally Wilkins, *Sports and Games of Medieval Cultures*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT and London, 2002, p. 91; among the various military applications that the ancient Chinese found for this object that they had created, we might also mention the "fire crow", a kite carrying incendiary powder and equipped with a stick of burning incense attached to a wick (Fan Zhilong, "A Short History of Kites", in *China Reconstructs*, vol. 33, China Welfare Institute, 1984, p. 43).

(f) See above.

(g) <https://www.art.mmu.ac.uk/profile/theys/projectdetails/591>.

(h) Ibid.

(i) In addition to AUDINT-Unsound:Undead and Dead Record Office (see supra note a), Heys took part in writing the collective work *Infrasense / Virutorium: Viral Projects* (ThirdsoundPress, 2010), including

we know absolutely nothing about it, except that it is accompanied by a DVD; the collection of essays *Futures and Fictions: Essays and Conversations that Explore Alternative Narratives and Image Worlds that Might Be Pitched Against the Impasses of our Neo-Liberal Present* (Repeater, 2017.) edited by Simon O'Sullivan,

Henriette Gunkell and Ayesha Hameed and in which he offers "a brief historical overview of AUDINT's spectral archives, spanning from 1922 to 2064, a period (he calls) 'a century of his zombie'".

(j) The only two to our knowledge are Juliette Volcler, *Le son comme arme. Les usages policiers et militaires du son*, Paris, La Découverte, 2011; id, *Contrôle. Comment s'inventa l'art de la manipulation sonore*, Paris, La Découverte, 2017).

(1) Embodied cognition is the theory that many features of cognition, whether human or otherwise, are shaped by all aspects of the environment.

the organism. The characteristics of cognition include mental constructs (such as concepts and categories) and performance in various cognitive tasks (such as reasoning or judgement). The bodily aspects include the motor system, the auditory system and the mental system.

perceptual, the body's interactions with the environment (situation) and the assumptions about the world that are built into the structure of the organism (see also

<https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/cognition-incarnee/>) N. D. T.

(2) K. T. Theus, Subliminal advertising and the psychology of processing unconscious stimuli: a review of research. In *Psychology & Marketing*, vol. 11, n° 3, 1994 [p. 271-90] ; T. E. Moore, Subliminal self-help.

auditory tapes: an empirical test of perceptual consequences. In *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, vol. 27, n° 1, 1995 [pp. 9-20]; id. scientific consensus & expert testimony: lessons from the Judas Priest trial. In *American, Psychology Law Society News*, vol. 17, n° 1, 1997 [pp. 3-14] b o t h reach opposite conclusions, N. D. T.

(3) The allusion is to *The Call of the Wild* by the American writer Jack London.

(4) See Jeremy Bentham,

<https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2020/11/25/une-genealogie-de-la-police-1/>

Study of Germanic mythology (1)

The Norwegian philologist Sophus Bugge (1833 - 1907), who initiated Norse studies, published a work in Danish entitled *Studier Over De Nordiske Gude- Og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, which had a great impact. He argued that the Eddas and the whole of ancient Norse literature were not purely Nordic in character, but had been influenced by both Greco-Latin and Christian influences, and that the mythical and heroic poetry of the North was no older than the Viking Age. Following in his footsteps, the historian, politician and theologian Christian Bang (1840 - 1913), in an in-depth study of the *Völuspá* (literally, The Prophecies of the Sybil), which he read before the Christiania Science Society in 1879 (*Völuspáa og de Sibyllinske Orakler*, Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania, Forhandlinger Aar 1879, nr. 9, 1-23, Christiania), argued that the unknown author of this work had merely adapted to Nordic mythology the beliefs and beliefs of his ancestors.

This was a creation of the Alexandrian Jews of the 2nd century BC, which Christians, following in the footsteps of Judaism, later turned into a propaganda tool for their cult (*).

These revisionist works were what prompted the Swedish writer, publicist, poet and politician Viktor Rydberg (1828 - 1895) to immerse himself in the study of Norse mythology. For years, he devoted himself almost exclusively to this study, to the extent that he sometimes spent days and nights working at his desk, with almost no food or drink, his mind entirely occupied with his work. The result of these years of tireless, meticulous work was the publication of *Undersökningar i germanisk mytologi* in two volumes. The result of these years of tireless, meticulous work was the publication of *Undersökningar i germanisk mytologi* in two volumes, the first in 1886, the second in 1889. The publication of a German, French and English edition was announced, but only the English version saw the light of day, under the title *Teutonic Mythology: Gods and Goddesses from the Northland*, in 1889. Although he had set out to write it with the aim of showing that the myths contained in the Edda had not been subject to any Christian or Greco-Roman influence, Rydberg was soon disillusioned. Notwithstanding Dumézil and his disciples, it was decades ago that "The question is no longer," as the German scholar M. Golther (1863-1945) once said, "whether the mythology of the Edda has been subjected to any Christian or Greco-Roman influence. Norwegian culture has incorporated foreign elements, but to what extent has it done so?"

The text published below is the first part of the second chapter of the first volume of *Undersökningar i germanisk mytologi*, to which we return the title.

II. The sagas of medieval migration

A. The scholarly saga of emigration from Troy-Ásgarðr

7. The Heimskringla and the Edda in prose.

In the preceding pages, we have given the reasons why it seems appropriate to assume that ancient Teutonia, within certain indefinable limits, included the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea, that the Scandinavian countries constituted a part of this ancient Teutonia and that they had been populated by Germans since the Stone Age.

The subject I'm about to study raises the question of how the Germans viewed this issue in the earliest known times. Did they see themselves as aborigines or immigrants to Teutonia? For mythology, the answer to this question is of great importance. For pragmatic history, on the other hand, the answer is irrelevant, because what they believed provides no reliable basis for drawing conclusions about historical fact. If they considered themselves to be aborigines, this does not prevent them from having immigrated in prehistoric times, even if their traditions had ceased to speak of them. If they saw themselves as immigrants, it does not follow that traditions about immigration have a historical basis. An example of the first possibility is provided by the Brahmins and the higher castes in India: their orthodoxy obliges them to consider themselves as aborigines, but it is obvious that they are immigrants. An example of the second possibility is provided by the Swedes: the people of that country have been taught to believe that a greater or lesser proportion of the inhabitants of Sweden are the descendants of the immigrants who, under the leadership of Óðinn, are said to have come there a hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ, and that this immigration, whether it involved many or few people, had a most decisive influence on the culture of the country, so that Swedish history might well begin the moment Óðinn landed on Swedish soil.

The most accessible sources of traditions about Óðinn's immigration to Scandinavia are to be found in Icelandic works, the Heimskringla and the prose Edda. Both were written at the same time. This was in the 12th century, more than two hundred years after the end of the *forn siðr* era in Iceland (1).

We will begin by examining the account given in the Heimskringla. A river called Tanakvisl, or Vanakvisl (2), flows into the Black Sea. This river separates Asia from Europe. East of Tanakvisl, that is, in Asia, is a country formerly called the land of the Aesir, or Asaheim; and the fortress or main city of this country was called Ásgarðr. Great sacrifices were made there, and a famous chief under the name of Óðinn resided there. He had entrusted the government to twelve men, who were high priests and judges. Óðinn was a great leader and a great conqueror and had won so many victories that his men remained convinced that victory belonged to him. They used to

ask him to bless them with the laying on of hands, convinced that they would thus be victorious in all things. If they found themselves in danger, they immediately invoked his name, certain that he would come to their aid. He often went far away and often stayed away for six months. His kingdom was then ruled by his brothers Vile and Ve. He was absent for so long that the Aesir believed he would never return. His brothers both claimed the hand of his wife, Frigg. But he eventually returned and regained possession of Frigg.

The Aesir had a neighbour called the Vanes. Óðinn made war on the Vanes, but they defended themselves bravely. After experiencing both victory and defeat, the two groups tired of war, made peace and exchanged hostages. The Vanes gave Óðinn their best man, Njörd, his son Frey and also Kvasir as hostages, and Óðinn gave them Honir and Mimir in exchange. Óðinn made Njörd and Frey priests. Frey's sister Freyja also became a priestess. The Vanes treated the hostages they had received with equal consideration and made Honir a chief and judge. But they seem to have quickly realised that Honir was a fool. They felt wronged by and, as this angered them, they cut off the head, not of Honir, but of his wise brother Mimir, and sent it to Óðinn. He embalmed the head and enchanted it with incantations, so that it could speak to him and teach him strange things.

The land of the Aesir, where Óðinn reigned, is separated by a large mountain range from Tyrkland, i.e., in the Heimskringla, Asia Minor, of which the famous Troy is said to have been the capital. Óðinn also had extensive possessions in Tyrkland. But at that time, the Romans invaded and subjugated all the countries, and it was because of this that many rulers fled their kingdoms. And Óðinn, being wise and versed in the art of magic, and therefore knowing that his descendants should populate the northern part of the world, left his kingdom to his brothers Vile and Ve and emigrated with many followers to Gardariki, i.e. Russia. Njörd, Frey and Freyja and the other priests with whom he had entrusted the government to Ásgarðr accompanied him and his sons. From Gardariki he travelled to Saxony, conquering vast territories and dividing them between his sons. From Saxony he went to the island of Fionie and settled there. Seeland did not yet exist. Óðinn sent Gefjon north, across the sea, to explore the country there. At that time, a chief named Gylfe reigned in Svíþjóð. He gave Gefjon a field of arable land and, with the help of four giants transformed into oxen and harnessed to a plough, Gefjon untied it and dragged it into the sea near the island of Fionie, which is now called Seeland. Where the field was untied, there is now a lake called Logrin. Skjold, Óðinn's son, acquired this land and married Gefjon. And when Gefjon told Óðinn that Gylfe had good ground, Óðinn went thither, and Gylfe, being unable to resist, though he was also a wise man, and versed in magic and sorcery, negotiated a treaty of peace, by which Óðinn acquired a vast territory round Logrin; and at Sigtuna he built a great temple, where sacrifices were henceforth made according to the law. the custom of the Aesir. He gave dwellings to the priests - Noatun to Njörd, Uppsala to Frey, Himminbjörg to Heimdal, Thrudvang to Þórr, Breidablik to Balder and so on. Óðinn introduced many arts to the North, and he and the Aesir taught them to the people. Among other things, he taught them poetry and runes.

Óðinn himself always spoke in measured rhyme. What's more, he was an excellent sorcerer. He could change shape, deafen and blind his enemies; he was a sorcerer and could raise the dead. He owned the ship *Skiðblaðnir*, which could fold like a sheet. He had two ravens, which he had taught to speak and which brought him news from all countries. He knew where every He knew the incantations that opened up the earth, the cliffs, the rocks and the mounds. He introduced customs to the North such as the cremation of the dead, the construction of burial mounds in memory of great men, the erection of stones, etc. Bauta in commemoration of the others; and he introduced the three great sacrificial feasts - that of the good year, the year of good harvests and the year of victory. Óðinn died at *Svíþjóð*. When he felt death approaching, he allowed himself to be cut with the tip of a spear and declared that he would was going to visit his friends at *Godheim* and welcome back all those who had fallen in battle. That's what the Swedes believed. They have worshipped him ever since, convinced that he enjoyed eternal life in the ancient *Ásgarðr* and they thought that he revealed himself to them at the approach of great battles. On the throne of the *Svea* (3) he was followed by *Njörd*, the ancestor of the *Ynglings*.

Let us now turn to the *Edda* in prose, which in its foreword gives us, in the style of the time, a general overview of history and religion.

First, he borrows the creation and flood stories from the Bible. This is followed by a long story of the building of the tower of Babel. The descendants of Noah's son Ham confronted and defeated the sons of Shem and, in their arrogance, attempted to build a tower that would reach to the heavens. The main instigator of this undertaking was Zoroaster and seventy-two foremen Masons served under him. But God confused the language of these people arrogant, so that each of the seventy-two male foremen had his own language, which the others could not understand, after which each went his own way and it was in this way that the seventy-two languages of the world spread. Before that time, only one language was spoken and that was Hebrew. A city was built where they had tried to build the tower, and it was called Babylon. Zoroaster became king and reigned over many Assyrian nations, among whom he introduced idolatry and who worshipped him under the name of Baal. The tribes that left with his With the exception of one tribe, which retained the Hebrew language, the foremen also fell into idolatry. They also retained the original faith in all its purity. So, while Babylon had become one of the main altars of pagan worship, the island of Crete became another. A man called Saturn was born who became to the Cretans and Macedonians what Zoroaster was to the Assyrians. Saturn's knowledge and skills in the field of magic and his ability to produce gold from red-hot iron made him the equal of a prince in Crete; and as, The Cretans and Macedonians believed he was a god, and he encouraged them to believe it. He had three sons - Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto. Jupiter resembled his father in skill and magical knowledge and was a great warrior, conquering many kingdoms. When Saturn divided his kingdom between his sons, a quarrel arose. Pluto was entrusted

and, as this was the least advantageous part, he also received the dog named Cerberus. Jupiter was given the sky and was not satisfied: he wanted the earth as well. He made war on his father, who had to take refuge in Italy, where, for fear of Jupiter, he changed his name to Njörd and became a useful king, teaching the inhabitants, who lived on acorns and roots, to plough and plant the land.
vine.

Jupiter had many sons. One of them, Dardanos, descended in the fifth generation from Priam of Troy. Priam's son, Hector, was the most illustrious man in the world for his size and strength. The Romans are descendants of the Trojans, and when Rome became a great power, it adopted many of the laws and customs that had previously prevailed among the Trojans. Troy was situated in Tyrkland, near the centre of the earth. Under Priam, the leader, there were twelve tributary kings, each of whom spoke a different language. These twelve tributary kings were extremely wise; they received the honours of the gods, and all the European sovereigns descended from them. One of them was called Munon or Mennon. He was married to a daughter of Priam and had a son by her, Tror, "whom we call Þórr". He was a very handsome man, his hair shinier than gold, and at twelve he was mature and so strong that he could lift twelve bearskins at a time. He killed his adoptive father and his adoptive mother, took possession of his adoptive father's kingdom, Thrace, "which we call Thrudheim", and from then on he travelled the world, triumphing over berserkers, giants and the greatest dragon, among other prodigies. In the North, he met a prophetess called Sibil (Sibyl), "whom we call Sif" and married her. From him descended in the twentieth generation Voðinn, 'whom we call Óðinn', a very wise and learned man, who married Frigida, 'whom we call Frigg'.

At that time, the Roman general Pompey was waging war in Asia and also threatening Óðinn's empire. Meanwhile, Óðinn and his wife had learned through prophetic inspiration that a glorious future awaited them in the northern part of the world. So he left Tyrkland, and a great multitude of men and women of all ages followed him, carrying with them many precious objects. Wherever they went, the inhabitants took them for gods and not for men. And they travelled without stopping until they arrived in a northern region now known as Saxony. Óðinn stayed there for a long time. He made one of his sons, Veggdegg, king of Saxony, another, Beldegg, 'whom we call Balder', king of Westphalia, and a third, Siggi, king of Frankland. Óðinn then continued northwards and reached Reidgothaland, now known as Jutland, where he took possession of everything that suited him. He made his son Skjold king, and then came to Svíþjóð.

Svíþjóð was ruled by Gylfe. When he heard of Óðinn's expedition and his Asians, he went to meet them and offered Óðinn as much land and as much power as he had would want in his kingdom. One of the reasons why people welcomed Óðinn so warmly and offered him land and power in the countries he travelled through was that, whenever Óðinn

and his men lingered in their village, the harvests were plentiful and, as a result, they believed that Óðinn and his men controlled the weather and mastered the cultivation of grain. Óðinn accompanied Gylfe to Lake Logrin and, having found the soil there to be good, built his capital there, which bears the name today known as Sigtuna, where he established the same institutions as those that had previously existed in Troy and to which his companions were accustomed. He established twelve chiefs responsible for making laws and settling disputes. From Svíþjóð Óðinn went to Norway and made his son Sæming king. But he had left the government of Svíþjóð to his son Yngvi, from whom the race of the Ynglings descended. The Aesir and their sons married the women of the country they had taken possession of and their descendants, who preserved the language spoken at Troy, reproduced so rapidly that the language of Troy replaced the ancient idiom and became the language of Svíþjóð, Norway, Denmark and Saxony, and later also of England.

The first part of the Edda in prose, the Gylfaginning, consists of a collection of stories.

which are presented to the reader in the form of a conversation between the aforementioned king of the Sweden (Gylfe) and the Aesir. Before the Aesir had set off for the North, Gylfe would have learned that they were a wise and intelligent people whose every endeavour was crowned with success. And since he believed that this was due either to the very nature of these people, or to the particular nature of their cult, he resolved to study the problem in secret and so travelled to Ásgarðr under the name of "Gylfe".

disguised as an old man. But the Aesir had been forewarned of his journey and decided to receive him with all sorts of acts of sorcery, which would give him a high opinion of them. He finally arrived at a fortress whose thatched roof was covered with shields.

The hall was so high up that he could hardly see it. At the entrance was a man playing with sharp objects, which he threw into the air by hand and then caught again, while seven axes were constantly in the air. The man asked the traveller his name. The traveller replied that his name was Gangleri, that he had travelled a long way on bad roads and asked for hospitality for the night. He also asked who owned the fortress. The juggler replied that it belonged to their king and led Gylfe into the hall, where he saw a room full of

many people were gathered together. Some were seated drinking, others were engaged in various exercises and still others were practising their weapons. In the hall, there were three high seats, one above the other, and on each one sat a man. On the lower throne sat the king; and the juggler informed Gylfe that the king's name was Hár; that the man sitting directly above him was called Jafnhár; and that the man occupying the upper throne was called Thride (Þriði). Hár asked the stranger why he had come and invited him to eat and drink. Gylfe replied that he wanted above all to know if there was a wise man in the room. Hár replied that the stranger would not leave the hall unharmed unless he himself was the wisest. Gylfe then began to ask his questions, all of which concerned the Aesir cult, and the three men on the thrones gave him answers. From the first answer, it is clear that the Ásgarðr to which Gylfe thinks he has gone is, in the author's opinion, a new Ásgarðr and probably the same as the one that the author of the Heimskringla places beyond the river Tanakvisl, but that there was an ancient Ásgarðr, identical to Troy, in Tyrkland, where, according to the Heimskringla, Óðinn had vast possessions at the time when the Romans began to settle.

invade the East. When Gylfe had learned through his questions the most important facts about the religion of Ásgarðr and had been instructed in the destruction and regeneration of the world, he heard a And when he looked around him, the fortress and the hall had disappeared and there was only the sky above him. He returned to Svíþjóð and told all he had seen and heard among the Aesir; but when he had gone, they held a council and agreed to be called by the names they had used in the stories they had told Gylfe. These sagas, notes Gylfaginning, were in fact nothing more than historical events transformed into traditions about deities. They described events that had taken place in ancient Ásgarðr - i.e. Troy. The background to the stories told to Gylfe about Þórr was Hector's exploits in Troy, and the Loke of whom Gylfe had heard was, in fact, Ulixes (Ulysses), who was the enemy of the Trojans and, by was therefore represented as the enemy of the gods.

The Gylfaginning is followed by another part of the Edda in prose called Bragarœdur (The Discourse of Braga), which takes a similar form. On Lesso, it is said, there once lived a man c a l l e d Ægir. Like Gylfe, he had heard tales of the wisdom of the Aesir and decided to pay them a visit. Like Gylfe, he arrived at a place where the Aesir welcomed him with all sorts of magical acts and led him to a room lit at night by shining swords. There he was invited to sit next to Brage, and there were twelve thrones on which sat men called Þórr, Njörd, Frey, etc. and women called Frigg, Freyja, Nanna, etc. The hall was magnificently decorated with shields. The mead served was exquisite and the voluble Brage taught the guests the traditions relating to the poetic art of the Aesir. A postscript to the treatise warns the young scaldes that they should not believe the stories told to Gylfe and Ægir. The author of the afterword says that they are of value only insofar as they provide the key to the many metaphors found in the poems of the great scaldes, but that, on the whole, they are deceptions invented by the Aesir (the Asiatics) to make people believe that they were gods. However, the author believes that these falsifications have a historical basis. They are based, he believes, on what happened in ancient Ásgarðr, i.e. Troy. Thus, for example, Ragnarök was originally nothing more than the siege of Troy; Þórr is, as stated, Hector; the serpent Miðgarðr is one of the heroes killed by Hector. The wolf Fenris is Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who killed Priam (Óðinn); and Víðarr, who survived Ragnarök, is Aeneas.

8. The Trojan saga in the Heimskringla and the Edda in prose (continued).

The sources of traditions relating to Asian immigration to the North are to be found in Icelandic literature alone. Saxo's *Historia Danica*, the first books of which were written towards the end of the XIIth century, gives his own particular point of view on this subject, which will be examined below. The discrepancies in the Icelandic narratives relate only to unimportant matters of detail.

The fundamental view is the same, and these stories all come from the same vein. Their content can be summed up as follows:

Among the tribes who emigrated to various countries after the confusion of languages in Babylon was a group of people who settled in Asia Minor and introduced their language to that region, which, in the sagas, is called Tyrkland; in Greece, which, in the sagas, is called Macedonia; and in Crete. In Tyrkland they founded the great city called Troy. This city was attacked by the Greeks during the reign of the Trojan king Priam. Priam was descended from Jupiter and Jupiter's father (Saturn) and therefore belonged to a race that pagans considered divine. Troy was a very large city; twelve languages were spoken there and twelve kings were subject to Priam. But however powerful the Trojans were, however valiantly they defended themselves under the leadership of Priam's daughter's son, the valiant hero Þórr, they were defeated. Troy was captured and burnt by the Greeks, and Priam himself was killed. Of the Trojan survivors, two troops emigrated in different directions. They seem to have been well informed in advance about the characteristics of certain foreign lands; Þórr, the son of Priam's daughter, had been on many expeditions in which he had fought giants and monsters. His travels had even taken him to the North, where he met and married Sibil, the famous prophetess. One troop of Trojan emigrants embarked for Italy under the leadership of Aeneas and founded Rome. The other troop, accompanied by Þórr's son Loridi, set off for Asia, which is separated from Tyrkland by a mountain range and from Europe by the river Tanāis or Tanakvisl. There he founded a new city called Ásgarðr and preserved the old customs and traditions.

customs brought from Troy. In Ásgarðr, as in Troy, he set up a council of twelve men, who were high priests and judges. The new Trojan colonies in Rome and Ásgarðr had no political contact with each other for several centuries, even though both remembered their Trojan origins well and the Romans regulated many of their institutions according to their own.

the model of the ancient homeland. Meanwhile, Rome had become one of the most powerful empires in the world and was beginning to send armies into Tyrkland. At this time, Ásgarðr was ruled by an extremely wise king-prophet, Óðinn, who was skilled in the magical arts and descended in the twentieth generation from the Þórr mentioned above. Óðinn led many victorious wars. The hardest of these was the one he fought against one of his neighbours, the

Vanes; but it ended in a peace treaty. In Tyrkland, Óðinn's ancient homeland, he had had large possessions, which had fallen into Roman hands. This event strengthened his determination to emigrate to northern Europe. Thanks to his prophetic inspiration, he had predicted that his descendants would reign there. So he marched north with his many sons, accompanied by twelve priests and a large number of men, but not by all the inhabitants of the land of the Aesir and Ásgarðr. Some of the population stayed at home, including Óðinn's brothers Vile and Ve.

The expedition made its way through the Gardariki to Saxony, then through the Danish islands to Svíþjóð and Norway. Everywhere, this great multitude of migrants was well received by the locals. The

Óðinn's superior wisdom and marvellous magical powers, as well as the fact that his advancement was followed everywhere by abundant harvests, led the people to regard him as a god and to place their thrones at his disposal. As a result, he established his sons as kings of Saxony, Denmark

Svíbjóð and Norway. Gylfe, the king of Svíbjóð, submitted to his superiority and gave him a magnificent country around Lake Mäler to rule. Óðinn built Sigtuna, whose institutions were an imitation of those of Ásgarðr and Troy. Poetry and many other arts were introduced by Óðinn to the Germanic countries, including the language of Troy. Like his ancestors, Saturn and Jupiter, he was able to obtain the protection of the gods, which was also granted to the twelve priests. The religious traditions that he spread among the people, and which were followed until the introduction of the Christianity were distortions of memories of the historical fate of Troy and its destruction, and of the events that had taken place at Ásgarðr.

9. Saxo's account of the Trojan story

This is essentially the story that prevailed in Iceland in the 13th century, and which made its way to Scandinavia through the prose Edda and the *Heimskringla*, concerning the immigration of Óðinn and the Aesir. Slightly older than these works is the *Historia Danica* by the Danish chronicler Saxo. Sturluson, the author of the *Heimskringla*, was eight years old when Saxo began to write his history, and Sturluson, the author of the *Heimskringla*, was six years old when Saxo began to write his history.

had certainly not started writing it when Saxo completed the first nine books of his work, which are based on the songs and traditions of the *forn siðr* that still exist in Denmark.

It is as if Saxo knew nothing of Icelandic theories about Asian immigration to the North, and he says nothing about the traditions according to which Óðinn reigned as king or chief throughout Scandinavia.

This is all the more remarkable given that he believes, like the Icelanders and the chroniclers of the Middle Ages in general, that the myths of the *forn siðr* period were accounts of historical events and that the gods of the *forn siðr* were historical figures, of whom men had made divinities; and our astonishment increases, when we consider that Saxo, in the songs and traditions of the *forn siðr* on which he based the first part of his work, often finds the name of Óðinn and that, consequently, he could do no other than present it

as an important figure in Danish history. At Saxo, as in the works

In Icelandic mythology, Óðinn is both a human being and an extremely powerful sorcerer. Saxo and the Icelanders also agree that Óðinn came from the East. The only difference is that, whereas the Icelandic hypothesis has him reigning in Ásgarðr, Saxo locates his residence in Byzantium, on the Bosphorus;

but it's not far from ancient Troy, where the prose Edda places its ancestors. From Byzantium, according to Saxo, the fame of his magical arts and miracles reached as far as northern Europe. As a result of

To honour him, the kings of the North sent a golden statue to Byzantium, to which Óðinn, through the magic arts, gave the use of the hand.

word. This is the myth of Mimir's head that Saxo recounts here. But the kings of the North didn't just know him by reputation; they also knew him in person. He visited Uppsala, a place that "pleased him very much". Saxo, like the *Heimskringla*, reports that Óðinn was absent from his capital for a long time; and, when we examine his statements on this point, we find that Saxo here tells in his own way the myth of the war that the Vanes waged against the Aesir and that of Óðinn's expulsion from the mythical Ásgarðr in the sky (*Hist. Dan.*, p. 42-44; . See p. 36).

Saxo also states that Óðinn's son Balder was elected king by the Danes 'on account of his personal merits and admirable qualities'. But Óðinn himself never, according to Saxo, had any possessions or authority in the North, although he was worshipped there as a god, and, as already mentioned, Saxo says absolutely nothing about the immigration of a people from Asia to Scandinavia under Óðinn's leadership.

A comparison between the Icelanders and Saxo immediately shows that, although they are both evhemerists and make Óðinn a deified man, Saxo confines himself more faithfully to popular myths and seeks as far as possible to make history out of them; whereas the Icelanders begin with the learned theory of the original kinship of the northern races with the Trojans and Romans and embroider around this fundamental theory the same myths that Saxo tells in a historical way.

10. The earliest periods of the Trojan saga

How did the belief that Troy was the original home of the Germans come about? Was it based on indigenous traditions? Was it inspired by the sagas and traditions of the Germans themselves, which contain "a faint memory of an immigration from Troy"?

Or is it a thought completely foreign to the Germanic world of *forn siðr*, introduced in the Christian era by the learned? These questions must now be examined.

As early as the 7th century - that is, more than five hundred years before the *Heimskringla* and the *Edda* were written in prose - a chronicler told a Teutonic people that they were of the same blood as the Romans, that they had emigrated from Troy like the Romans, and that they had the same share as the Romans in the "war".

glorious exploits of the Trojan heroes. These people were the Franks. Their earliest chronicler, Gregory, bishop of Tours, who a hundred years earlier - in the sixth century - had written their history in ten books, does not say a word on the subject. He too wants to find the homeland of the Franks (Hist.

Franc., ii. 9) and situates it quite far from the regions of the Bas-Rhin, where they made their entry on the scene of history

but no further than Pannonia. Neither Gregory nor the ancient authors, Sulpice Alexander and others, whose works he studied to find information on the beginning of the history of the Franks, say anything about the origin of the Franks from Troy. But in the middle of the following century, around 650, an unknown author, who, for reasons unknown, is called *Frédégaire*, wrote a chronicle, which takes up in part of Gregory's historical work, but also contains various other elements concerning the protohistory of the Franks, including the indication that they emigrated from Troy. He gives us even the sources from which he drew this information. His sources are, by his own admission, not Frankish, not Frankish songs or popular traditions, but two Latin authors - the father of

Hiéronyme and the poet Virgil. If we consult these sources in order to compare Frederick's statement with his authority, we find that Hieronymus mentions the name of the Franks once in passing, but never refers to their Trojan origin, and Virgil does not even mention the Franks. Nevertheless, the reference to Virgil is the key to the enigma, as we shall see below. Here's what Frédégaire says about the emigration of the Franks: a king of the Franks called Priam reigned in Troy when that city was conquered by Ulysses' cunning. The Franks therefore emigrated and were subsequently ruled by a king named Friga. During his reign, a dispute arose between them and they divided into two groups, one of whom settled in Macedonia, while the other, who took the name of Frigians, from King Friga (Phrygians), travelled through Asia and settled there. There they divided again and some of them migrated to Europe under King Francio, entered the continent and settled, with their wives and children, near the Rhine, where they set about building a city they called Troy and which they planned to to organise it in the same way as ancient Troy, but the city was not completed. The other group chose a king, called Turchot, and took the name of Turks from that of their king. But those who settled on the Rhine, the Franks, took their name from their king Francio and later chose a king called Theudemir who was descended from Priam, Friga and Francio. So much for Frédégaire's chronicle.

Around seventy years later, another Frankish chronicle saw the light of day - the *Gesta regum Francorum*. In it, we learn more about the emigration of the Franks from Troy. The *Gesta Francorum* tells the following story: in Asia lies the city of the Trojans, called Ilium, where King Aeneas once reigned. The Trojans were a strong and courageous people, at war with all their neighbours. But then the kings of the Greeks united and raised a great army against Aeneas, king of the Trojans. There were great battles and much bloodshed, and most of the Trojans fell. Aeneas fled, with those who had survived, to the city of Ilion, which the Greeks had conquered after a ten-year siege. The Trojans who had fled divided themselves into two groups. One, led by King Aeneas, went to Italy, where he hoped to receive reinforcements. Other eminent Trojans became the leaders of the other group, which numbered 12,000 men. They embarked on ships and reached the banks of the river Tanais. They pushed forward and entered Pannonia, near the Meotic marshes (*navigantes pervenerunt intra terminos Pannoniarum juxta Mæotidas Paludes*), where they founded a city they called Sicambria and where they stayed for many years, becoming a powerful people. There came a time when the Roman Emperor Valentinian went to war against a criminal people called Alamans (also known as Alani). He led a great army against them. The Alamanni were defeated and fled to the Miotic Marshes. The emperor then announced that he would exempt from paying tribute for ten years those who dared to enter the marshes and drive out the Alamanni. When the Trojans heard this, accompanied by a Roman army, they entered the marshes, attacked the Alamanni and slaughtered them with their swords. The Emperor Valentinian then gave the Trojans the name of "Franks", which, the chronicle adds, in the Attic language means "savage" (*Feri*), "because the Trojans had a rebellious and indomitable character".

For the next ten years, the Trojans, or Franks, were not bothered by the collectors.

The Roman emperor demanded that they pay tribute. They refused and killed the tax collectors who had been sent to them. The Emperor assembled a large army under the command of Aristarchus, reinforced it with auxiliary forces from many countries and attacked the

The Franks, who were defeated by these superior forces, lost their leader Priam and had to flee. Under the leadership of Marcomir (son of Priam) and Sunnon (son of Antenor), they escaped from the

Sicambria and settled near the Rhine. So much for this chronicle.

Around fifty years after it was written - in other words, at the time of Charlemagne and, to be more precise, in 787 - the well-known Lombard historian Paulus Diaconus wrote a history of the bishops of Metz. One of these bishops was the Frank Arnulf, from whom Charlemagne descended in the fifth generation. Arnulf had two sons, one of whom was called Ansgisel, in a contracted form Ansgis. Paulus points out that the name "Ansgis" comes from that of Aeneas' father, Anchises, who came from Troy to Italy; and he adds that, according to more ancient accounts, the Franks were the "gods of the Franks".

descendants of the Trojans. These older accounts - the Chronicle of Frédégaire and the *Gesta gerum Francorum* - have been examined above. In the meantime, this shows that the belief that the Franks were of Trojan origin continued to spread over time. It is hardly necessary to add that there is no reason to think that Ansgisel, or Ansgis, derives from Anchises. Ansgisel is an authentic Teutonic name (see p. 123 on Ansgisel, the emigration leader of the Germanic myth).

Let us now turn to the second half of the tenth century and the Saxon chronicler Widukind. Widukind presents two contradictory accounts of the origin of the Saxon people. One is drawn from texts The other comes from documents written by scholars and states that the Saxons are of Macedonian origin. According to the latter account, they were the remnants of Alexander the Great's Macedonian army, which, like Alexander the Great's own army, had been attacked by the Macedonians.

Widukind had learned, after Alexander's untimely death, had spread all over the world. At the time, the Macedonians were considered to be Hellenised Trojans. In this respect, I would draw the reader's attention to the Chronicle of Frigarius, which states that the Trojans, under the reign of Friga, did not get along with each other and that some of them emigrated and settled in Macedonia.

Thus, the Saxons, like the Franks, could claim a Trojan origin; and as England was populated to a large extent by Saxon conquerors, the same honour was obviously due to the Saxons.

claimed by his people. To make this point and to show that the belief that Saxons and Angles were of Trojan blood was widespread in England in the centuries following the writing of Widukind's chronicle, I will simply quote from a collection of pseudo-Sibylline oracles found in Oxford and written in very poor Latin. It was examined by the French scholar Alexandre (*Excursus ad Sibyllina*, p. 298). It states that Great Britain is an island inhabited by the survivors

of the Trojans (*insulam reliquius Trojanorum inhabitatam*). In another collection of British pseudo-Sibylline oracles, it is stated that the Sibyl was a daughter of King Priam of Troy.

weight and dignity to this document by integrating it with the works of the well-known Church historian Bede and, therefore, to date it back to the beginning of the eighth century, but the manuscript itself is a compilation dating from the time of Frederick Barbarossa (Excurs ad Sib., p. 289). Other pseudo-Sibylline oracles in Latin mention a Sibylla who lived and prophesied in Troy. I underline this fact because the foreword to the Prose Edda also states that Þórr, the son of Priam's daughter, married Sibil (Sibylla).

Thus, once the Franks and Saxons had been made Trojans - the latter pure-blooded Trojans and the former Hellenised Trojans - it was not long before their northern relatives were given the same origin. Naturally, the first to do so were the Normans, who conquered and colonised Normandy as part of the Trojan Franks. A hundred years after they had settled there, they produced a chronicler, Dudon, deacon of Saint-Quentin. I have already shown that the Macedonians were considered to be Hellenised Trojans. Hellenised, they had been given the name Danai, a term that applied to all Greeks. In his Chronicle of the Normans, which dates from 996, Dudon reports (*De moribus et gestis*, & c., Lib. I.) that the Normans considered themselves to be Danai, because the Danes (Scandinavians in general) and the Danai were considered as the name of the same race. Along with the Normans, the Scandinavians too, from whom they descended, therefore had to be transformed into Trojans. And so the question was understood by Dudon's readers; and when Robert Wace wrote his rhymed chronicle, *Roman de Rou*, about the northern conquerors of Normandy and wanted to give an account of their origin, he was able to say, on the basis of a common tradition:

"When once Troy was destroyed,
So the people of Greece are very happy,
Plusors ki escapers se porent,
Ki gens, ki nés, ki aver porent,
O fames, o serjanz et o filz
Par granz labors par granz
perilz Par plusors terres s'
epandirent, Terres poplerent,
citez firent,
Une gent de Troie escaperent,
Ki en Danemarche assenerent."

I have now followed the scholarly tradition of the origin of the Trojan Germans from the chronicle in which this tradition was first reported to the time when Ari, the first Icelandic historian, lived and when the Icelander Sæmund is said to have studied in Paris, in the same century in which Sturluson, the author of the *Heimskringla*, reached manhood. Saxo rejected the theory current among the scientists of his time

that the northern races were the Danai-Trojans. He knew that Dudon of Saint-Quentin was the authority on whom this belief was mainly based, and he attributes to the Danes an origin that is completely different, *quanquam Dudon, rerum Aquitanicarum scriptor, Danos a Danais ortos nuncupatosque recenseat*. The Icelanders, on the other hand, accepted and continued to entertain the belief, based on a five-hundred-year-old authority, that Troy had been the starting point of the Teutonic race; and in Iceland the theory was elaborated and systematised as we have already seen, and was designed to fit into the framework of world history. The stories of the *Heimskringla* and the *Edda* in prose about Ásgarðr's emigration was the natural conclusion to an era that had lasted several centuries and during which the events of antiquity could be grouped around a common centre. All the peoples and all the ruling families were located around the Mediterranean Sea, and every event and every hero was linked in one way or another to Troy.

In fact, a large proportion of the peoples subjected to the Roman sceptre were, in ancient literature, linked in some way to the Trojan War and its consequences: Macedonia and Epirus through the Trojan emigrant Helenos; Illyria and Veneto through the Trojan emigrant Antenor; Rhetia and Vindelica through the Amazons, allies of the Trojans, from whom the inhabitants of these provinces are said to have descended (Servius ad Virg. i. 248); Etruria through Dardanos, who is said to have emigrated from Etruria to Troy; Latium and Campania through the Æneids; Sicily, the very homeland of the Trojan traditions, through Dardanos, who is said to have emigrated from Etruria to Troy. Aeneas, through the royal families of Troy and Sicily; Sardinia (see Sallustus); Gaul (see Lucan and Ammianus Marcellinus); Carthage through Aeneas' visit to Dido; and, of course, the whole of Asia Minor. And there's more. According to the (lost) book of the *Argolicks* by Anaxicrates, Scamander, son of

of Hector and Andromache, emigrated to Scythia with his companions and settled on the banks of the Tanais; and no sooner had Germany made itself known to the Romans than it became part of the cycle of stories

Trojan, at least to the extent that Odysseus was said to have visited this country in the course of his many voyages and adventures (Tacitus, *Germ.*). All educated Greeks and Romans thought of nothing but Troy from the moment they started school, and Dardanians and Danaans were everywhere to be found.

just as the English, in our time, believe they have found traces of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel in both the Old and New Worlds.

As Christianity, Church teaching and Latin manuscripts spread among the Germanic tribes, so did knowledge of and interest in the great Trojan stories. Christianity dealt a terrible blow to the native stories about the Germanic gods and heroes, which nevertheless survived, in another form, in the In their new guise, they continued to attract the attention and devotion of the Germanic peoples. The new stories, drawn from Latin literature, about Ilion, the conflicts between the Trojans and

the Greeks, migrations, the founding of colonies on foreign shores and the creation of new empires, were those that most stimulated the curiosity and captured the imagination of the class of literati that arose among the Christianised Germans. Latin literature, which was more or less accessible to Teutonic priests, or priests charged with evangelising the Teutons, provide abundant documentation on Troy, both in classical and pseudo-classical authors. Suffice it to mention Virgil and his commentator Servius, who became a mine for the whole of the Middle Ages and, among the pseudo-classical works, the *Historia de Excidio Trojæ* by Dares the Phrygian (said to have been written by a Trojan and translated by Cornelius Nepos!), the *Ephemeris belli Trojani* by Dictys of Crete (the original of which is said to have been Phoenician and to have been found in the alleged tomb of Dictys of Crete after an earthquake in Nero's time!) and the (vulgo Pindari Thebani) *Epitome Iliados* Homeri.

Before the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks was invented, the Teutonic Jordanes, a writer from the middle of the sixth century, had already found a place for his Gothic compatriots in the events of the great Trojan epic. Not that he made the Goths descendants of the Greeks or Trojans. On the contrary, he maintained the traditions of the Goths on their origin and place of origin, a question I will discuss below. But, according to Orosius, Jordanes' authority, the Goths were identical with the Getes, and once the identity of these two peoples had been accepted, it was easy for Jordanes to associate the history of the Goths with the Homeric stories. A Gothic chieftain marries the sister of Priam and fought with Achilles and Ulysses (Jord., c. 9) and Ilium, not having recovered from the war with Agamemnon, was destroyed a second time by the Goths (c. 20).

11. The origin of the story of the Trojan ancestry of the Franks

We must now return to the Frankish chronicles, to the *Gesta Francorum* of Frederickarius, where the theory of the Trojan origin of a Germanic tribe is presented for the first time and thus re-launches the campaign in antiquity to try to make the whole of ancient history a system of events radiating from Troy, their centre. I believe I am able to point to the sources of all the accounts in these chronicles on this subject and also to find the very origin of the illusion concerning the Trojan ancestry of the Franks.

As mentioned above, Frédégaire admits that Virgil was the first authority to assert that the Franks were descendants of the Trojans. Frédégaire's predecessor, Gregory of Tours, was unaware of this and, as we have already shown, the word 'Franks' is nowhere to be found in Virgil. The discovery that he nevertheless provided information on the Franks and their origins must therefore have been made or known in the interval between Gregory's chronicle and that of Frédégaire. What then can

be the passage from Virgil's poems in which the discoverer succeeds in finding proof that the
Were the Franks Trojans? A careful examination of all the circumstances relating to the subject leads
to the conclusion that the passage is in Aeneis, lib. U, 242 ff:

"Potuit Antenor, Mediis elapsus Achivis,
Illyricos sinus penetrare atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et Fontem superare Timavi;
Unde par ora novem Vasto eum murmere Montis
Il proruptum mare, et pelago premit arva sonanti.
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit
Teucrorum."

"Cheating the iron of the Greeks, seeking a
homeland, Antenor fled to the seas enclosed by
Illyria;
From the shores of Liburn, in famous
shipwrecks, Her nef criss-crosses the
winding canals in peace;
He crosses the Timave, and the deep caves from
which the river rumbles and pushes back the
waves. Gives cherished names to new peoples;
And in Padua at last, the end of his labours,
His weary companions, now without alarm, Have
returned to Pergamum and hung up their arms."

The first substantial proof that this is the passage which was interpreted as referring to the ancient
history of the Franks is based on the following circumstances:

Gregory of Tours had found in the history of Sulpice Alexander accounts of violent conflicts on the west bank of the Rhine between the Romans and the Franks, the latter being then under the leadership of Marcomir and Sunnon (Greg., Hist., ii. 9).

The *Gesta Francorum* borrowed these two names from Gregory. According to the *Gesta*, the Franks, under the command of Marcomir and Sunnon, emigrated from Pannonia, where they lived near the Moetic marshes, and settled in the Rhineland. The hypothesis that they had lived in Pannonia before to emigrate to the Rhineland, the author of the *Gesta* had taken it from Gregory. The *Gesta* makes Marcomir a son of the Trojan Priam and Sunnon a son of the Trojan Antenor.

From this point of view, Virgil's account of Antenor and the journey of his Trojans to Europe following the fall of that city refers to the emigration of the father of the Frankish chief Sunnon at the head of a tribe of Franks. And

like the predecessor of the author of the *Gesta*, Frédégaire, invokes Virgil in support of the thesis of the Frankish emigration and that Antenor's wanderings are mentioned nowhere else by the Roman poet, there can be no doubt that the lines quoted above were the ones considered as proof that the Franks had emigrated from Troy.

But how did they come to be regarded as proof?

Virgil says that once Antenor had escaped from the Achivians, he managed to penetrate *Illyricos sinus*, the very heart of Illyria. The name "Illyria" was used to designate all the regions inhabited by tribes from the Alps to the mouth of the Danube and from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea and the Hemus Mountains (cp., Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 295). Illyria comprised the Roman provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Mesia, and the Pannonians were an Illyrian tribe. Gregory of Tours located the home of the Franks in Pannonia. On their journey west, Antenor and his Trojans crossed the same regions from which, according to Gregory, the Franks had set off for the Rhine.

Virgil also says that Antenor continued his journey towards the kingdom of the Liburnians (*regna Liburnorum*). From

Servius' commentary on this passage the Middle Ages had learned that the kingdom of the Liburnians was Rhetia and Vindelici (*Rhetia Vindelici ipsi sunt Liburni*). Rhetia and Vindelici separate Pannonia from the Rhine. Antenor, therefore, took the same route westwards that the Franks had to take if they emigrated from Pannonia to the Rhine.

Virgil has Antênor cross a river, which is actually called Timave, but which is described as a mighty river flowing with thunder from a mountainous region where it rises, carrying with it a mass of water that the poet compares to a sea and forming, before reaching the sea, a delta, whose plains are submerged by the waves, before emptying through numerous mouths into the ocean. Virgil says "nine"; but Servius interprets this word as meaning "many": "finitus est numerus pro infinito."

The Frankish scribes must be forgiven for mistaking this river for the Rhine, for if we have to look in Europe to the west of the land of the Liburnians for a watercourse that matches Virgil's description, that watercourse can only be the Rhine, on whose banks the ancestors of the Franks first appear in history.

Once again, Virgil tells us that Antênor settled near this river and founded a colony - Patavium - on the low plains above its delta. The Salian Franks took possession of the vast plains around the mouths of the Rhine (Insula Batavorum) in 287 and also of the land to the south, as far as the Scheldt; and, after prolonged warfare, the Romans had to relinquish control of this region to them. By the mere fact that they occupied this lowland, its conquerors could be called rightly called the Batavian Franks. It is enough to draw attention to the similarity of the words "Patavi". At the same time, it shows that we can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion that Virgil was referring to the immigration of the Franks when he spoke of the peregrinations of the "Batavians" and "Batavians".

of Antênor, especially as the initials B and P have been pronounced similarly in German since time immemorial. The Franks founded a town in the conquered territory (Ammianus Marcus, XVII. 2, 5).

It would appear that the Franks migrated towards the Rhine under the leadership of Antênor. The first Frankish chieftains whose names are known after their arrival on the banks of the Rhine are Marcomir and Sunnon. The conclusion was drawn that Sunnon was the son of Antênor; and as Marcomir must have been the son of a famous Trojan leader, he was made Priam's son. We have therefore explained why Frédégaire invokes Virgil in support of the thesis of the Trojan origin of these Franks. This origin seemed to have been definitively established.

The wars around the Moetic Marshes between Emperor Valentinian, the Alamanni and the Franks, mentioned in the Gesta, are not entirely imaginary. The historical background to this confused, semi-mythical tale is that Valentinian really did fight the Alamanni and that the Franks were allies of the Romans for a time before coming into conflict with the same Alamanni (Ammian).

Mark, Libs. XXX, XXXI). But the theatre of these battles was not the Moetic marshes and Pannonia, as the Gesta assumes, but the regions along the Rhine.

Gregory's non-historical assertion that the Franks came from Pannonia is based solely on the fact that the Frankish warriors formed a Sicambra cohort for a time, which, around the year 26, was incorporated into the Roman troops stationed in Pannonia and Thrace. The cohort is thought to have remained in Hungary and formed a colony on what is now Buda. According to the Gesta, Pannonia extended from the Moetic marshes to Tanaïs, since, according to Gregory and earlier chroniclers, these marshes formed the border between Europe and Asia and Asia was considered synonymous with the Trojan empire. Virgil had called the Trojan kingdom "Asia": *Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem, & c, (Aeneid, iii 1.)*.

We have thus exposed the seed from which the fable of the ancestry of the Franks grew into a tree that spread its branches over the whole of Teutonic Europe, in the same way that, at one time the fable, which did not originate in Sicily but at least developed there, of the Trojan origins of the Romans had become a tree that overshadowed all the peoples around the Mediterranean and one of whose branches spread across Gaul, Britain and into Ireland. (The first son of the Bretons, "Brutus", was, according to Galfred, a great-grandson of Aeneas and migrated from Alba Longa to Ireland. !)

As far as the Gauls were concerned, the incorporation of Cisalpine Gaul into the Roman Empire and the Romanisation of the Gauls living there had very early on given rise to the belief that they had the same origin and were of the same blood as the Romans. Consequently, they were also Trojans. This view, encouraged by Roman policy, gradually penetrated the Gauls living on the other side of the Rhine, and even before Caesar's time the Roman senate, in its letters to the Aedui, had often referred to them as the "brothers and relatives" of the Romans (*Fratres consanguineique*). Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* i 33, 2). Des Arvernes Lucain says (i. 427): *Averni... ausi Latio soi fingere Fratres, sanguine ab Iliaco populi*.

So we see that, when the Franks, after taking control of Romanised Gaul, claimed Trojan ancestry, they were simply repeating a story that had been going on in Gaul for many centuries. After the Frankish conquest, the population of Gaul consisted for the second time of two nationalities with different languages and customs and, at that time as before, it was of the utmost importance from a political point of view to bring these two nationalities as close together as possible through the belief in a common origin. The Roman Gauls and the Franks were portrayed as having been one and the same people at the time of the

Trojan War. After the fall of their common homeland, they had split into two separate tribes, with separate fates, until they found each other again in western Europe and settled together again in Gaul. This explains how, when they thought they had found evidence of this view in Virgil, it was accepted immediately and

They were so eagerly embraced that the old traditions about the origins and migrations of the Franks were discarded and forgotten. History repeated itself a third time, when the Normans conquered and made themselves masters of that part of Gaul which was later called Normandy. Dudon, their chronicler, says that they considered themselves to be *progenitos ex Antenore*, descendants of Antenor. This is sufficient proof that they had borrowed the tradition of their Trojan origins from the Franks.

12. Why Óðinn took Antenor's place as head of Trojan immigration

As long as the Franks were the only Teutonic people to claim descent from the Trojans, it was sufficient that the Teutonic-Trojan immigration was led by the father of a Frankish chief. But just as the belief in a Trojan origin spread among the other Germanic tribes and took on the character of a proclamation just as important for all the Germanic tribes, the idea would naturally arise that the leader of the great immigration had been an important Teuton. There was no shortage of names. The most notable was the mythical Teutonic patriarch whose (Germania, 2), the grandson of the goddess Jord (Earth). There is no doubt that he was remembered by this name (Mann) or by another name (as almost all mythical Teutons have several names), as he reappears at the beginning of the 14th century in Heinrich Frauenlob as Mennor, the patriarch of the German people and the German language. But Mannus had to make way for another universal Teutonic mythical figure, Óðinn, and this for reasons of his own. reasons that we will now explain.

As Christianity was gradually introduced among the Germanic peoples, they were faced with the question of what kind of beings had been the gods in whom they and their ancestors had believed for so long. Their Christian teachers had two answers, and both were easily reconciled. The common answer, the one that was generally given to the masses was that the gods of their ancestors were demons, evil spirits, who made men fall into superstition in order to be worshipped as divine beings. The other answer, which was more likely to please the Teutonic noble families, who believed themselves to be the descendants of the gods, was that these deities were originally human beings - kings, chiefs, legislators, who, endowed with superior wisdom and secret knowledge, used it to make the people believe they were gods and to make them worship them as such. The two answers were not, as I have said, difficult to reconcile, for it was obvious that when these proud and deceitful leaders died, their unhappy spirits joined the ranks of evil demons and the

demons continued to deceive the people, in order to maintain from era to era a cult hostile to the true religion. These two views were common among the Germanic races throughout the Middle Ages. The one that presents the old gods as evil demons is to be found in the popular traditions of the time. The other, which presents the old gods as mortals, chiefs and legislators endowed with magical powers, appears more often in the Teutonic chronicles and was considered by scholars to be the scientific point of view.

It necessarily followed that Óðinn, the chief of the Germanic gods, whose royal houses These houses were obviously very interested in finding out where he had reigned and where he came from. There were two sources of research on this question. One was the treasure trove of mythical songs and traditions of the Germanic race. But whatever history there might be in these seemed so much a matter of superstition and It was so easy on the imagination that not much information could be gleaned from it. But there was another source, which, historically speaking, seemed incomparably more reliable, and that was the Latin literature to be found in monastic libraries.

During the centuries when the Germans had employed no art other than poetry to preserve the memory of the lives and deeds of their ancestors, the Romans, as we know, had written systematic annals on parchment and papyrus. Therefore, this source must have been more reliable. But what did this source have to say - what did the Roman annals or literature have to say? Roman literature in general about Óðinn? Absolutely nothing, it would seem, insofar as the name Óðinn, or Wotan, is not to be found in any of the authors of ancient literature. But this was only an apparent obstacle. The ancient king of our race, Óðinn, they said, had many names - one name among one people and another among another, and there can be no doubt that he is the same person whom the Romans called Mercury and the Greeks Hermes.

The proof of the accuracy of Óðinn's identification with Mercury and Hermes, the researchers would have it found in Tacitus' work on Germany, where it is stated in the ninth chapter that the principal god of the Germans is the same as Mercury among the Romans. But Tacitus was almost unknown in the monasteries and schools of this period of the Middle Ages. They could not use this proof, but they had another, which fully compensated for it.

Originally, the Romans did not divide time into seven-day weeks. Instead, they had eight-day weeks, with the farmer working seven days and going to market on the eighth. But the seven-day week has existed for a very long time among certain Semitic peoples and, from the time of the

In the Republic, many Jews lived in Rome and Italy. Thanks to them, the seven-day week became known to all Romans. The Jewish custom of observing the sanctity of the Sabbath on the first day of the week by abstaining from all work could not fail to be noticed by the foreigners among whom they lived (4). However, the Jews did not have a specific name for each day of the week.

But the Eastern astrologers and astronomers, Egyptians and Greeks, who were very many who sought their fortune in Rome, did more than the Jews to introduce the seven-day week into all the classes of the metropolis, and the astrologers had special names for each of the seven days of the week. Saturday was that of the planet and god-planet Saturn; Sunday, that of the sun; Monday, that of the moon; Tuesday, that of Mars; Wednesday, that of Mercury; Thursday, that of Jupiter; Friday, the day of Venus. From the beginning of the Empire, these names of days were very common in Italy. Astrological almanacs, which circulated under the name of Egyptian Petosiris among all the families who could afford to buy them, contributed greatly to this result. From Italy, the taste for astrology and the adoption of the seven-day week, with the names mentioned above, spread not only to Spain and Gaul, but also to the regions of the Mediterranean.

Germany that had been incorporated into the Roman Empire, Upper Germania and Lower Germania, whose centre was Cologne (Civitas Ubiorum), and where the Romanisation of the people made the Roman Empire more and more important.

great progress. The Germanic people who served as officers or soldiers in the Roman armies and who were familiar with Roman daily practices were to be found in different parts of independent Teutonic territory, and so it is not strange that the seven-day week, with a different name for each day, was known and used more or less widely throughout Teutonia even before Christianity had taken root east of the Rhine and long before Rome itself had been converted to Christianity. But [in Germania,] this introduction of the seven-day week did not lead to the adoption of the Roman names for the days. The Teutons translated these names into their own language and, in so doing, chose from among their own deities those that most closely corresponded to the Roman ones. The translation of these names was carried out with a discrimination that seems to show that it was a mistake.

was made in the border region of Roman-controlled Germania by people who knew the Roman gods as well as their own. In this border region, there must have been priests of Teutonic origin who celebrated Roman religious ceremonies. The day of the sun and the day of the moon were allowed to keep their Roman names. They were called Sunday and Monday respectively. The day of the god of war, Mars, became the day of the god of war Týr, Tuesday. The day of Mercury became the day of Óðinn, Wednesday. The day of Jupiter Fulgurator became the day of Þórr the Thunderer, Thursday. The day of the goddess of love, Venus, became that of the goddess of love, Freyja, on Friday. Saturn, which, in astrology, is a watery star and has its house in the sign of the boatman, was the goddess of love at the time.

Among the Romans, and before them among the Greeks and Chaldeans, it was the lord of the seventh day. Among the North Germans, or at least among some of them, his day takes its name from laug, "bath", and it is worth pointing out in this connection that the author of the preface to the prose Edda identifies Saturn with the Nordic sea god Njörd.

The literati held what seemed to them to be conclusive proof that the Óðinn of whom their traditions spoke so much was the same historical figure whom the Romans worshipped under the name of

Mercury and that he was recognised as such by their ancestors who had lived in the time of the forni siðr.

At first sight, it might seem strange that Mercury and Óðinn should have been considered identical. We're used to seeing Hermes (Mercury) as depicted by Greek sculptors, the ideal of beauty and youthful alertness, whereas we imagine Óðinn as a man with a mysterious, contemplative gaze. And while Óðinn, in Teutonic mythology, is the father and master of the gods, Mercury, in Roman mythology, obviously occupies a high rank as the son of Zeus, but his dignity does not exempt him from being the busy messenger of the Olympian gods. But neither the Greeks, nor the Romans, nor the Teutons attached much importance to these details in the samples we have of their respective mythologies. The Romans knew that the same god can be represented differently among the same people, and that local traditions sometimes differ as to the kinship and rank of a deity. They therefore paid more attention to what Tacitus calls *vis numinis* - that is, the meaning of the deity as a symbol of nature, or its relationship to the affairs of the community and its culture. Mercury was the symbol of wisdom and intelligence; so was Óðinn. Mercury was the god of eloquence; so was Óðinn. Mercury introduced poetry and song to mankind; so did Óðinn. Mercury taught men the art of writing; so did Óðinn. Mercury had given them the runes. Mercury did not hesitate to resort to trickery when he had no other way of getting what he wanted; Óðinn was not scrupulous about the means either. Mercury, wearing a winged hat with similar heel straps, flew over the world and appeared on the horizon. Óðinn, the master of the wind, did the same. Mercury was the god of the martial games, without really being the god of war; Óðinn was also the leader of the games and the martial games, but he had left the function of god of war to Týr. In every respect Mercury and Óðinn were therefore very similar.

For the scholars, this must have been further proof that the man whom the Romans called Mercury and the Teutons called Óðinn had been one and the same historical figure, who had lived in the past. The Greeks, Romans and Goths worshipped him as a god. In order to obtain additional and more reliable information about this Óðinn-Mercury than the original Germanic traditions could provide, all that was needed was to study and correctly interpret this that Roman history had to say about Mercury.

As we know, certain mysterious documents known as the Sibylline Books were kept in the Temple of Jupiter on Capitoline Hill in Rome. The Roman state owned them and guarded them jealously, so that their contents were known to no-one except those whose position they held. the right to read them. A college of priests, men of high rank, was appointed to guard them and to consult them when circumstances required. The common opinion that the State Roman consulted them to obtain information about future events is incorrect. He did not

consulted only to discover by what ceremonies of expiation (5) and propitiation the wrath of the higher powers could be diverted, when Rome was in danger, or when some prodigy had aroused the plebs and caused them to fear imminent danger. Secondly, the Sibylline books were produced by duly named individuals and, in a certain line or passage, they would
They then published their interpretation of the passage, but did not divulge the words or phrases of the passage, as the text of the Sibylline books was not intended to be known by the public. The books were written in Greek.

The text recounting how these books came into the possession of the Roman state after a woman sold them to Tarquin - according to one version Tarquin the Elder, according to another Tarquin the Younger - can be found in well-known Roman authors who were widely read throughout the Middle Ages. The woman was a Sibyl, according to Varro the Eritrean, named after a Greek city in Asia Minor; according to Virgil the
a prophetess from Cumae in southern Italy. The two versions can easily be reconciled, since Cumae was a Greek colony in Asia Minor; and we read in Servius' commentaries on Virgil's poems that the Erythrean Sibylla was considered by many to be a prophetess.
as identical to that of Cumae. From Asia Minor, it would have come to Cumae.

Western Europeans in the Middle Ages claimed that there were twelve Sibyls: the Persian, the Libyan, the Delphic, the Cimmerian, the Erythrean, the Samian, the Cuméan, the Hellespontian or Trojan, the Phrygian and the Tiburnian, as well as the Sibyl Europa and the Sibyl Agrippa. The first ten are mentioned by the Church Father Lactantius and the Visigoth historian Isidore of Seville. The last two, Europa and Agrippa, were simply added so that the number of Sibyls would be the same as that of the prophets and apostles.

But the scholars of the Middle Ages had also learned from Servius that the Cumaean Sibyl was in fact the same as the Erythraean; and from the Church father Lactantius - who was widely read in the Middle Ages - that the Erythraean was identical to the Trojan. Thanks to Lactantius, they also thought they could
determine the precise birthplace of the Trojan Sibyl. Her birthplace was the town of Marpessus, near Mount Ida in Troy. From the same Church father they learned that the real content of the
that the Sibylline books consisted of accounts of events in Troy, the lives of the Trojan kings, etc., as well as prophecies about the fall of Troy and other events to come, and that the poet Homer in his works was a mere plagiarist who had found a copy of the Sibylline books, recast it, falsified it and published it under his own name in the form of heroic poems about Troy.

This seemed to establish the fact that these books, which the woman from Cumae had sold to the Roman king Tarquin, had been written by a Trojan-born Sibyl, and that the books Tarquin had bought from her contained stories and prophecies - in particular, stories about the leaders and heroes of Troy who were later glorified.

in Homer's poems. As the Romans had come from Troy, these chieftains and heroes were their ancestors and, as such, were entitled to the cult that the Romans considered was due to the souls of their ancestors. From a Christian point of view, this was of course idolatry; and since the Sibyls were suspected of having made predictions, even about Christ, it might have seemed inappropriate for Christians to promote the cause of idolatry in this way. But Lactantius gave a satisfactory explanation. The Sibyl, he said, had certainly made true predictions about Christ; but she had done so under divine compulsion and in moments of divine inspiration. By birth and by her sympathies, she was a pagan and, when under the influence of her authentic inspirations, it proclaimed pagan and idolatrous doctrines.

All this may seem fanciful to our critical century. But careful examination has shown that these representations have a historical background. And the historical fact behind it all is that the Sibylline books that were preserved in Rome were in fact written in Asia Minor on the ancient territory of Troy; or, to put it another way, that the oldest known collection of Sibylline oracles had been made at Marpessus, near the Trojan mountain Ida, in the time of Solon. From Marpessus the collection was taken to the nearby town of Gergis and kept in the temple of Apollo; from Gergis it was taken to Cumae and from Cumae to Rome in the time of the kings. We don't know how it got there. The story of the Cumaean Sibyl and Tarquin is an invention and exists in various forms. It is also clear that the Sibylline books in Rome did not contain accounts of the heroes of the Trojan War. On the other hand, it is absolutely certain that they referred to gods and a cult which, on the whole, were unknown to the Romans before the Sibylline books were introduced into Rome and that the introduction of these books is mainly due to the change that took place in Roman mythology during the Republican centuries. Roman mythology, which from the outset had only a few gods that were clearly identical to the Greek gods, began to develop its own style. developed especially at this time and welcomed gods and goddesses who were worshipped in Greece and in the Greek and Hellenised part of Asia Minor, where the Sibylline books originated. Whenever the Romans, in difficulty or distress, consulted the Sibylline books, the oracle's answer was that some Greco-Asian god or goddess was angry and needed to be appeased. In the context of As a result, the Romans soon appropriated the Greek myths about these imported deities. This explains why Roman mythology, which in its earliest sources is so original and so different from Greek mythology, took on an almost entirely Greek character in the golden age of Roman literature; it explains why, at the time, Roman mythology and Greek mythology can be considered almost identical. Nevertheless, even in the last period of Antiquity, the Romans were able to distinguish between their native gods and those introduced by the Sibylline books. The latter were worshipped according to Roman ritual, these according to Greek. These foreign gods included

Apollo, Artemis, Latona, Ceres, Hermes-Mercury, Proserpine, Cybele, Venus and Aesculapius; and the Romans were well aware that the Sibylline books were a Greek-Trojan work, originating in Asia Minor and the territory of Troy. When the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt down in 84 B C , the Sibylline books were lost. But the state could not do without them. A new collection had to be made, and this was done mainly by gathering together the oracles that could be found one by one in the places through which the Trojan Sibyl or the Erythrean Sibyl had passed, in other words, Asia Minor, in particular Eritrea and Ilion, ancient Troy.

As far as Hermes-Mercury is concerned, the Roman annals tell us that he obtained his first lectisternium in 399 BC on the orders of the Sibylline books. The Lectisternium was a sacrifice: the statue of the god was placed on a bed with a pillow under its left arm, and next to the statue was a table on which a meal was offered as a sacrifice to the god. A hundred years or so before this time, the first temple in honour of Hermes Mercury had been built in Rome.

Consequently, Hermes Mercury, like Apollo, Venus, Aesculapius and others, seems to have been unknown to the Romans at first; it was the Trojan Sibyl who recommended that they worship him.

This was well known to the scholars of the Middle Ages. But we must bear in mind that they considered it scientifically incontestable that the gods were at the origin of men, chiefs and heroes, and that the gods were at the origin of men, chiefs and heroes.

that the deified ruler whom the Romans worshipped under the name of Mercury and the Greeks under that of Hermes was the same one whom the Teutons called Óðinn and from whom the great Teutonic families claimed to be descended. We must also remember that they believed that the Sibyl who was supposed to have advised the Romans to worship the old king Óðinn-Mercury was a Trojan woman and that her books had contained stories about the Trojan heroes, as well as various prophecies, so that they came to the conclusion that the gods who had been introduced to Rome through the Sibylline books were the illustrious Trojans who had lived and fought at the time. before the fall of Troy. Another inevitable and logical conclusion was that Óðinn had been a Trojan leader and that, when he appeared in Germanic mythology as the leader of the gods, it seemed highly likely that he was identical to the Trojan king Priam and that Priam was identical to Hermes-Mercury.

Now, as the ancestors of the Romans were supposed to have emigrated from Troy to Italy under the leadership of

Since the main god of the Germans was Óðinn-Priam-Hermès and a number of Teutonic families traced their descent to this Óðinn, the Teutons must also have emigrated from Troy. But since the Germanic dialects were very different from the Roman language, the Romans and the Germanic Trojans must have split up a very long time ago.

They must have split up immediately after the fall of Troy and gone in different directions and, as the Romans had come to Europe from the south, the Teutons must have come from the north. It was also obvious to these researchers that the Romans had come to Europe several centuries before the Teutons, since Rome had been founded as early as 754, or 753, BC, but the Teutons are not mentioned in the annals until the period immediately before the birth of Jesus Christ. The Teutons must therefore have stopped somewhere on t h e i r journey north. This stop must have lasted several centuries and, of course, like the Romans, they must have to have founded a city, from which they must have reigned over a territory in commemoration of their destroyed city, Troy. At the time, very little was known about Asia, where this Germanic colony was based.

Troyenne would have been located, but from Orose and, later, Gregory of Tours, we learned that our world is divided into three great parts - Asia, Europe and Africa - and that Asia and Europe are separated by a river called Tanais. And, having learned from Gregory of Tours not only that the Teutonic Franks had lived in Pannonia in ancient times, but that the Moetic Marshes lie to the east of Pannonia and that the Tanaïs flows into these marshes, they had marked out the route by which the Teutons had come to Europe - i.e. via the Tanaïs and the Moetic Marshes. As they knew nothing of importance about Asia beyond the Tanaïs, it was natural that they should locate the colony of the Teutonic Trojans on the banks of this river.

I think I have now highlighted the main threads of the web of this scholarly novel woven from the monastic culture concerning a Germanic emigration from Troy and Asia, a web that stretches from the Frankish chronicle of Frédégaire and the subsequent chronicles of the Middle Ages right up to the Heimskringla and the foreword to the Edda in prose. According to the Frankish chronicle, the Gesta Francorum,

the emigration of the Franks from the colony of Troy near Tanais would have occurred very late; in other words, at the time of Valentinian I, or, in other words, between 364 and 375 AD. The Icelandic authors were well aware that the Germanic tribes had advanced far into Europe long before this time, and that the kingdoms they had founded in the north indicated that they must have been the most powerful tribes in Europe.

to have emigrated from the colony of Tanais long before the Franks. As the Roman attack had provoked the emigration of the Franks, it seems likely that these conquerors had also caused the Germanic tribes to emigrate from Tanaïs earlier; and as Pompey's expedition into Asia was the most glorious of all the expeditions made by the Romans in the East - Pompey even went so far as to enter the Roman colony of Tanaïs, which had been in the hands of the Romans for several centuries.

Jerusalem and visit its Temple - it was considered very useful to ensure that the Aesir emigrated at t h e time of Pompey, but not without leaving a few Teutons near Tanais, under the leadership of Óðinn's younger brothers Vile and Ve, so that this colony could continue to exist until the emigration of the Franks took place.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the saga of the Trojan migration, which originated and developed i n antiquity, in no way indicates that Europe was populated later than Asia, nor that its population was

from Asia. The immigration of the Trojans to Europe was seen as a return of the Trojans to their original homes. Dardanos, the founder of Troy, was considered to be the leader of a emigration from Etruria to Asia (Aeneid, III, 165 ff, Serv. Comm.). As a general rule, the peoples European peoples of antiquity considered themselves to be indigenous, when they did not consider themselves to be peoples who had immigrated from European regions to the territories they inhabited at the time.

13. Materials from the Icelandic Trojan saga

We hope that the facts presented above have convinced the reader that the saga concerning the immigration of Óðinn and the Aesir to Europe is, on the whole, a product of the monastic culture of the Middle Ages. That it was born and developed independently of the forn siðr is what will be made clear here.

even more evident by the additional evidence that is available in this area. It can

It may, however, be of some interest to dwell on certain details in the Heimskringla and the Prose Edda and to indicate their source.

It's worth bearing in mind that, according to the prose Edda, it was Zoroaster who first thought of building the Tower of Babel, and that he was assisted in this undertaking by seventy-two architects. Visit The name "Zoroaster" is, as we know, another form of the Bactrian or Iranian name "Zarathustra".

This is the name of the prophet and religious reformer who is glorified on every page of the holy books of the Avesta, and who, in prehistoric times, founded the religion that the Persians practised for a long time and which is now known as "the religion of the Persians".

still practised by their descendants in India and is characterised by an austere and moral conception of the world. In Persian and classical literature, this Zoroaster has nothing to do with Babel, and even less with the Tower of Babel. But as early as the first century of Christianity, if not earlier, traditions spread that made Zoroaster the founder of sorcery, magic and astrology (Pliny, Hist Nat., xxx 2); and as astrology in particular was supposed to have come from

Babylon, it was natural to assume that Babel had been the scene of Zoroaster's activity. The Greco-Roman chronicler Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived in the fourth century AD, still knew that Zoroaster came from Bactria and not Babylon, but he already imagined that Zoroaster had drawn much of his wisdom from the writings of the Babylonians. The Fathers of the Church developed the saga in this direction, and it was the Fathers of the Church who included it in their chronicles.

Latin. The Christian historian Orose also knows that Zoroaster was originally from Bactria, but he already associates Zoroaster with the history of Nineveh and Babylon and indicates that Ninus waged war against him in Babylon and defeated him. Orose makes him the inventor of sorcery and the magical arts. Gregory of Tours declared in his time that Zoroaster was identical to Noah's grandson, Chus, son of Ham, whom this Chus made into a god.

The Persians called him Zoroaster, a name that is thought to mean "the living star".

Gregory also reports that this Zoroaster was the first person to teach men the art of sorcery and to make them fall into idolatry, and that, as he knew the art of making men fall into idolatry, he was the first person to teach men the art of sorcery and to make them fall into idolatry.

stars and the fire of heaven, men would see him as a god. At that time," continues Gregory, "men wanted to build a tower that would reach to heaven. But God confused their tongues and caused their project to fail. According to Gregory, Nimrod, who was supposed to have built Babel, was a son of Zoroaster.

If we compare this account with what is said in the foreword to the Edda in prose, we see that, here too, Zoroaster is a descendant of the son of Noah (Ham) and the founder of idolatry, and that he was revered as a god. It is clear that the author of the foreword drew these statements from a source linked to the story of Gregory. Of the 72 master masons who are said to have helped Zoroaster in the Gregory has nothing to say, even though the saga of these builders was well known in the Middle Ages. In Anglo-Saxon literature

Before that, there is a very naive little work, very characteristic of the period, called Dialogue between Saturn and Solomon, in which Saturn tests Solomon's knowledge and asks him all sorts of questions about the Bible, to which Solomon finds the answers partly in the Bible and partly in biblically inspired sagas. Among other things, Saturn informs Solomon that Adam was created from various elements, that he weighed a total of eight pounds and that when he was born he was only 116 cm tall. Solomon says that Shem, the son of Noah, had thirty sons, Ham thirty and Japheth twelve - which makes Noah 72 grandsons; and as there can be no doubt that the author was of the opinion that all the languages of the

world, of whom there would have been 72, came from the Tower of Babel and were distributed throughout the world by these 72 grandsons of Noah, this allows us to discover who these 72 master masons were who, according to the Edda, had helped Zoroaster to build the tower. So they were his brothers. Visit

Luther's contemporary, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, who, in his work *De occulta philosophia*, collected numerous data on superstition throughout the ages, contains a chapter on the

He explains the power and sacred meaning of various numbers and says of the number 72: "To the number 72 correspond the 72 languages, the 72 elders of the synagogue, the 72 commentators of the Old Testament, the 72 disciples of Christ, the 72 names of God, the 72 angels who govern the 72 divisions of the zodiac, each division of which corresponds to one of the 72 languages. This shows just how widespread the tradition of the 72 foremen was in the Middle Ages. Nestor's Russian chronicle is itself familiar with this tradition. It continued to enjoy a certain authority in the 17th century. A

he edition of Sulpice Sévère's *Opera Omnia* printed in 1647 still considers it necessary to point out that a certain commentator expressed doubt as to the accuracy of the number 72. Among the sceptics, we find Rudbeck, in his *Atlantica*.

What the Edda says about King Saturn and his son, King Jupiter, is generally found partly in the Church father Lactantius and partly in the commentator on Virgil, Servius, who was known and read throughout the Middle Ages. Just as the Edda states that Saturn knew the art of producing gold from and that the only coins in existence at that time were made of gold, this must be seen as an interpretation of the statement made in the Latin sources that the age of Saturn

was the Golden Age - aurea secula, aurea regna. Among the Romans, Saturn was the guardian of treasures, and the Roman treasury was in the temple of Saturn in the Forum.

The genealogy in the Edda of the Trojan king Priam, who is supposed to be the oldest and truest Óðinn and descended in the sixth generation from Jupiter, is taken from the Latin chronicles. The Herikon of the Edda, grandson of Jupiter, is the Greco-Roman Erichthonios; the Lamedon of the Edda is Laomedon.

The Edda therefore has the onerous task of continuing this genealogy through the dark centuries, from the burning of Troy to the immigration of young Óðinn to Europe. Naturally, Latin sources are of no help to the Edda, and it is obliged to look elsewhere. First, she considers indigenous sources. She finds that Þórr is also called Lorrídi, Indriði and Vingþórr and that he had two sons, Móði and Magni; but she also discovers a genealogy drawn up in the 12th century, in which these different names of Þórr are applied to different people, so that Lorrídi is the son of Þórr, Indriði the son of Vingþórr and Vingþórr the son of Þórr.

Lorrídi, Vingþórr the son of Indriði, etc. It was common to draw up genealogies in this way in Iceland in the twelfth century and, before that time, among Anglo-Saxon Christians. The Edda continues its genealogy with Bedvig, Atra, Itrman, Heremod, Skjaldun or Skold, Bjæf, Jat, Gudolf, Fjarlaf or Fridleif and finally Óðinn, i.e. the young Óðinn, who had taken the name of his deified ancestor Hermes-Priam.

This entire genealogy is taken from a Saxon source and is found name for name in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. From Óðinn the family tree divides into two branches, that of Veggdegg and that of Beldegg or Balder. The first branch has the names Veggdegg, Vitrgils, Ritta and Heingest. These names are found in the same order in a genealogy by the English church historian Bede, in a genealogy by the English chronicler Nennius and in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. The Edda took them from one of these three sources, the only difference being that the Edda must have made a mistake in one place and called Vitta Ritta. The other branch, which begins with Balder or Beldegg, contains eight names, which are arranged in exactly the same order in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle.

As far as Balder is concerned, the Edda says that Óðinn made him King of Westphalia. This account is based on the tradition that Balder was known to the Germans and Scandinavians of the forn siðr period as Fal (Falr, see p. 92), with its variant Fol. At a time when it was believed that Sweden owed its name to a king named Sven, Götaland to a king named Göt, Denmark to a king named Dan, Anglia to a king named Angul, and the Franks to a duke named Francio, it was to be expected that Falen (East and North Westphalia) owed its name to a king named Fal. I will give further proof on page 92 that this name was recognised as belonging to Balder, not only in Germany, but also in Scandinavia.

As already indicated, according to the Edda, Þórr was married to Sibil, i.e. the Sibyl, and the Edda adds that This Sibil is called Sif in the North. In Teutonic mythology, Þórr's wife is the goddess Sif. It has already been mentioned that it was believed in the Middle Ages that the Cumaean Sibyl or the Erythrean Sibyl originated in Troy, so it is not strange that the author of the prose Edda, who speaks of the origin of the Sibyl, should have referred to her as Sif.

Óðinn and his people, married Þórr to the most famous of the Trojan women. However, this marriage was not invented by the author. The story has an older basis and, all things considered, has its origins in Germany, where Sif was as well known as Þórr in the days of the forn siðr. The Norse form Sif corresponds to the Gothic form Sibba, Old English Sib, Old Saxon Sibbia and High German Sibba; and Sibil, Sibilla would have been yet another form of the same name. The belief, based on the supposed fact that Þórr's wife, Sif, was identical to the Sibyl, explains a phenomenon that has not yet been explained. I have a few comments to make on this point.

In Norse mythology, several goddesses or dises, as we know, take on the appearance of feathers, with which they fly through the air. Freyja has a cloak of falcon feathers; several dises are swan-like (Volundarkv., Helreid. Brynh., 6). One of these swan-daughters was Sif (see p. 123). Sif could therefore appear either in human form or in the form of the most beautiful water bird, the swan.

A legend originating in Italy says that when the Queen of Sheba visited King Solomon, she had to cross a stream at one point. A tree or a beam was thrown down to form a bridge. The wise queen stopped, not wanting to set foot on the beam. She preferred to ford the stream and, when asked why, she replied that in a prophetic vision she had seen that the time would come when this tree would become a cross on which the Saviour of the world would have to suffer.

The legend also reached Germany, but here it is added that the Queen of Sheba was rewarded for this act of piety and freed of a deformity by fording the stream. One of her feet was in human form, but the other resembled the leg of a water bird, until she pulled it out of the stream. Ecclesiastical sculpture in the Middle Ages sometimes depicted the Queen of Sheba as a well-shaped woman, except that her foot resembled the leg of a water bird. How the Germans came to depict her with this malformation, foreign to the Italian legend, is something that has not been explained until now, although the influence of the
In many cases, it has been established that Greco-Roman mythology is based on the legends of Romance-speaking peoples and Germanic mythology on Germanic legends.

During the Middle Ages, the Queen of Sheba was called Queen Seba, because in the Latin translation of the Bible she is called Regina Seba. This name suggested her identity, on the one hand, with Sibba, Sif, whose representation in the form of a swan lived on in the traditions; on the other hand, with Sibilla and particularly with this one, since Queen Seba had proved to be in possession of prophetic inspiration, the main characteristic of the Sibyl. Seba, Sibba and Sibilla merged in

popular imagination. This explains how Queen Seba, for the Germans, but not for the French Italians, has the deformity that reminds us of the swan-like shape of Þórr's wife, Sibba. And since we had come to the conclusion that Þórr was a Trojan, his wife Sif must have been a Trojan. And Since it was known that the Sibyl came from Troy and that Queen Seba was a Sibyl, it was almost inevitable that this assimilation would occur. Latin scholars found further proof of this identity in a document of Greek origin that stated that Jupiter had had a

Sibyl, called Lamia, was her mistress and she bore her a daughter called Herophilus, who was endowed with her mother's prophetic inspiration. As we know, Mercury corresponds to Óðinn, Þórr to Jupiter, in the names of the days of the week. It therefore follows that Þórr was linked to the Sibyl.

The character of the anthropomorphised Óðinn, who is lawgiver and king in the description given of him in the *Heimskringla* and the *prose Edda*, is only partly based on the indigenous Nordic traditions concerning the god Óðinn, the ruler of the heavens. This young Óðinn, constructed by Christian authors, drew its main characteristics from documents found in monastic libraries. When the *prose Edda* tells us that the chieftain who set out from Ásgarðr for Saxony and Scandinavia was not really called Óðinn, but had taken this name in homage to the old deified Óðinn-Priam of Troy, to make people believe he was a god, this is nothing new. Servius, the commentator on Virgil, notes that the ancient kings very often took names that rightfully belonged only to the gods and reproaches Virgil for having declared that Saturn had descended from celestial Olympus to found a golden age in Italy. This Saturn, says Servius, was not a god from above, but a mortal king of Crete who had taken the name of the god Saturn. The way in which Saturn, on his arrival in Italy and in the Óðinn, on his arrival in Svíþjóð, was received by King Gylfe. Janus was humble enough to leave part of his country and his royal power to Saturn, and Gylfe made the same concessions to Óðinn. Saturn introduced a superior culture to the people of Latium and Óðinn gave a superior culture to the people of Scandinavia. The Church father Lactantius, like Servius, speaks of the kings who tried to appropriate the name and worship of the gods and condemns them as enemies of the truth and violators of the doctrine of the true God.

With regard to one of them, the Persian Mithra, who in the Middle Ages was confused with Zoroaster, Tertullian relates that Mithra, having foreseen the advent of Christianity, resolved to anticipate the true faith and introduced some of its practices (6). Thus, for example, according to Tertullian, Mithra adopted the habit of blessing those whose prosperity he wished to ensure by the laying on of hands, and also adopted a practice similar to the breaking of bread in the Eucharist as one of his mysteries. As for the blessing by the laying on of hands, Mithra practised it above all to give courage to those who needed it.

men he sent to war as soldiers. It is interesting to compare these words of Tertullian with the following passage from the *Heimskringla* on Óðinn: "He used, when he sent his men to war or on a mission, to lay his hands on their heads and give them bjannak." Bjannak is not a Norse or even a Teutonic word, and its meaning is uncertain. The well-known Icelandic philologist

Vígfusson, it seems to me, gave the correct definition of the word, linking it to the Scottish word 'bannock' and the Gaelic word 'bangh', 'bread'. We can assume that the author of the *Heimskringla* chose this foreign word so as not to offend the religious feelings of his readers with a native term, for if *bjannak* really does mean 'bread' and the author of the *Heimskringla* wished to indicate in this way that Óðinn, through certain practices of the Christian religion - in this case, by the laying on of hands and the breaking of bread - had guaranteed his warriors victory, it was within his power to use a foreign word for 'bread' to alter the unpleasant impression that there might be a similarity between *forn siðr* and Christian customs. But, at the same time, it is clear that what Tertullian says about Mithras is consistent with what the *Heimskringla* says about Óðinn.

What the *Heimskringla* says about Óðinn, namely that his spirit could leave his body and transport itself to distant regions, and that his body would then plunge into a cataleptic sleep, was said in the Middle Ages about Zoroaster and Hermes-Mercury.

The Neoplatonists had spoken a great deal about a god originally from Egypt, whom they associated with the Greek Hermes and called *Hermes Trismegistus*, i.e. "three times very great". The name *Hermes Trismegistus* was passed on by Latin authors to scholars in the monasteries of the Middle Ages, among whom those who believed that Óðinn was identical to Hermes also considered him to be identical to *Hermes Trismegistus*. In search of Óðinn and his men, Gylfe came to a But when he entered the room, he saw not one throne, but three thrones, one above the other, with a ruler sitting on each. When Gylfe asked the names of these chiefs, he received an answer which indicated that none of the three was Óðinn, but that the sorcerer Óðinn who was able to hide from the sight of men was present in each of them. One of the three, says the doorkeeper, is called Hár, the second Jafnhár, and the one sitting on the upper throne is Þriði. I think it's likely that this story was inspired by the name "thrice great", which in the Middle Ages was attributed to Mercury and, consequently, to Þriði, was considered one of Óðinn's epithets. The words 'three' and 'superior' seem to echo the expression 'thrice great'. It was therefore taken for granted that Óðinn had appropriated this name in order to anticipate Christianity with a kind of notion of trinity, just as Zoroaster, his ancestor, had, under the name of Mithra, introduced customs that would later become those of the Christians.

The other stories in the *Heimskringla* and the prose Edda about King Óðinn immigrating to Europe are mainly drawn from the stories contained in the songs and mythological traditions about the god Óðinn who reigned in the celestial Valhöll. The stories of Óðinn and the Asians' war against the Vanes belong to these. In the myth, this war was fought under the walls built by a giant around the celestial Ásgarðr (Völuspá, 25). The fortress in which Gylfe meets the triple Óðinn is decorated exactly like the Valhöll described by the scaldes. The men who drink and take up arms are the *einherjar* of the myth. Gylfe is a character who

is taken from mythology, but to all appearances he plays not a king, but a giant living in Jötunheimr. The Fornaldar sagas make him a descendant of Fornjótr who, along with his sons Hlér, Logi and Kári and his descendants Jökull, Snaer, Geitir, etc., undoubtedly live in Jötunheimr. Once Óðinn and the Aesir were considered immigrants to the North, it was only natural that the giants should be considered a historical people and, as such, the aborigines of the North - an assumption which, in the context of the fable of emigration from Asia, was accepted for centuries and still has its supporters. The myth that Óðinn, when he felt death approaching, allowed himself to be cut with the tip of a spear has its origins in the words that a song puts into Óðinn's mouth: "I was hanging from the tree, windswept, For nine long nights, Pierced by a spear, Offered to Óðinn, Giving myself to myself." (Havam., 138).

14. The results of previous research.

This concludes my examination of the sagas on the Trojan origin of the Teutons and the immigration of Óðinn and his Asians to Saxony, Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula. I have highlighted the seed from which the sagas were born, the soil in which this seed was able to germinate and the way in which it gradually developed into the sagas we find in the *Heimskringla* and the prose *Edda*. I have shown that they do not belong to the Germanic *forð siðr*, but that they were born of necessity, so to speak, in the Christian era, among Germanic converts to Christianity, and that they are entirely the work of medieval scholars. The hypothesis that they contained a tradition that had been preserved for centuries among the Germans themselves about an ancient emigration from Asia is highly improbable and is completely refuted by the authentically Germanic sagas on migration that have been rescued from oblivion and which I analyse below. In my opinion, these ancient and authentic Teutonic migration sagas cannot, from a purely historical point of view, claim to be more in line with reality than the fables of the Christian era about Óðinn's emigration from Asia. Each case must be carefully examined. But what they do prove is that the idea of an immigration from Troy or Asia was completely foreign to the Germans who practised *forð siðr* and, on the other hand, they are of great interest because of their link with what the myths have to say about the earliest domiciles, history and spread, if not of the most ancient. the human race, or at least the Germanic race.

As a general rule, all ancient sagas about migration, whatever race they originate from, must be treated with the utmost caution. Large portions of the earth's surface may have been taken over by various races, not by the sudden influx of great masses, but by a gradual increase in their population and the consequent shifting of their borders, without any remarkable or memorable events necessarily being linked to it. A territorial expansion can take place and be so little noticed by the people living around the centre that they don't really need to be aware of it, let alone consider it.

remembered in sagas and songs. The fact that the arrival of a few settlers each year increases the size of a territory has no influence on the imagination, and this insensitive colonisation can continue from generation to generation, resulting in a formidable expansion, without successive generations being fully aware of the change taking place. The spread of a new people in a new territory can be compared to the movement of the hour hand on a clock. It is not perceptible to the eye and can only be noticed by continuous observation.

In many cases, however, migration has involved large numbers of people leaving their countries in search of new ones. These undertakings are worthy of being remembered, and are followed by achievements that are easily fixed in memory. But even in these cases, it is surprising how quickly actual historical events are either completely forgotten, or mixed with fables, which little by little, because they appeal more to the imagination, monopolise interest. The conquest and colonisation of England by Saxon and Scandinavian tribes - and this at a time when the art of writing was known - are the most remarkable examples. Hengist, under whose command the Saxons, according to their own migration saga, landed on British soil, is a saga character who was drawn from mythology, and we find him again below (see p. 123). It is not surprising, then, that we find in mythology heroes under whose leadership the Lombards and Goths thought they had emigrated from their original Teutonic homes.

Viktor Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology, Gods and Goddesses of the Northland, The Norrœna Society*, London Copenhagen, Stockholm, Berlin, New York, 1906, translated from the English by B. K.

(*) Virgil, whether he realised it or not, acted as a conveyor belt for the Sibylline Books, helping to further contaminate the *mos maiorum* with spiritualist elements. of Asian origin: "It was in the second century BC that the Hellenised Jews of Egypt, in order to spread among the pagans the dogmas of Jewish monotheism and the hopes of prophetism messianic, imagined putting them on the lips of the Greek Sibyl. Hence these strange poems, which with marvellous skill poured the new wine of messianism and a religion of universal salvation into the aged wineskin of paganism. They spread, and spread with them into the upper strata of pagan thought an immense expectation and an immense hope. They came from Alexandria to Virgil, who eagerly listened with all his heart to the echo of this divine world, which came from the East and, unknowingly illuminated by the ray of Isaiah, transmitted to the West the cry of David and the Sibyl". (James Darmesteter, *Critique et politique*, Calmann Lévy, 1895, p. 106).

According to Tacitus, Virgil, who later became Dante's guide, was influenced by Hebrew texts. Michelangelo also depicted the Sibyl of Cumae in the Sistine Chapel, among the prophets of the Old Testament.

(1) Unlike the English translator, we will translate 'hedendomens' ('paganism') as 'forn siðr' ("the old custom") and not, precisely, by the pejorative term "paganism"; we will do the same for the derivative of "hedendomens", "hedning" (pagan), at least whenever it is applied to the cult of the ancient Scandinavians.

(2) Now known as Don.

(3) Suéd. svea, plur. svear; Old Norse svíar / suar: the people of Sweden and, by extension, Sweden.

(4) This is a slip of the tongue, since the "foreigners" were not the peoples among whom the Jews lived, but, on the contrary, the Jews who lived among these peoples.

(5) For the ancient Roman notion of "expiation", see <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2014/05/18/689/>.

(6) To avoid anachronism, we should say, for example, "introduced some of the practices that would later become those of Christianity".

Stalin and the Jewish question

From 1998, when Yeltsin was still in power, with Putin in ambush, to 2003, the third year of Putin's first term in office, Putin expropriated property from a number of "oligarchs" and had them sent to prison. The term "oligarchs" had come into fashion the same year by one of them, Berezovsky, and because some of the "oligarchs" whom Putin was targeting were Jewish, some people in the West, particularly those sympathetic to Eurasism, took it as a sign that Putin was anti-Semitic, saw this as a sign that Putin was anti-Semitic and, caught up in a prophetic spiral, began shouting from the rooftops that he was conducting an anti-Semitic campaign in the name of "Holy Russia", which is not without its piquancy, given that Putin himself is of Jewish origin. At the time, Putin's Jewishness was little known. Excuses could therefore be sought for our exalted leaders, whether out of idealism or for reasons which, given the convertibility of the rouble, may not have been entirely selfless. The idealists no longer have any excuses, given that a serious study carried out on the "oligarchs" in 2007 established that "the businesses of the Jewish oligarchs who have managed to survive (at least to date) under Mr Putin appear to be flourishing" (*). Seven years later, they are still flourishing. "Russian Jewry is now the richest Jewish community in the world, explained Aryeh Zuckerman, Secretary General of the European Jewish Fund, back in 2009... It is very close to the Jewish community in the United States [in wealth] and much smaller. If we're talking about mega-billionaires, we have a few. If you're talking multi-millionaires, then we've got loads (**)."

The following article tackles another fantasy, that of Stalin's anti-Semitism, nurtured in a wide variety of circles, from the far left to the so-called 'far right'. And pulverises it (***).

In the Volk, a national-racial community conceived in a mystical way, there are no longer artificial oppositions in the fields of the economy and services, as there are in societies characterised by bourgeois individualism or by class struggle in the Marxist sense; there are no longer in the words of Dr Ley, head of the German "Labour Front" under Hitler's regime: "National Socialism can claim to have developed the personality to the highest degree, but for the benefit and not at the expense of the community. What we have achieved in this way is true socialism.

National Socialism is the expression - adapted to concrete historical conditions - of an ancient, Nordic and Germanic form of politics, driven by values aristocratic, hierarchical and qualitative, literally extracting individuals of value from the popular community and turning them into an aristocracy of merit, a political elite capable of denying

the entire political spectrum, from left to right, abstract ideologies, whether they be whether bourgeois or proletarian. By denying these abstract ideologies, National Socialism at the same time rejected the political and social formulas suggested by these ideologies.

Under the impetus of National Socialism, the proletarian masses, freed from the demeaning conditions of proletarianisation, gave birth to these metallic profiles of virile, responsible worker-soldiers, the militant figures of the National Socialist People's State.

The German farmer, now protected and valued by a legal and economic system radically anti-capitalist, rediscovers its initial function, that of regenerator, of reactivator of energies uncontaminated by the mercantile mentality and by the decadence and refinements of urban life.

The national-popular community, the Volksgemeinschaft, made up of soldiers, peasants and workers, played a leading role in the struggle to restore the German nation's economic independence and political freedom.

An anti-plutocratic revolution

National Socialist Germany sees itself as the guide of the anti-plutocratic revolution in Europe, and as the hope of liberation for the peoples of Europe and the world (1) subjugated and exploited by the high finance, declared "Jewish" for propaganda purposes. Thus, one of the major objectives of National Socialist policy was to free the German people from this subjection to the international capitalism. To this end, the new authorities imposed a strong mark; The issue of German currency, which was no longer convertible into gold or an Anglo-Saxon currency, was strictly linked to the work of the people themselves, work considered to be the sole basis of national wealth.

This autarkic economic policy was at odds with all conventional practices. It rejected the logic of debt. As Ezra Pound put it in one of his pamphlets against "usury", "a nation that does not want to go into debt enrages the usurers"; the "capitalist West", "usurocratic" in Pound's language, did not accept this logic of independence, so it worked to bring about a world conflict against the Third Reich and against Europe in general.

In Russia, after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin, General Secretary of the CPSU since 1922, set in motion the process of eliminating the "Bolshevik Left", as it was called at the time.

This "Bolshevik Left" was embodied by Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Radek, i.e. those whom the anti-Semites called "the internationalist Jewish cadres"; responsible for organising and executing the Bolshevik coup of 1917, they had received substantial aid from their co-religionists across the Atlantic (the Jewish bankers Schiff, Warburg, Guggenheim, etc.), in order to overthrow the anti-Semitic regime of the Tsars. These "Jewish executives" had retained strong links with "Western" capitalism.

The campaign to eliminate the "left-wing opposition" in the Soviet Union reached its climax in 1936/1938. It is interesting to note that Kamenev (whose real name was Apfelbaum) and Zinoviev (whose real name was Radomyski) were shot in August 1936, a few months before the introduction of the new Soviet constitution (that of 5 December 1936), in which the "Stalinist restoration" really found its legal expression. In February 1937, it was the turn of Radek and Sokolnikov to be shot. In March 1938, Stalin organised Bukharin's trial, Rakovsky, Yagoda, Rykov and other "left-wing opponents" linked to Trotskyism and the "cosmopolitan plutocracy".

This purge should not, however, be attributed to Stalin's "anti-Semitism", i.e. to a visceral aversion to the profound "essence" of Jewishness and to the traits of "Jewishness". character of the Jews. Nor did Stalin want to cut all the bridges linking the Soviet Union to the "Western" plutocracy (2). Stalin's motives were different: more simply, he wanted to liquidate a political and ideological tendency that had developed an interpretation of the This ideological dispute led to a confrontation between two rival factions in the CPSU. This ideological quarrel led to a confrontation between two rival factions of the CPSU.

Stalin, despite having Jewish origins himself (3), understood that Marxism could only survive if it was realised "in one country". Only the birth of a kind of "national-communism" would allow Marxism to survive.

rooted in the deepest historical currents of Pan Slavism, within the framework of an authoritarian, bureaucratic and centralising conception of power and the State, could allow the advent of socialism in a single country, that is to say, in this case, in the Soviet Union.

Trotsky, who was more consistent in his interpretation of Marx's thought, asserted, on the contrary, a democratic and "assemblyist" conception of the State and based it on the centrality of the Soviets, conceived as the basic representative structures, around which he articulated the theory of the "revolution".

In terms of foreign policy, it advocated "proletarian internationalism". The cosmopolitan mentality of the "Judeo-Trotskyite gang", as the most aggressive Stalinists called it, was fully reflected in this vision, which was derived directly from the Enlightenment intellectualism that had permeated all secular culture in Europe over the previous two centuries.

Stalin, alias Joseph Vissarionovitch Djougachvili, was a dictator of Jewish origin, surrounded by Jewish comrades in arms. Stalin's own name, Dzhugashvili, means "son of a Jew" in Georgian. "chvili, "son" and djou-ga, "Jewish". Originally from the Caucasus, the Djougachvili family, whose religion is an Orthodox Christian, had converted at the beginning of the 19th century (see Ivan Krylov, ed, *Ma carrière au quartier général soviétique*, quoted in the Parisian newspaper *Le Nouveau Prométhée*, May 1951).

Stalin's wife, Raïssa Kaganovitch, was also Jewish (3a); her father, Lazarus, was Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party, People's Commissar for Heavy Industry and a member of the Political Bureau. As for Stalin's brothers-in-law, they all had brilliant careers in the regime: Mikhail Kaganovitch (4) was People's Commissar for the War Industry and a member of the Party Central Committee; Aaron Kaganovitch was Supply Administrator in Kiev; Serge Kaganovitch was a senior manager in the textile industry; and Boris Kaganovitch, a senior manager of the military supplies industry.

What's more, Molotov's wife, the Kremlin's number two, was Paulina Zemchushchina-Karpovskii (5), also of Jewish origin, which enabled Stalinist Russia to continue to maintain excellent relations with the plutocrats of the Karp family, despite the elimination of the "Trotskyist cadres". Giovanni Preziosi writes: "The major American supplies to the Soviet Union in 1928 - ships, weapons, machine tools, etc. - all passed through the hands of the Karp family. Paulina Molotov always maintained excellent relations with the Jewish financiers of New York: Jacob Schiff, Warburg and Kuhn, whose direct relations with the Israelite Maisky, ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were very close. in London were always reported in the press" (6).

Stalin's closest collaborators were also Jews, as were the highest representatives of the Soviet ruling class, who surrounded him until his death in 1953. All this invalidates the thesis that Stalin was anti-Semitic. Let us mention some of the key figures in Soviet politics during the Stalinist era: Lavrenti Pavlovitch Beria, head of the political police from 1938 to 1953, became a member of the Politburo in 1946 and was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior in 1953; Lev Z. Mekhlis, editor of *Pravda*, member of the Central Committee of the Party until his death in 1953; Solomon Lozovski, appointed Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in charge of the Far East and Scandinavia in 1939, vice general secretary of the press agency

Sovinformburo during the war and member of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (7); August Jakobson, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia from 1950 to 1958; Eugène Varga (alias Weissfeld), Stalin's economic adviser; Ilya Ehrenburg, head of Soviet propaganda; Anatoli Josefovitch Lavrentiev (alias Lippmann), Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1949 to 1951; P.A. Youdine, Minister of Public Works in 1950; August. Kirchenstein, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia in 1951; Peter Levitsky, President of the Council of Nationalities in 1951; and we could add many more names to support our thesis of Stalin's philosemitism (8). The Jewish Chronicle on 6 April 1951 wrote that "many more Russian Jews deserved the Stalin Prize".

The Russian Communists

The elimination of the Trotskyists cannot therefore be attributed to Stalin's more or less conscious and profound anti-Semitic positions or choices. The Stalinist era up to 1949 clearly shows that the Jewish Communists installed in power in the countries of Eastern Europe by the tanks of the Red Army did not suffer the slightest persecution or the slightest attempt at persecution.

In Czechoslovakia, the first arrests of "Zionist leaders" did not take place until 1949, while the Slansky trial was not held until 1952. Czechoslovakia was also the preferred channel for This was the route taken in 1948 by Soviet aid to Israel, which, having occupied Palestine, was seeking to consolidate its base of operations in the Middle East in order to pursue its hostile policy towards the Palestinian and Arab peoples. Bolshevik Czechoslovakia," writes François Duprat, "sent one hundred and ten Messerschmitt M2 109-Gs to Israel, giving its army air superiority. Arms dealers from all over the world sent their shipments to Tel Aviv [...] The United Kingdom remained neutral, while France, the United States and the Soviet Union were fully committed to the war. in favour of Israel".

In Romania, [the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister] Ana Pauker (née Hannah Rabinsohn) (9) was deposed in 1952, the year in which, among other things, the Jewish Chronicle (of 22 February) was able to write that "the Jews of Romania have made their contributions in all fields of state industry: in commerce, agriculture, education, the army, the Jews, in the field of the economy, continue to make great strides [...]. There are no obstacles to the development of Yiddish culture: in fact, many institutes at all levels of education have been created for Jewish students. In addition to the cultural and educational centres, we have been able to set up theatre groups, Jewish music groups and theatres. choirs, open libraries".

In Hungary too, according to Dr Bela Fabian, a former member of the Hungarian Parliament, in a statement he made to the Ukrainian Information Bureau in March 1951, "the anti-Zionist campaign began in 1949". The victims of this campaign, who were either killed or purged, were Zoltan Vas, Minister of Planning, Gyula Décsi, Minister of Justice, Timarand, Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Interior and Zoltan Vas, Minister of Justice.

Peter Gabor, head of the secret police, Csapa, head of the Economic Department of the Ministry of Finance, István Szirmai, Communist Party official in charge of Zionist issues.

In the Observer of 22 February 1953, page 7, Richard Lowenthal attributed the liquidation of these men to the fact that they had close links with Zionist international organisations. In fact, "they would rather have tried to remedy the country's chronic shortcomings by establishing commercial exchanges and thereby establishing contacts, dangerous for them, with prosperous Jewish international organisations, in particular the American Joint Distribution Committee".

In East Germany, the anti-Zionist purge began at the end of 1952, on 30 December to be precise, when a memo was circulated stating that the Pankow government had dissolved its Information Office, headed by the Israelite Gerhard Eisler, while the "Department for the Protection of the Jews" had been dissolved.

The "press" campaign was led by his co-religionist Albert Norden. Among the victims of this campaign Paul Merker, former Secretary of State for Agriculture, Léo Zuckermann, former Head of the Presidential Chancellery, Max Kahan, Director of the East German Press Agency, Erich Goldammer, an official at the Ministry of Information, Alexander Abusch, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, etc (10).

In Poland, the early signs of an anti-Zionist campaign were perceptible. But it was not until the end of 1953 that the campaign really got underway. In fact, of all the satellites of the Soviet Union, it was Poland that was the most controlled by the Jewish element of the Communist International, which truly exercised an undivided and systematic hegemony. "Today, Jews occupy key positions in the Polish government", declared Cardinal Hlond in the Catholic Herald of 26 July 1946. The same observation was made by the famous American political scientist of the time, John Gunther, in his book Behind the Curtain (1949): "The men who dominate Poland today are Jews". As for Hilary Cotter in Jewish World Strategy Made Plain, page 7, 8, he writes: "From 1945 to 1951, of the eleven members of the Polish Communist Politburo, no less than seven were Jews."

These assertions are borne out by the facts. Suffice it to say that the first President of the Polish Republic was the Israelite Boleslav Bierut, who had set up the "Polish National Council" in the Soviet Union during the war and, in Stalin's shadow, had entered Warsaw under the leadership of the Nazis.

He was elected President on 4 February 1946. In addition, the Jew Cyrankiewicz was President of the Council and his co-religionist Zygmunt Modzelewski remained at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until the end of 1951. Jakub Berman, also a Jew, was head of the Politburo.

In fact," writes Claudio Veltri in *Polonia e Lobby ebraica* (Arktos, Carmagnola), "the Jews occupied a predominant place in the government and the party at that time, at all levels.

Roman Zambrowski, also of the Jewish faith, was Secretary of the Party Central Committee and a member of the Politburo and the Council of State. Stanislaw Skrzyszewski was Minister of Education in 1947-1948. His co-religionist Stanislaw Radkiewicz was Minister of Public Security (...) Broniewski, the leader of the Communist Youth movement, was also Jewish. As for Tadeusz Cyprian, he was Attorney General of the Supreme Court. Another Israelite, Julius Katz-Suchy (alias Kazuki, alias Katz) was Poland's permanent delegate to the UN". As Seweryn Bialer, an official of the Polish Central Committee, recalls, "the first anti-Semitic purges within the Party took place towards the end of 1953 and early 1954. At that time, all personalities of Jewish origin were excluded.

Oskar Dluski, director of the Central Committee's External Office, Teodor Feder, its deputy director; Stefan Staszewski, director of the Central Committee's Press Office; Leon Kasman, director of Trybuna Ludu and many others. At the same time, thousands of officers and civil servants of Jewish origin were dismissed without receiving any official explanation".

A wave of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in the Soviet bloc?

Despite these drastic measures, it would be an exaggeration to say that the Soviet bloc as a whole was overwhelmed by a wave of anti-Semitism. In fact, paragraph 123 of the Soviet Constitution still condemned anti-Semitism, and paragraph 59 of the Civil and Criminal Code listed all the offences against which anti-Semitism was punishable.

extremely severe penalties for those guilty of anti-Semitism (11). To confirm that the anti-Zionist and even anti-Semitic measures taken in the Soviet bloc were not based on anti-Semitic legislation, we must refer to Menachem Gerson, the London correspondent of the Israeli newspaper Al-hamishmar, who wrote in the Jewish Chronicle of 10 August 1951 that "in

In East Germany, energetic measures have been taken to eradicate anti-Semitism, and people guilty of anti-Jewish activities will automatically be sentenced to five years' hard labour".

As for anti-Zionism, which the legislation of the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union distinguished from anti-Semitism, it was a fight against the political developments of the world Judaism and a desire to organise them. Anti-Zionist campaigns literally exploded in the countries of Eastern Europe from 1949 onwards, continuing until Stalin's death and even beyond.

Why is this?

In 1948, the Soviet Union, together with the other capitalist powers that had emerged victorious from the Second World War, diplomatically recognised the State of Israel, i.e. the occupation of Palestine by Jewish settlers. By recognising this new state, the Soviet Union intended to use it as a base for its imperialist expansion in the Middle East. But when the Soviet ruling class realised that Israel was gradually aligning itself with the United States, the power that saw itself as the "mother house" of Judaism in the world and its geopolitical and strategic point of reference, the first symptoms of an anti-Semitic campaign appeared: this was the Soviet reaction to the alliance between Israel and the United States. In the Jewish Chronicle of 20 February 1953, David Pela wrote: "When, at the beginning of 1949, the United States loaned Israel one hundred million dollars, the Soviet attacks on the Hebrew State became increasingly intense. The great manoeuvres against Zionism and the State of Israel began to take shape as soon as the Soviets became certain that they could no longer turn Israel into a satellite country of Russia and realised that the new Hebrew state was aligned with America overall".

Stalin, for his part, did not adopt anti-Jewish positions, but became anti-Zionist because of simple contingencies of a strategic nature, when he realised that the new Jewish State was upsetting the political and economic equilibrium in the Middle East. international strategic balance against the Soviet Union. The Jewish journalist Chiemen Abranski was perfectly aware of this when he wrote in the Economist on 9 August 1952 that "critics Direct criticism of the State of Israel has nothing to do with direct criticism of the Jews. The Soviet government and the Communist Party have always criticised the Zionist movement as 'right-wing'".

But for other observers, Zionism belongs to the order of "effects". In fact, they say, it is the political and concrete expression of the Jewish soul, in which it finds its primary cause and its logical and necessary antecedents. Anti-Zionist positions that are not rooted in anti-Judaism, i.e. in a rejection of the nature and way of being peculiar to the Jews, are only a partial negation of the peripheral effects and circumstantial manifestations of the mercantile ethic attributed to the Jews by the anti-Semites. For the latter, Zionism is therefore a political form which expresses, on a psycho-anthropological level, a universal archetype. An archetype which, for religious anti-Semites, is "subversive" and an integral part of the metaphysical dimension of "Anti-Tradition". Again, according to the logic of religious anti-Semitism, the Jew is one historical figure among others who conveys and propagates the "Anti-Tradition" in an extremely effective way, dynamic and devastating. Of all the figures of the "Anti-Tradition", the Jew, as imagined by these religious anti-Semites, is the most homogenous and typical.

Stalinist anti-Zionism is therefore a Soviet response to Israel's policy of alignment with the United States. This anti-Zionism leads to purely reactive measures, which in no way stem from the uniform and radical repulsion that fundamentalist and traditionalist anti-Semites harbour towards the spiritual and religious, cultural and ethical world that determines the ontology of Judaism.

As for the links between the "Western" plutocracy and Bolshevik Russia, they remained intact throughout the Stalinist era, not to mention their alliance during the Second World War.

The Soviet-American Chamber of Commerce was created in 1922: its first president was René Schley, vice-president of the Chase Manhattan Bank. The Chase Manhattan Bank, owned by the Rockefeller (alias Steinhauer) family (12), was, along with the Equitable Trust Company, one of the banking institutions that did most to open up credit to the Bolshevik regime in Moscow. In 1925, the Chamber of

The Soviet-American Trade Commission negotiated the financing of American exports of cotton and machine tools to the Soviet Union. In 1928, it placed Russian bonds in the United States.

According to a report by the US State Department, "Kuhn Loeb and Company, the largest financial institution in New York, participated in the financing (Along with Karp, which we have already mentioned above. Editor's note.), of the first five-year plan, after having served as deposit bank to the Soviet government, which transferred over six hundred million gold roubles to it between 1918 and 1922". (cf. Charles Levinson, *Vodka-Cola*) In his *Between Two Ages*, Z. Brzezinski writes: "Soviet economic development between 1917 and 1930 was essentially based on American technological aid. At least 95% of the Soviet Union's industrial structures received this aid."

After the revolution," writes Charles Levinson, "Standard Oil of New Jersey acquired 50% of the immense oil concessions in the Caucasus that had belonged to Alfred Nobel and which, in theory, had been nationalised. In 1927, Standard Oil New York built a huge refinery in Russia. Shortly afterwards, the New York company and its subsidiary Vacuum Oil Company signed an agreement with Moscow.

agreement to market Soviet oil in Europe, resulting in a \$75 billion loan to the Soviet government". On 14 June 1933, Louis McFadden, Chairman of the

House Banking Committee, said: "The Soviet government received funds from the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Reserve Bank through Chase Bank, the Guaranty Trust Company and other New York banks. Open the books of Amtorg, the Soviet Union's trading company in New York, the books of Gostorg, the general office of the World Trade Organization, and the books of the Soviet Union's bank in New York.

Soviet Union and those of the Central Bank of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and you will be amazed at the sums that have been taken from the American Treasury for the benefit of Russia. Look at the business that has been done on behalf of the Central Bank of the Soviet Union by its correspondent, Chase Bank of New York (13).

A permanent feature: neo-tsarism

Given the permanent and solid relationship between the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy and the "Western" plutocracy, Stalinist Russia could not fail to have distinctly neo-Tsarist features (14).

The importance attached to military education encouraged the emergence of a Spartan ethic, which was obviously subject to a perverse ideology. This Spartan ethic was strongly opposed to the democratic pacifism and the intellectualism that underpinned Marxist ideology. The Soviet intellectuals' campaigns against cultural internationalism and cosmopolitanism were an attempt to return to the main lines of force of Russian popular culture and traditions. The liquidation of the "assembly" democracy of the Soviets, which was replaced by an authoritarian organisation inspired by decrees issued from the top of the hierarchy, as well as the revalorisation of the voluntarist attitude - the expression "will of the proletariat" appears in the 1936 constitution - are approaches and phenomena opposed to the economic and sociological determinism of Marxism and constitute so many elements which make Stalinist Russia a historical experience fundamentally different from Marxist orthodoxy.

Under Stalin," writes E.H. Carr in *The Russian Revolution From Lenin to Stalin: 1917-1929*, "what reappears, even if the term is a misnomer, is anti-Semitism, or to be more precise, the accents of the old Russian anti-Semitism that Lenin and the first Bolsheviks had brutally repressed (...). In art and literature, the innovative and lively experiments of the first years of the revolution were abandoned in favour of a return to traditional Russian models (...). In art and literature, the innovative and lively experiments of the first years of the revolution were abandoned in favour of a return to traditional Russian models (...). The Marxist school of history and law was regarded with suspicion; the search for continuity with the Russian past no longer met with disapproval. Socialism in a single country was reminiscent of the old Russian national exclusivism, which Marx and Lenin had abhorred. It was no longer at all incongruous to situate Stalin's regime in the context of Russian history".

Were the neo-Tsarist features of Stalinist power in flagrant contradiction with the real Russia of the time, governed by a predominantly Jewish ruling class with close links to the upper classes?

Western" finance? We don't think so. In fact, the apparent antinomy between these two poles of the Stalinist-era Soviet universe needs to be placed within a unitary interpretation grid, inspired by a unifying logic capable of integrating the multiple elements taken into consideration.

Marxism, as it was conceived by Marx, i.e. Marxism as a complex set of economic, political and philosophical doctrines resulting from the theoretical work and ideological classification carried out by Marx (alias Kissel Mardochai) himself, could not really exist or hope to be realised.

Matured in philosophical circles characterised by rationalism, the thought of the young Marx developed in the spheres of pure abstraction and thus cut itself off from the spiritual, ethical, psychological, cultural and historical realities that were those of the vast majority of men and peoples of his time. From the outset, Marxism presented itself as a homogeneous derivative of the culture of the Enlightenment, taking up and interpreting in its own way the egalitarianism and levelling concepts of the latter. But despite this rationalism and Enlightenment ideology, nations and peoples, religions and customs, traditions and mentalities were rooted in the racial substance of peoples,

In theory, Marxist concepts denied these inescapable realities; in practice, however, they had to take them into account and base themselves on some of these data, in order to be able to concretely manage a state or a society. If it wanted to "swim in the river of history", Marxism needed "reactionary buoys". If it wanted to have any historical influence, it had to conform to the cultural, racial and political constants (especially in the field of foreign policy) that make up the "plasma" of peoples and nations.

Marxism on the one hand and historical and cultural constants on the other form the two poles of an explosive Russian-Soviet complex. Each of these two poles is gaining the upper hand over the other alternately, as events dictated. However, this alternation was not left to chance: in the end, Soviet society always returned to Marxism.

But it is clear that Marxism is sometimes relegated to the rank of ideological window-dressing; its status is then marginalised and subordinated to the *raison d'Etat* or historical reason. The garment is therefore a façade behind which can be expressed forces and demands from the depths of Russian history and soul, forces and demands which, from a strictly Marxist point of view, are aberrations or heresies. In the course of the Soviet adventure under Stalin, it sometimes happened that the technopolitical oligarchy of the Soviet Union did not understand what was going on.

The bureaucracy becomes aware of the potential usefulness of these forces and demands, of these historical and cultural sediments and dynamics. It then transforms them into vectors of the Marxist ideological project, in the full knowledge that they are not Marxist in nature and are even

fundamentally anti-Marxist, but that it must in some way overlap with and orientate their
The Soviet adventure under Stalin offers contemporary historians an astonishing insight into the history of the Soviet Union. For the contemporary historian, the Soviet adventure under Stalin offers an astonishingly rich and complex picture.

two categories of discourse alternated: a purely communist discourse and a national-Russian discourse, which served the Soviet apparatus. The national-Russian discourse serves as a vector of power: the character of this discourse 'rooted' in Russian history is not of the same nature as the line imposed by Marxist ideology. The permanent hiatus between these two types of discourse makes it possible to manipulate and deceive the Russian people indefinitely.

At the most decisive moments, particularly during the Second World War, despite the patriotic rhetoric of the Grand Russians, the actual policies of the Stalinist Soviet Union were always directed against ideas and people, political forms and movements inspired by traditional values. For example, Stalin's appeals to "our Holy Mother Russia" undoubtedly united the people around values of order and historical roots, but above all they made it easier for the Communist oligarchy to mobilise the Slav masses.

against the external enemy, the Third Reich. Communist ideology had proved to be a completely inappropriate vehicle for mobilising the masses, because they remembered all too well the horrors committed by the regime, forced collectivisation, measures against the peasantry, the authoritarian, bureaucratic, centralised state capitalism, etc. So the German armies were defeated Tsarist-style, not Bolshevik-style, but the end result was the triumph of the Communist apparatus.

The Stalinist era therefore shows us that it was possible to absorb and integrate anti-Marxist ideological and cultural components into a political and military framework and project that corresponded perfectly to the objectives set by Marxism.

In reality," writes Pino Rauti in *Le Idee che mossero il mondo* (Europa, Rome), "Marxism has found in Eastern Europe, in the Slavic race, a fertile ground to operate what we would call its 'Marxism'. burnt by the fire of reality, this Marxism 'condensed' in the East into the aggression of young peoples who had long been aspiring to resume their expansionist march ". This sort of "transmutation" was carried out by Stalin in accordance with the Machiavellianism that lies at the root of Marxist ideology. Rauti continues his demonstration: "Stalin was the obscure, taciturn, Asian, who spoke no foreign language, unlike Trotsky; he had not travelled the world, unlike Trotsky; he could not hold brilliant conversations in the salons, but he intuitively understood that Marxism could only be saved by the Communism could only last on condition that it was Slavic, linked to the imperious vitality of a people who had oscillated for centuries between Asia and Europe.

This reasoning is not without relevance, as subsequent history has proved: the neo-Stalinists remained in power in Russia and the countries of "real socialism" for a very long time, until Gorbachev's "perestroika", while the Trotskyists, even if they belonged to the camp of the victors of 1945, became minority groupings of utopians who now occupy only marginal positions in the political panorama of international communism (15). The refusal to assimilate cultural and political elements derived from the customs and mentalities of the past is the consequence of a mechanical and crude application of Marxist ideological schemas, which prevents the Marxist movement not only from functioning, but also from creating a practice of managing and conserving power. Without the ideological and methodological aggiornamento of Lenin and Stalin, Marxist thought would never have been able to conquer, hold and conserve power for so long. (16).

From the rubble of mankind: Marxism (17)

Marxism could only emerge and exist on the rubble of the human race, reduced to a state of In other words, a shapeless, undifferentiated mass, conforming to its theoretical postulates and its delusional conception of man as a pure "economic animality". But the forces hostile to this schematic conformism have not ceased to act in history, constantly forming new "nodes" of resistance and tension that Marxism has logically sought to eliminate, while trying to adapt to their dynamics (18).

Our aim was to propose an approach that would give a full account of the Stalinist phenomenon and its apparent contradictions. This approach also applies to other political phenomena that have emerged from Marxism and are heterodox in relation to it.

Knowledge of the Soviet system and its techniques of 'disguise' is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for understanding it.

Maurizio Lattanzion, Stalin and the Jewish Question, *Revue d'Histoire Non Conformiste*, n°3, June 1994, revised by B.K.

(*) <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTINVTCLI/Resources/JUNE7&8PAPERBraguinsky.pdf> - p. 40

(**) <http://www.thejc.com/news/world-special-reports/how-russia%E2%80%99s-jews-found-a-richer-future>.

(***) Either the article was written in Italian, or it was translated from Italian. In the first case, the Italian author's French is excellent, if not perfect. In the second case, it is the translation that is faulty. In any case, the proofs have not been seriously re-read; given the publishing house that published it, whose owner has a tendency to see errors where there are none in a manuscript and to introduce them, believing they are corrected, this is hardly surprising. The original article contains a number of Italianisms, errors and mistakes.

While some of these errors do not hinder reading, others make it complicated and hazardous, if not impossible. For the sake of clarity, we have 're-translated' some of them (for example, the first sentence of the ninth paragraph of the second chapter, "Indeed, writes Claudio Veltri in Polonia e Lobby ebraica (Arktos, Carmagnola), Jewish predominance in the government and in the party was preponderant at that time at all levels", becomes : "Indeed," writes Claudio Veltri in Polonia e Lobby ebraica (Arktos, Carmagnola), "the Jews occupied a preponderant place in the government and in the party at that time, at all levels") and, as for the second, syntactically correct but incomprehensible, we have left them as they are. Faulty sentences have been italicised.

We have replaced Italianisms with expressions that are in keeping with the genius of the French language. Errors in dates or job titles have been corrected.

(1) The author is speaking on his own behalf here, for while there is no evidence that the coloured peoples wanted to emulate National Socialism, the fact is that A. Hitler always maintained that the National Socialist model was exclusively German in essence and could not be applied to other countries.

(2) In all cases where it is preceded by "plutocracy", "Western" is in inverted commas, to make it clear that the current plutocracy is only "Western" from one point of view. Geographical, in the sense that the members of this plutocracy live in the 'West' and most of their businesses are located there, while the most powerful, from the Rothschilds to the Rockefellers, are of Jewish origin.

(3) In the French-speaking world, this theory, presented as a fact, was set out for the first time in Maurice Pinay, 2000 ans de complot contre l'Église, 1962, p. 23, published during the Second Vatican Council "in several languages and ... very widely distributed in Christian circles throughout the world".

"(François Suard, Les Clés du Paradis sont tombées dans les égouts du Monde, Publibook, s. d., p. 20): "During the Second World War and after it right up to the present day, the Jewish gang that governed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continued to be very numerous, and at the top of the list was Stalin himself, who for a long time was thought to be purely Georgian in origin, and whose origins we have just discovered.

discover that he is of Jewish race, as Djougashvili is a name that means 'son of Djou', and Djou is a Jewish name.

a small island in Persia to which many exiled Portuguese Marrano Jews emigrated and which they then passed on to Georgia. It has now been proven that Stalin had Jewish blood, although he never confirmed or denied the rumours that began to circulate on this subject. "According to the historian Léon Poliakov, the Nazi-Islamists in Cairo, led by Gleim and Heiden, were hiding behind the pseudonym Maurice Pinay: 'They had pulled all the old Nazi tricks out of their bag: Cardinal Bea was Jewish, his Western colleagues had been fooled or corrupted, the Roman Church was tainted by the Judaic heresy. From the East to Latin America, a number of prelates allowed impress, and at the Council, protests and amendments flew" (quoted in François Suard, op. cit., p. 20-1). "Pinay" gives as his source "Bernard Hutton, in *Revue Française*, 'Constellation' n° 167, March 1962, p. 202"). Djougachvili (ჯგუშვილი) breaks down into "ჯგ" and "შვილი", son of". In modern Georgian, ჯგ is not a word. On the other hand, ჯგ is and, orthographically, it is even the closest to ჯგ: only the third sign, in the first, q in the second, the separates; the little loop on the right is closed in this one, half open in that one. Now ჯგ means Judah, not the apostle (აპოლო), nor the kingdom (სამეფო), but the given name.' It has been hypothesised that ჯგ is the misspelled name of ჯგ. The Caucasus was a Jewish haunt as early as the sixth century BC, long before the Khazars, a mixture of Turkic ethnicities, Huns and Iranians, settled in Ciscaucasia "Vakhushti's History of Georgia informs us that permission was granted to a Jewish legation which had appealed to the prince of Mtskheta, after the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem (586 BC), to settle on the outskirts of Mtskheta." (The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. 8, see "Mountain Jews", p. 26) The same source reports numerous waves of Jewish migration to this region around this time. "Another influx of Jewish refugees to various parts of Transcaucasia took place after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (AD 70). The importance of this influx during the first centuries of Christianity is confirmed by the chronicler Faustus of Byzantium (4th AD), who reports that the Persians, under King Shapur II (309 - 379), invaded Armenia and brought back from southern Persia more than 75,000 Jewish prisoners, the descendants of those who had once reached Transcaucasia from Palestine" (ibid.). (ibid.), "According to the Arab authors al-Mas'ûdî, Ibn Hawqal and the Derbent Nameh (The History of Derbent), it is clear that the Arabs, when they conquered Dagestan in the eighth century, found a large number of Jews there (Isidore Singer and Cyrus Adler, The Jewish Encyclopedia, 1912, p. 628). They must also have found peoples in a very advanced state of miscegenation. The first accounts we have of the populations of this region in modern times, whether from geographers, archaeologists, historians or simple travellers, are unanimous in their astonishment at the mixture of races. that they formed. The question of Stalin's ethnic origin should not be a subject of contention. Whatever the blood(s) that flowed in his veins, everything about Stalin, the contempt for human life in the name of purely quantitative, economic and mercantile values, the dissimulation and perfidy in the practice of power, the systematic elimination of opponents, the Cruelty of the purging methods, the hypocritical use of smiles and humour, betrayed a race of the Asian soul. Bukharin called him the new Genghis Khan.

(3a) Stalin had three Jewish wives, Ekaterina Svanidze, Kadya Allevijah and Rosa Kaganovich, as well as a Jewish mistress, Ana Rubenstein. See <http://www.jewwatch.com/jew-leaders-stalin->

[3%20Jewish%20Wives%20of%20Joseph%20Stalin.html](http://www.jewwatch.com/jew-leaders-stalin-3%20Jewish%20Wives%20of%20Joseph%20Stalin.html), <http://www.jewwatch.com/jew-leaders-stalin-Stalin's%20Love%20Affair%20with%20the%20Jewess%20Ana%20Rubenstein.html>,
http://www.angelfire.com/dawn666blacksun/Stalin_the_Jew.html.

(4) He married Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, in 1951. Stalin's son Vasily married Svetlana, the daughter Molotov had had with his Jewish wife.

(5) Paulina Zemchushchina-Karpovski was the sister of Sam Karp, owner of Karp Export and Import Co. in Bridgeport, Connecticut. She became Commissioner for Cosmetics and then, not illogically, Commissioner for Fisheries.

(6) The Soviet hierarchy had no less excellent relations with the Swedish banker Olof Aschberg who, as his name suggests, was also of Jewish origin and who, in diplomatic circles at the time, was already known as the "banker to the Soviets".

(7) Accused, along with a dozen other Jews, of spying for foreign powers in the post-war period, he was shot along with them in 1952, on the orders of Beria, another Jew.

(8) A more complete list of Jews in high places under Stalin can be consulted at <http://alor.org/New%20Times/pdf/NT1748.pdf>.

(9) Three "big houses" had been made available to Pauker in Bucharest. For fear of an assassination attempt, she slept in a different house each night. One belonged to Prince Brancoveanu, another to the great industrialist and speculator Nicolae Malaxa (Gyeorgos Ceres Hatonnqui, *Marching To Zion*, p. 166) who, a few years earlier, had helped Göring to seize the assets of his great rival, the Jewish industrialist Max Auschnitt, a close associate of Carol II, and had then put his industrial empire at the service of the Reichswerke. In his own way, Pauker was fighting against the "Western" plutocracy, which was doing him a favour.

(10) As for the anti-Jewish measures taken in the Soviet zone of East Berlin between the end of November 1952 and the end of March 1953, which led to the flight of 500 Jews, far from being a manifestation of anti-Semitism, they can be explained by the fear that the Communist authorities had of the Jews.

that their spirit of solidarity led Jews in the Soviet zone of Berlin to forge links with their co-religionists living in the West.

http://www.ajcarchives.org/AJC_DATA/Files/1954_10_EastEurope.pdf, p. 268.

(11) Anti-Semitism was included in the Russian Criminal Code as an offence as early as 1918.

(12) <http://www.whoswho.de/bio/john-d-rockefeller.html>.

(13) See Gary Allen, *The Rockefeller Files*.

(14) The cause and effect relationship is far from clear.

(15) On the other hand, Trotskyism has made its mark in the countries of Western Europe and in the United States, where the neo-Trotskyists of the so-called "neo-cons" movement are still very influential. In France,

There are countless neo-Trotskyites in the ranks of Levantine gangs such as the "Socialist Party" and the "Socialist Party".

"The Greens. Italy and Spain are not to be outdone. The "European Commission", chaired by a Maoist from 2004, is now chaired by a Trotskyite.

(16) Without the financial backing of Jewish bankers either.

(17) The formula is excessive. In fact, Marxism took root in societies that had preserved their traditions, some would even go so far as to say their tradition, as was the case in China. But it is true that the Chinese, if only from the point of view of the race of the body, do not appear to be the most differentiated beings. As for the Russians, "their fatalism", their "feeling of a (Georges Nivat, *Vers la fin du mythe russe: essais sur la culture russe, de Gogol à nos jours, L'Âge d'Homme*, p.. 168), tendencies which can be attributed to the fact that this people has long been a mosaic of diverse and varied races, predisposed them to Marxism, like an uncauterised wound caused by the bite of a rabid animal.

(18) The paragraph ends with this unintelligible sentence: "He was trying to give them his own 'meaning', to which the circumstances would finally add up.

England's twilight (1) Historical

context

It has long been asked to what extent lessons can be learned from history. Much depends on the ability of the student. There is probably no field, apart from economics, in which conjecture plays such a large role. Almost any set of facts can be selected to prove any theory, no matter how absurd. In this chapter, we will not attempt to make a philosophical generalisation. Our sole aim is to show how England's historical development contributed to the fateful and fatal decision its government took on 3 September 1939.

There is something dramatically ironic about Mr Chamberlain's choice of date. For 3 September is the date of Oliver Cromwell's birth and also of his death. And very few people understand how much England today owes to Cromwell. This frustrated, tough, unscrupulous and hypocritical character still has his admirers. Even scholars as perceptive and essentially honest as Thomas Carlyle have paid tribute to him. And most liberals

Englishmen, who reject dictatorship, have sung the praises of this bellicose autocrat because he was the first Englishman to achieve a total metaphysical unity between the Bible, money and the sword. The reader should not think that we mean to impugn the virtues of Charles I, the good father and faithful husband. On the contrary, if this man, who had the faith of a coalman, had been able to keep his word, if he had not seen himself as the all-powerful ambassador of England, it is quite possible that the name of Charles I would have become synonymous with the name of England. would have remained shrouded in the mediocrity from which it emerged. Fate decided otherwise.

It was in 1642 that the English Civil War broke out, plunging all the British Isles into chaos. On the one hand, there was Charles, representing the unlimited monarchy, the Church of England and, to a small extent, a feudal concept of society; on the other, a very strange combination indeed. It was essentially a party made up of the bourgeois and Puritan factions that had already shown signs of aggression during Elizabeth's reign.

The despotism of the Tudors was established in 1485 because trade would have been impossible without a strong government and also because the country as a whole had had enough of the constant disputes that had arisen between the Tudors and the Tudors. what was left of the old aristocracy. But no sooner had this autocracy, this dictatorship, brought prosperity to the English than a movement began to overthrow it. It was only natural that the merchant princes, enriched by the spoils of the New World, should refuse to pay taxes - and heavy taxes at that - to the throne, to which they owed their success. The sinister tendency to consider money

and power as synonyms began to emerge in English history at this time. This new plutocracy was enthusiastically supported by the Puritans. These extremists, sincere though fanatical, had unmistakable grievances. They had been positively forbidden to practise their religion. They were, in many cases, persecuted with the intolerance of the time, as were Roman Catholics. These Puritans, however, were intoxicated with Jewish philosophy. They did not

Old Testament. They had to identify with the characters in it. They called themselves "Hew-Agag-In-Pieces-Before-The-Lord", for example. (1) Ben Jonson

was hardly exaggerating when he called his Puritans Tribulation Wholesome and Zeal-in-the-Land. (2) Certainly the materialism of the Jews, as set forth in the Old Testament, had become engraved in their souls: for with all their psalms and hymns they soon began to make a great deal of money. By a rather obscure process, they gradually insinuated themselves into the merchant classes, perhaps because their religion allowed them no vice except greed. If their entry into the plutocracy is not easy to explain, it is not difficult to explain why a large number of merchants became Puritans. It was because it seemed far more dignified to protest against the Crown in the name of religious freedom than in defence of tax evasion. So, under the guise of fighting for Protestantism, many wealthy characters were fighting a great battle for political supremacy.

The Cavaliers (3) could see their way relatively clearly: but they were very far from trusting their king. The fate of the Earl of Stafford (4) had shown the extent to which Charles' personal loyalty could be relied upon. The King's cause was supported by at least half the English population: but there were no trustworthy leaders and Parliament had the City's money at its disposal. The Royalists had no more than they could get out of their estates and property.

family. It was truly a war between Mammon and the Legions of the Lost. Mammon won. Cromwell became the military dictator of the revolution. Not only did he execute the King, but the parliamentary chatterboxes were dealt with ruthlessly. If the war had been fought in defence of parliamentary liberty, the leader of the parliamentary forces would have had no hesitation in having Cromwell's men put to death.

He literally threw out of parliament any member who disagreed with him. This remarkable man called one extraordinary assembly after another in a pitifully unsuccessful attempt to prove that he believed in popular representation: but his true intentions did not come to light until he had placed the whole country under the administration of ten major-generals, whose main concern was to prevent people from eating mince pies at Christmas or having fun on Sundays.

A memorable positive act must be credited to Olivier. He readmitted the Jews to England, from which they had been banished many centuries before by that eminently wise monarch, Edward I. It is more than likely that the Jewish usurers had helped the City to victory over the Crown: and it is interesting to note that after the migration of the minor Jewish nobility to England, Amsterdam began to lose its importance as a financial centre. And, in twenty years, England made three times the

war with Holland. These are facts: and the reader must be left to draw whatever conclusion he wishes. Holland obviously depended on foreign trade, not its own sources of wealth: and its decline as a leading financial centre dates from the accession to power of Oliver Cromwell. Without suggesting that these Jewish tipplers brought prosperity to England, the fact is that their arrival signalled the adoption of the philosophy of trade that has endured in England ever since. The financial organisation of the City began to develop in a direction that culminated in the establishment, in 1694, of the Bank of England as the government's private credit institution.

Cromwell died in 1658. He had simply failed to create a constructive system of government. He bequeathed his powers to his son, Richard, a humble incompetent who followed the advice of the military leaders and quickly withdrew from public life. Less than a year later, England was in the grip of anarchy. The generals did not know where to stand, the security of property was no longer assured, and the merchants were once again beginning to complain: "Give us a government that will restore law and order and enable us to make money." In fact, this class and, indeed, many of those who had taken up arms against their sovereign, King Charles I, declaring that the monarchy was a bad thing and an invention of the devil, they began to clamour for a new king.

And, of course, there was a king. The debonair Charles Stuart, who had learnt all the secrets of parasitism and deceit at the French court, had gladly accepted the throne and had made the firm resolution never to travel again. This curious character, with his mastery of diplomacy, acquired greater personal power than any English monarch since the Tudors: in fact, for the last four years of his life, he ruled without parliament. Nevertheless, a fatal blow was struck to the principle of absolute monarchy: Charles' power did not survive him. Everything about his successor, James II (5), was admirably calculated to destroy it.

In the meantime, however, a revolutionary change had taken place in English politics. The party system had been created. By 1679 every English household knew the terms "Whig" and "Tory". A great struggle was going on: and the question was, theoretically at least, whether the Catholic Duke of York was to succeed to the throne. The Tories, the party of the court, represented the remnants of the Cavaliers. They defended the monarchy, the divine right of kings, the Church of England and, to a large extent, agricultural interests. They were, for the most part, aristocrats or men who believed in a landed aristocracy as the basis of social organisation. The Whigs maintained the supremacy of Parliament, the necessity of Protestantism - the more extreme the better - and the interests of City finance as opposed to those of agricultural industry. They were the successors to the Roundheads, (6) but they had attracted to their ranks a number of people who had no real conviction and were simply disgusted by the conduct and character of the

Stuarts. Out of these indeterminate elements later came men like Chatham and Burke, to whom no unworthy motive can legitimately be imputed. On the other hand, the politics of the Whigs consisted of crass materialism, and that of Toryism was reduced to mystical incompetence and a purely negative attitude towards the progress which the dynamics of civilisation demanded. Thus, for centuries, England was condemned to division, with the financial descendants of the Roundheads making constant use of the heroic but unrealistic descendants of the Cavaliers.

It is a very serious mistake to believe that the Tory party of today represents the old Tory philosophy. The fact is that after 1745 Whiggery destroyed all that was left of true Toryism: and from then on, with very few exceptions who were fighting a hopeless rearguard action, the English people became accustomed, for better or worse, to the various forms of Whig politics. This is how the materialism of the world of finance took hold of England. It would be tedious to enumerate the various attempts that were made to resuscitate the Tory party. Let us say that it died the day the desolate moor of Culloden was strewn with the bodies of those who had thought it possible to restore the dynasty of the Stuarts.

In the meantime, the English constitution had been radically transformed. When, in 1689, William, Prince of Orange by the Grace of God, landed in England and his father-in-law took to his heels, (7) a new chapter in English history was opened. William was the man the Whigs needed: and many Tories accepted him because he could be no worse than James II.

William was a heroic, if sombre, character. A great fighter, he was used to losing battles and winning wars. But his interests were far from those of England. His sole aim in life was to prevent Holland from being consumed by the splendour of the Sun King. It was for the sole purpose of acquiring greater resources in his fight against the French aggressors that he took on the responsibility of pretending to rule England. And a man who was pretending to govern was exactly what the City wanted. The façade of the old tradition had to be placed in front of the corrupt structure of international finance that the architects of usury were building for themselves. William never grasped the reality of English politics. The Whigs who had brought him to England treated him as something of a nuisance, and he was unable to understand the intrigues of the City.

of John Churchill, better known as the Duke of Marlborough, one of Winston Churchill's only presentable ancestors. During his reign, two important events occurred.

First, Parliament, made up of the remnants of the old aristocracy and, to a much greater extent, the pioneers of the new plutocracy, became supreme. There was nothing democratic about it. The vast majority of people did not have the right to vote: but the stage was set for the final battle between town and country, money and race, corruption and authority.

The second major event in William's reign was the founding of the Bank of England. The function of this institution was to make credit available to the government at a fixed rate.

high interest rate. It was prepared to lend from generation to generation and earn interest accordingly. This cumulative process produced mathematically astonishing results: because the Bank of England was the main factor in the creation of the national debt. In 1705, Dean Swift (8) cried out in scandal: "What! A national debt of five million pounds. Well, the Great Allies (9) have done us in. Dean's propensity for profanity would have been unleashed if he could have imagined that England's national debt now runs into tens of billions of pounds. If only statesmen had been obliged to study the laws of compound interest, the fate of mankind might have been very different. Even a knowledge of simple interest would have been useful in this case. But the gentlemen of the eighteenth century avoided mathematics, which was of no use at the bridge table. Some people, who were not their simplicity. Of course, Robert Walpole, the founder of government parliamentary and the first Prime Minister of England, knew very well what he was doing. His motto, "Don't wake a sleeping dog", confirms that he was concerned with more immediate matters and did not try to legislate for his successors.

George I, Elector of Hanover and King of England, did not speak English. After trying to conduct business in Latin with his ministers, he gave it up with a heavy heart and occupied himself as best he could in a country where he never felt at home. He did no harm to anyone and upheld the tradition and the succession.

Protestant. From then on, the king was destined to be a man of straw. From then on, he could do no wrong, because he could do nothing. George III really tried to become the autocrat of the colonies America. England lost all of North America except Canada, and thereafter the monarchs refrained from any significant intervention in politics. Perhaps the most notable exception was George III's stubborn opposition to Pitt's plan to give Irish Roman Catholics the religious freedom which, if granted in time, might have changed the course of Irish history.

Once the monarchy had fallen into the obscurity in which it remains today, party politics began to play a dominant role in English life. Although the Whigs ruled England for most of the eighteenth century, they had to reckon with the opposition: and this opposition was not the only one.

Bolingbroke's opposition was often based on ambition rather than politics. I doubt if anyone can really say what Bolingbroke wanted: what is certain is that he hated the Whigs. Long

After the old Tories had been buried, a new Tory party suddenly appeared in 1770 under Lord North, this time in the service of the House of Hanover. It did not last long: but it did serve to provide the precondition for party politics, namely that there should be more than one party. The more parties, the more opportunities for individuals. Politics came to be seen as

Thanks to the system of nepotism, gentlemen with friends in high places could obtain the command of a regiment in the West Indies for colleagues whose wives they had specific, if not honourable, designs on.

Two serious problems gradually began to emerge during the eighteenth century. The first was the decline not only of the aristocracy, but, little by little, of all the values that did not belong to the aristocracy. could not be correlated with books, shillings and pennies. It's strange that a century so keen on poetry, conversation, belles-lettres and all forms of culture only heralded the materialistic, ruthless and dull industrialism that was already impatiently biding its time. Yet this has always been the case in the long river of history. The brilliant Augustan period of Roman literature, in which men of great intellectual creativity reached heights hitherto unparalleled in the history of Western Europe, was but a radiant afternoon before the twilight that marked the reign of Constantine and the total darkness of the centuries that followed.

The second sinister event was the start of the agricultural decline that was to continue for almost two centuries, eventually forcing Britain to impose a food blockade on Germany despite the fact that it had no resources of its own.

Charles II, while extracting money from Louis XIV and using his undeniable charm on ladies who were only too inclined to succumb to it, was not without a certain interest in physics. His entourage could not understand why. Nor could the author.

Nevertheless, the new impetus he gave to the study of mathematics and physics produced results. Men like Newton began to formulate scientific laws that were to transform the face of the earth. The time had come to harvest all the fruits that the Renaissance had borne: and the mechanical age was ready to begin.

Unfortunately, the new interest in machines, the new desire to produce goods mechanically, the attractive force of the cities and the rural exodus began to have an impact. disastrous impact on agriculture. No one has expressed this change more poignantly than Goldsmith in *The Desert Village*. He writes: (10)

Woe betide the country where wealth accumulates and men wither! Let Princes or Lords live or die; a breath has made them, a breath can make them again; but the robust Labourers, who are the honour of their country, once destroyed, can never be replaced.

There was a time, before England's misfortunes, when a quarter of an acre of land fed its farmer; a light ploughing gave him a frugal subsistence, provided him with what life required, and nothing more: his most faithful companions were innocence and health; his only treasure was ignorance of riches.

But times have changed; trade and its ruthless entourage are usurping land and dispossessing farmers...

Goldsmith may be a little inclined to over-emphasise the virtues of poverty, but he has written with feeling about the facts he knew. In a short book of this kind, it would be impossible to trace all the repercussions and consequences of the industrial revolution: be that as it may, This question will be dealt with in the next chapter. As a reference work, I can only recommend G. M. Trevelyan's thorough treatise on nineteenth-century British history.

This book, although biased and written from a hopelessly liberal point of view, gives a very accurate picture of the social changes I'm trying to outline.

In short, the great rural exodus began. The age of mechanised man was approaching. The new plutocracy and those of the old Whigs who were perverse by temperament began their terrible final offensive against the old country gentlemen. It was all the more appalling because the old "stock families" were not simply uprooted and annihilated. They were subjected to numerous transfusions of merchant blood before suffering the final humiliation of having to accept Jewish sons-in-law in order to save the land to which they were so desperately clinging.

This chapter does not deal specifically with economics, so we will defer to the next chapter our examination of the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the lives of ordinary people in Europe. England. Politically, the most important fact was that the two parties that had been locked in a death struggle were forced to attract new allies. The party system had rapidly degenerated into the shameless electoral horse-trading which, in one form or another, is the hallmark of the British party system. inalienable characteristic of democracy. At the end of the eighteenth century, elections were greeted with immense joy by the country. At each one, the candidates distributed beer, bacon and money without counting the cost. * Electoral officers wrote with their best pen in For the vote of Mr Ebenezer Smith £30. The electoral districts were cunningly carved up in such a way as to allow the special interests of the electorate to be represented. play to the full.

At the time of the great Reform Act of 1832, one MP confessed that his borough was an uninhabited house, another said that his was an old molehill and a third declared with a smile that his had been at the bottom of a pond for twenty years. In any case, the system was preferable to the one that was about to be inaugurated. For the Reform Act of 1832 was designed simply and solely to give the vote to small businessmen, so that the link between politics and money became even closer than before. Some 35 years later, the Jewish Disraeli decided to use craftsmen to counterbalance the small traders. As a reward, he was driven from power by those to whom he had given the vote. Even then, English workers did not like Jews.

To sum up, from 1832 onwards the whole art of English politics consisted in making promises without any intention of keeping them. And after the extension of suffrage to the classes workers, this pernicious principle asserted itself even more clearly.

The Liberal party, formed from the dregs of all that remained of the worst elements of the Whig menagerie, passed itself off as the friend of the people by means of arguments which we shall see in the next chapter. Something new, called the Tory party, arose in the nineteenth century, representing the pitiful attempts of landlords and patriots to suggest that the state had claims no less than those of the individual. This poor band of idealists wandered through the dreary decades of the nineteenth century until Benjamin Disraeli had discovered them, and skilfully led into the outer courtyard of the palace of high finance. There it waited until, at the turn of the century, the cowardly Liberal Joe Chamberlain had bought it wholesale, leaders, members and parasites alike. From then on, the Conservative Party was no more than a more respectable, more delicate and, indeed, more refined means of expressing greedy commercialism. Thus Mr Churchill, early in his unhappy career, could ask his experienced friends in good conscience whether he should offer - or sell - his services to the Liberal Party or the Conservative Party. It didn't matter which. An importer

A Methodist foreigner was naturally liberal. An Anglican soldier was probably conservative. Both worshipped the dividends they received from their foreign investments and both probably trembled at the thought of being hindered by a independent empire. On the whole, the Conservatives were a little more honest, a little less greedy, than the Liberals. But they existed only as a sort of foil to Liberal policy. Whether they were in power or not, the poor Conservatives were the perpetual opposition. The ruthless City financiers did not want the impression to be created that there was only one party in the state. Their aims and activities had to be concealed: but, in the end, the Conservatives gained so many supporters among the people that it became necessary to absorb them. Joe Chamberlain having accomplished this feat, the Liberal party atrophied and disappeared, while its only living representatives were a few old gentlemen for whom there was no place in the

Conservative fold. Its demise was greatly facilitated by the emergence, at the turn of the century, of a cheeky new party called the Labour Party. These upstarts even demanded that workers be directly represented in parliament instead of being represented by their employers. No one could say what these unreasonable individuals would demand next: and so it was no bad thing that the Liberal Party was condemned to death. Of course, the leaders of this new movement were for the most part ordinary people and a little flattery, combined with the most tasteful bribery, would undoubtedly have its effect. Yet they used strange words like "socialism", they talked about the rights of the proletariat and some of them even used the ugly term 'revolution'. It was clear that there was no need for two parties and this new threat: and, consequently, although the Liberal party still survived for a few years, it was not necessary to have two parties. years, it gradually fell into disrepair: and those who had once entered it to seek their fortune preferred to join the hapless socialists. Many succeeded in fulfilling their personal ambitions.

But the essential fact to note is that, from 1832 to the present day, the main technique of British democracy has been consistently based on a single principle: "The more you The more you promise the people, the more you can expect to get their vote. It became all-important to make seductive promises: and the skilful politician was the one who could break them and retain his reputation for honesty. Stanley Baldwin is probably unsurpassed in this ignoble art.

Most people lived in abject poverty: and the main strategic aim of the ruling classes was to keep them in subjection, the Conservatives by exhorting them to make sacrifices and the Liberals, in their day, by handing out tips instead of wages. When the When the socialist movement emerged, it became imperative to convert its leaders into honorary members of the ruling classes as quickly as possible; the presence in their ranks of a certain number of young men from "good families" provided both the opportunity and the illusion.

Against this general background, we can now take a closer look at the economic system that had gradually developed in England since the start of the Industrial Revolution. We can begin to interpret modern history in the light of older history. If England had lost a great deal in the period we have been considering; it had conquered an empire. But you have to study her political philosophy before you can understand how she intended to use it.

William Joyce, *Twilight of England*, Internationaler Verlag, Berlin W 15, 1940, translated from the English by B. K.

(1) Cut-Ag-Ag-Ag-At-The-Lord. (NDT.)

(2) Benjamin Jonson (1572 - 1637): English Renaissance playwright, actor and poet. A contemporary of Shakespeare, he is best known for his satirical plays. Tribulation Wholesome is a character in 'The Alchemist' and Zeal-in-the-Land Busy in 'Bartolomew Fair'; both are caricatures of the Puritan. (NDE.)

(3) Supporters of Charles I in his fight against Parliament. (NDE.)

(4) Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford (1593 - 1641): English statesman and leading figure in the British Empire.

in the run-up to the English Civil War. He was a member of parliament and a supporter of King Charles I. From 1632 to 1639, he ruled Ireland with an iron fist. Recalled to England, he became the King's principal adviser and tried to strengthen the King's position in relation to Parliament. When Parliament condemned him to death, Charles signed the death warrant and Wentworth was executed.

(5) His pro-Catholic sympathies and arbitrary rule led the Whigs and Tories to unite in inviting his eldest daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange to the throne together. James II was defeated at Boyne (1690) as he tried to regain the throne. Following this failure, he went into exile in France. (NDE.)

(6) Members or supporters of the Puritan party during the civil wars of the seventeenth century (NDE.)

(7) He was James II (NDE).

(8) English satirist born in Ireland (1667-1745). (NDE.)

(9) The League of Augsburg was a European coalition comprising Austria, Bavaria, Brandenburg, the United Provinces, England, the Holy Roman Empire, Ireland, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Palatinate, Portugal, Savoy, Saxony, Scotland, Spain and Sweden. Founded in 1686, it became known as the Grand Alliance after England joined in 1689. It was formed to halt the expansion of Louis XIV's France.

(10) In L'Esprit des journaux, françois et étrangers, N° 11, Société de gens de lettres, 1777 (NDE.)

The twilight of England (2)

Economic development

The reader may have innocently hoped at the end of the last chapter that the historical review was over. On this earth, the innocent are often mistreated and the optimistic often disappointed. Our brief overview was intended to prepare the ground for the study of issues which are of paramount importance today: and no such study can exclude the subject altogether.

of England's economic development over the last century: for we have to go back to the origins of modern capitalism to understand its nature.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the island's population was around five times smaller than it had been for many centuries.

is today; and the land was capable of providing for its needs. Poverty certainly existed: but it was due to mismanagement and an imperfect scale of social values, not to a lack of natural wealth. If England had fewer than ten million people to feed today, its economic position would certainly be different from what it is today. We must try to understand that the Industrial Revolution represented a transvaluation of all values.

Until then, the people had been content to live off the land, and nature had provided for their needs, which were simple but generally adequate.

healthy peasants in the factories. We would no doubt call the wages risibly low: but they seemed high at first to the country folk, because they were not used to getting much money and did not yet realise how much life in the city would be.

expensive. Having been accustomed to living off their own land, they were unable to conceive of the pitfalls of urban trade.

The desire to handle more money was not the only cause of the fatal transmigration that took place.

Another powerful factor was the destruction of the family textile industry by overwhelming mill competition. The genius of men like Crompton and Arkwright had made possible a

A larger, faster and more uniform supply of spun and woven goods: but it had, for obvious reasons, brought ruin to the artisan weaver and the artisan spinner. So Goldsmith's Desert Village was not so much a description as a prophecy. Agriculture was on the wane: and

As the old landlords found themselves in ever-increasing difficulties, the industrialists, both Liberal and Whig, decided to put an end not only to their political power, but also to their economic existence. Many years of propaganda were needed to pave the way for the repeal of the Wheat Laws in 1846: but once the Liberals were well and truly in charge,

after their victory in 1832, it was to be expected that the policy of importing food

cheap foreign currency was adopted, whatever the consequences for the British farmer, who was no longer seen as the backbone of the country, but rather as a kind of belly that kept warm in winter but restricted movement throughout the year.

To understand the passion for free trade characteristic of industrial liberalism, we must first realise that employers wanted cheap food for their employees, not so that they could have it in large quantities, but with the sole aim of keeping wages as low as possible. Indeed, in most factories in the first decades of the last century, it was common practice to pay all or part of wages in kind,

mainly in food. Otherwise, shops were set up in the factories and employees received coupons with which they could and had to buy goods obtained by the employer at the lowest possible prices. Any increase in the price of food meant that they had to pay a larger proportion of wages in cash: because he had to keep his workers alive. All a worker who expected to earn more than he needed to survive was considered a very dangerous revolutionary and was accused of impiety or alcoholism, or both. In any case, the advantage of cheap labour was emphasised. In the end, Parliament was forced to pass several laws prohibiting the payment of workers in kind. Evidence given to a Royal Commission showed that workmen used to go into the barber's shop with cans of beer and ask him how much he would drink in exchange for a haircut.

On the other hand, if the peasants were cruelly disappointed by industrial living conditions, they were just as horrified by their wages as by the length of their working day. Of course, a farmer is used to working long hours, but not in a coal mine or a dirty factory in the of the kind that operated in the early days. Men had to work 16 hours a day: and in the first decade of the nineteenth century Parliament passed a benevolent law whereby women could not be required to work more than 12 hours a day in a factory. In some coal mines, ponies were replaced by women. Children as young as six were forced to work long hours in these factories and were whipped almost to death if they appeared careless or negligent. Almost all the employers were good churchmen who praised freedom and democracy and accused the country gentlemen of being reactionary conservatives. These slave exploiters never stopped chanting the French Revolution's slogans on liberty, Equality and Fraternity. It was still thought that birth and race should take precedence over money in the government of the country. They also continued to believe that agriculture could be saved. These ideas were repugnant to the lords of the new democracy. The aristocrat, the landowner The idealist was portrayed as the enemy of the workers, who would always threaten their freedom. It was in this bloody hypocritical atmosphere that the school of political philosophy which enabled Mr Chamberlain to say, on 3 September 1939, that England was declaring war on Germany in defence of freedom gradually took shape.

As the final struggle to eliminate everything that did not reek of materialism approached in the last century, it was only natural that liberal industrialists should equip themselves with an instrument for the purpose.

propaganda. The Manchester School of Economics was born. Tenth-rate philosophers were bought and assembled and charged with inventing economic science and justifying the abominations of which the radical, potbellied plutocrats were guilty on a daily basis towards the people of Europe. masses. The doctrines of this so-called school were very simple. The great and eternal truth of economy was written in gold letters: "Buy at the lowest price, sell at the highest price".

high". This precept having been devoutly accepted, all the other graces necessary for salvation would follow of their own accord. Hallelujah!

There was nothing more Jewish than that. And so, naturally, human flesh and human blood also had to be bought on the lowest market and their products sold on the lowest - for the sake of the dear old benevolent employer who was erecting outside his sweatshop a tin tabernacle where his workers, on pain of dismissal, had to go every Sunday to thank God for being poor and to hear sermons on the providentiality of their simple condition and 'social position'. And, of course, another great precept was free trade. England was almost fifty years ahead of the rest of the continent when it came to this Industrial Revolution.

And, to its great misfortune, it based many of its calculations on this preliminary and temporary advantage. For half a century, she was virtually unrivalled in manufacturing. Napoleon, despite his attempt to blockade England - an attempt as foolish as Britain's attempt to blockade Germany today - shaved with Sheffield razors at two or three inches per inch.

guineas a pair, his armies were clothed in Yorkshire wool and the boots of many thousands of his soldiers were made of English leather. It is a wonder that he was allowed to obtain these supplies: but it is no wonder if the new plutocrats put their profits before their country. That's the way it is today, that's the way it has always been and that's the way it will always be, as long as liberal capitalism lasts.

Naturally, the Napoleonic Wars were a blessing for English merchants, who had been able to make ends meet thanks to the Rothschilds' stock market speculation on the Battle of Waterloo. I said "speculation", although "swindle" is a better word. Europe was torn apart and devastated by conflict, no European country was safe from invasion, and England, protected by its own navy, was in danger of being invaded.

by its island position, defended by its navy, could rapidly pursue the development of its new manufacturing industries, congratulating itself on the fact that almost all the nations in the world were able to do so.

world were looking forward to receiving its exports. Promising as these prospects seemed, they had two very serious flaws. Firstly, it was taken for granted that England would forever remain the workshop of the world: and no illusion could have been more dangerous. Secondly, the galloping prosperity of the wealthy was not reflected in the condition of the masses. Workers who aspired to better conditions were regarded as traitors and even, from time to time, shot, as at the famous Peterloo massacre.

However, the Manchester School was very good at singing the eternal virtues of free trade. At first, the theory was that the merchant had to sack the whole world to find the cheapest materials, in order to make a big profit or at least, thanks to competition to drive out of the market any rivals, British or otherwise, who might resist. Gradually, the idea took hold that the sine qua non of good business was cheap labour: and so it was that the merchant-princes of Great Britain sought out products made by slaves, or at least by underpaid labour, wherever they could be found; and, in the end, the great democratic principle of Free Trade became a reality. This was synonymous with the oppression of the masses in many countries of the world, so that the liberal plutocrats of England could obtain their materials at the lowest price. It was in these circumstances that the doctrine that Free Trade was indispensable to international investment policy also emerged. From what we have already seen of the new plutocracy, we could hardly expect its members to be particularly keen to invest their money in Britain out of pure patriotism.

Such an idea would have smacked too strongly of nationalism. For them, investment was a good way of making money, regardless of national borders, national obligations or national rights. The only rule was: "Invest your money or other people's money wherever you can get the biggest dividends safely. Sacrifice even safety if necessary". This is how the school of international finance was born, in which the Rothschilds and other Jewish usurers were very able teachers. In fact, the mentality of England was taking such a turn that the Jews were preparing for the blessed day when Britain would be one of their colonies. These three principles - ruthless competition, free trade at any price and investment without regard to blood, nation or race - are essential to international capitalism, in whose interests Britain mobilised its forces to destroy National Socialist Germany. These are the axioms of the old order, and they must be borne in mind in the rest of our study. Later it will be possible to develop this thesis further when we come to the time when money and comfort had transformed the descendants of the old plutocrats into false gentlemen: or perhaps, thanks to their wealth, they were able to change the meaning of the word "gentleman", which is considered to be "a man". with the greatest suspicion in today's English society.

As the dark priests of despair chanted the inexorable law that a worker can not earn more than he needs to survive, reactions were bound to occur. In fact, this propaganda was so strong and the people so ignorant that after a while a monstrous theory took hold. This theory was that millions of men and women are born to toil and toil and toil, with no moral right to improve their condition other than by skilfully robbing others. This horrible idea, always firmly established in the minds of British capitalists, implies that the masses must be poor, and that they should consider themselves lucky if they manage to make ends meet and leave their families.

the world as poor as they entered it. Exceptions would be allowed, of course. If a member of this slave class was exceptionally good at managing slaves, if he had raised just enough money to enable him to extort more from someone else, if he unreservedly approved of the sacred rules, he was in a position to find a boss and eventually be admitted to the Order of Mammon. He was regarded as a cautious guy with a head for business. Neither physical strength, nor creative intelligence, nor nobility of character were necessary: all that was needed was a good knowledge of the law of profit and loss and the psychology of fools. That's how you got from the slums to the palace: and that's how it is in England today. Only those who have lived in England without money or support know that the system has nothing to offer those who have nothing to offer but their physical strength, intellectual ability and character. The man who offers his services to the community is turned away from the employment office every day: and he's turned away from a thousand other places too.

Even in the middle of the last century, there was a reaction to this code of perpetual servitude. Great philosophers like Thomas Carlyle and bad Jews like Karl Marx were loquacious on the subject. Essentially, the 1848 manifesto was written in the same language and from the same perspective as the treatises written on behalf of liberal capitalism. Marxism and capitalism were just two aspects of the same problem. The capitalists wanted to confiscate private property. Marx said that it should not exist at all. They used religion to mask the immorality of their behaviour, and Marx responded by denouncing religion wholesale as "the opium of the people".

They demanded unreasonable profits and, in response, Marx invented the theory of added value. In his crude materialism, he was on the same line as those he attacked. The result of his and other such efforts was the so-called class struggle, a bestial phenomenon elevated to the status of supreme virtue. Later, as the merchant-princes began to use patriotism as a propaganda weapon, when it happened to serve their own ends, the poor turned to internationalism. This result could not displease the disciples of international finance. Thus was born international socialism - a thing as sterile, as flat, as It was a crudely materialistic system that had provoked a reaction among the workers. The negative, destructive, stultifying doctrines of the French Revolution added fuel to the fire. And we soon witnessed the sad spectacle of a huge working class induced by political liberals to demand its freedom from the last remnants of the aristocracy, while liberal industrialists crushed them by the iron law of wages. It is not surprising that conservatives do not did not know the answer to this riddle! And so English political thought was *s i d e t r a c k e d* for decades and continues to be so today.

Men like Carlyle could speak in the tongues of angels (1): but once the bitterness of the class struggle had infected the soul of the nation, hatred began to bubble up, very much in the face of the enemy.

slowly at first, more vigorously in this century, to such an extent that this small source can now, at any moment, it could turn into a waterfall or a torrent that will sweep away everything in its path. No one knows when, least of all those who made war on Germany. In the next chapter, we will try to identify some of the major political consequences of the fratricidal tendency that the Industrial Revolution introduced into English life.

From the point of view of economics, however, the most tragic thing was that nobody saw a way of reconciling private property with a fair distribution of it, that nobody saw a way of identifying the individual with the State, that nobody saw the need to invest in the economy that no one was able to distinguish between profit and loss. as a reward for organisational ability and profit as piracy: and lastly, no one sees the vital need to strike the right balance between agriculture and manufacturing. No one was powerful enough to save agriculture from its fate, and history will sooner or later show vividly what that fate meant for England. The power of money had conquered and obscured the vision of almost every philosopher whose warnings, like those of Cassandra, had gone unheeded.

Slowly and with great difficulty, a trade union movement was born, fighting tooth and nail to obtain a little more money and slightly better conditions for the workers. However, it was not until the end of the last century that these trade unionists realised that the liberals who had drugged them with chartism, democracy and all sorts of ideological 'soporifics' were in fact nothing more and nothing less than the storm troopers of capitalism. All they could do was form a socialist party infected with the same materialistic errors as the liberal party they had rejected. had resolved to reject. All this time, the Conservative party was wandering aimlessly, without any real policy, beating the drum of patriotism, protesting from time to time against someone's fate. like Gordon, that the Liberals had betrayed: I'll come back to this in the next chapter.

While England was immersed in internal strife, while the workers were fighting for bread and the financiers for supremacy, almost all Englishmen had allowed themselves to be hypnotised by the idea that England was the strongest, the largest, the freest and the most powerful country in the world. prosperous in the world. The City collars were so full of themselves and conceited that they failed to see the most fatal revolution taking place before their eyes. While they were still piously filling their coffers, the rest of the world decided that England should no longer have a monopoly on manufacturing. Other nations, who were then living in peace, took the same view. concluded that they could just as easily produce themselves, with their own labour and to their own advantage, the goods they had previously imported. Little by little, England's former customers became its competitors, first on their own territory, then on international markets and finally, thanks to free trade, on English soil itself. Thus the very basis of

England's industrial supremacy began to crumble. Needless to say, it did not break down in a day or even a decade: but the process of disintegration, once underway, went from strength to strength. intensifying, to the extent that in recent years Britain has been able to export only half as much as she has imported. That is why, as the senseless edifice of his finances tottered on undermined foundations, Mr Chamberlain chose war as the only means of concealing the truth: for the war, more than anything else, destroys values and muddies the waters.

The German states were among the first nations to demand the right to manufacture their own goods. Thanks to better coordination of the three customs unions, (2) German economic power was growing: and when Bismarck lit his famous cigar on the battlefield of Sadowa, he was also the envy of the Jewish English plutocracy. When, in 1871, the Empire German was proclaimed at Versailles, the pious profiteers of the City of London began to think that they had found in him a serious commercial competitor. Queen Victoria's entourage were all in favour of friendship between the two countries: and the two peoples felt a natural and instinctive friendship for each other, by virtue of a psychological affinity that not even two wars could destroy. But Queen Victoria's son, the heir, Edward, Prince of Wales, began, as soon as he was physically able, the dissolute life which was to make him the royal client of the Jewish usurers and put him and his entire entourage at the mercy of men like Speyer and Cassel.

With the introduction of international investment policy, free trade retained its hold on British trade policy: but with each passing day, the major premise on which its theory rested weakened. Long before the end of the last century, it should have been easy to foresee that geography and science similarly precluded Britain from remaining the workshop of the world. But greed and foresight do not go together. Instead of wisely concentrating on its own empire, England took the fatal decision to regard protectionist countries as enemies.

As a result, realism was abandoned, even though the Jewish plot to enslave the world to international finance was already well advanced: and no other instrument could suit them better than England. When Great Britain acquired shares in the Suez Canal, it was Disraeli naturally asked the Rothschilds for a loan. Their rate was higher than that of the Bank of England: but they were already too powerful to have to fear the wrath of the taxpayer. In fact, they were so powerful that they were the real government of the country.

Free trade therefore remained a sacrosanct principle: with the same narrow-minded rigidity that had led them to reject the demands of the people, the merchant-princes refused to adapt to the changes in the world.

new circumstances. Convinced that money could buy everything, both spiritual and material, they believed that they could resist all changes: and it was in this spirit that British foreign policy was conducted.

It is worth saying a few words about one last characteristic of the English pseudo-philosophy of the nineteenth century. It is the conception of the State. In the first part of the previous century, the Manchester School was opposed to all statism. This is a classic concept of liberalism. John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham and many other charlatans argued that the state should be a mere watchdog. Apparently, this doctrine was intended to give the individual as much freedom as possible. In reality, the aim was for the government to keep its nose out of the capitalists' business and to maul the workers if they became a nuisance. In other words, the plutocrats saw the State as a police force designed to protect their private property in Britain and abroad. Patriotism meant using armed force to defend or grow investments at home and abroad. Meanwhile, the people appealed in vain to their leaders to govern more vigorously and regulate social relations in the interests of justice. Carlyle described the situation as follows:

"In these difficult times, when cash is the only link between man and man, the working classes declare to the idlers, in the embarrassed but categorical manner peculiar to them, that they want to be managed: that they must be, on pain of chartism, brutality, dog-beating and things even blacker than these... cash payment is the only link: and there are so many things that money will not buy! Money is a great miracle, yet it is not all-powerful in heaven, nor even on earth."

So, with free trade, unlimited competition, international investment, the servility of the State to trade, the materialistic conception of history, extreme poverty, the beginnings of the Marxism, a decaying aristocracy and, as a result, a declining agriculture, the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse were ready to get back on their horses once again.

William Joyce, *Twilight of England*, Internationaler Verlag, Berlin W 15, 1940, translated from the English by B.K.

(1) The reference is to 1 Corinthians 13:1. (Editor's note.)

(2) In 1828, there were three customs unions in Germany: the Prussian Union in the north, the Thuringian Union in the centre and the Bavarian Union in the south (Editor's note).

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